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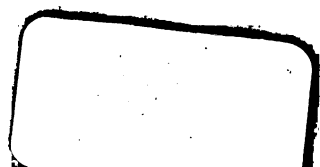
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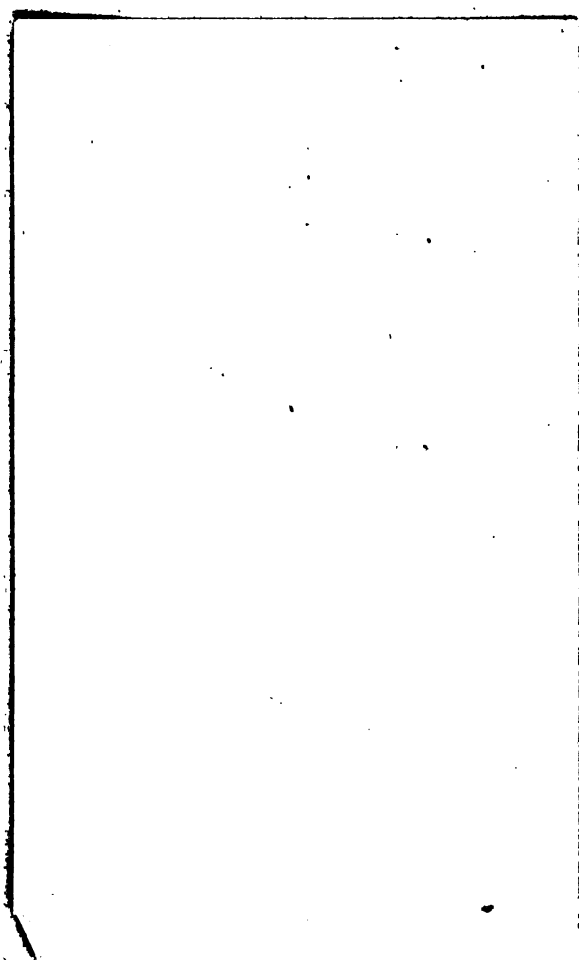
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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

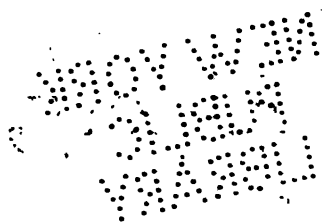
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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

CHAP. I.

Of the Form of Government, and present State of the Republic of VENICE.

SECT. I.

Of the present State and Form of Government at Venice, including all the different Councils and Departments of the Republic.

PREVIOUS to our history, it may not be disagreeable to the reader, that we give a general account of the origin, situation, dominions, commerce, and policy of this ancient, wise, and once powerful republic.

Little indeed can be affirmed, with any degree of certainty, concerning the origin of *Venice*, few records having escaped the ravages of time, and of those barbarous nations who over-ran the *Roman* empire. Nothing but what is conjectural, perplexed, and obscure, can be gleaned from ancient authors. They differ from each other, sometimes from

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them-

themselves, and too often give us the suggestions of their own imagination instead of facts. *Polybius* is of opinion, that the *Venetians* are descended from the ancient *Veneti*, a people of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, conquered by *Julius Cæsar*, and sold for slaves; by which means a great number of them were sent into *Italy*. But no great weight can be laid on a notion founded upon no better authority than a certain similitude of manners and ~~life~~ between both nations; especially as the whole is rendered improbable by the circumstance of their having been enslaved; it was not the practice of the *Romans* to establish colonies of slaves within the bowels of *Italy*, and in the heart of the empire. *Cornelius Nepos* goes higher, deriving their origin from the *Henetians*, a nation bordering on *Paphlagonia*. In this he agrees with *Livy* and *Cato*, who scruple not to affirm, that the *Venetians* are the lineal progeny of those *Henetians*, who, after the death of their leader *Pilemon*, put themselves under the conduct of *Antenor*, and accompanied him into *Italy*. It is thought^a, that dispossessing the *Engameans*, the former inhabitants of the *Adriatic* coast, they settled about *Padua* and *Aquileia*, extending themselves over *Brescia*, *Friuli*, and all that tract of land bounded by the *Po* and *Adda*, the lake *la Garda*, anciently *Benac*, the *Alps*, and the *Adriatic*: *Pliny* comprehends under the province of *Venetia*, the East side of *Aquileia*.

Building
of the city.

HISTORIANS are no less divided concerning the time and manner of building the city of *Venice*. What the earliest *Italian* writers relate has much the appearance of panegyric, and historical flattery. *Jordanes* affirms, that *Attila* advancing to *Aquileia*, the capital of the province of *Venetia*, invested it, and after a siege of three months, during which the garrison performed prodigies of valour, took it by assault, pillaged and laid the city in ashes, putting all those to the sword who fell into his hands; intending, by this barbarous usage, and savage ferocity, to strike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into submission. Some later writers^c are of opinion, that on this occasion the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, and the miserable remains of *Aquileia*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Trevigio*, and other cities destroyed by this barbarian, retired to the islands on their coast, and there laid the first foundation of the city of *Venice*, calling it after the name of the province. *Idatius* and *Jordanes* fix this memorable event about the end of the year 451, or the beginning of 452 of the christian æra.

^a SABELLICUS l. 1. decad. 1. BLOND. FLAV. Rer. Venet. l. 1. SANSOVINO, p. 2. ^c Univer. Hist. vol. 16.

MOST writers date the foundation of the city thirty-one *Various* years earlier^d. They say, that after the removal of the seat *opinions* of empire by *Constantine* into the East, *Italy* was afflicted with *concerning* a series of calamities, and perpetually harrassed with the incursions of barbarous nations: that the *Huns*, led on by *Attila*, that scourge of humanity, after having defeated *Marcrinus*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Macedonia*, was advancing towards *Italy*, destroying every thing with fire and sword, leaving every where the vestiges of a disposition truly barbarous and brutal: that upon the news of his approach, the richest and most powerful families on the coast of the *Adriatic Sea*, struck with the terror of his arms, retired with their most valuable effects into the little islands of the *Rialto*, as into a place of security: there they laid the foundations of a city which should protect them against those barbarians, and secure their religion, their liberty, their families, and wealth. Thus they suppose, that *Attila* penetrated twice into *Italy*; a fact that is disputed by other writers.

THE situation of *Venice* is equally strong, agreeable, and *Situation.* romantic. It is built upon a variety of small islands on the *Rialto*, in the *Adriatic Sea*, or gulph of *Venice*, standing in forty-five degrees, forty minutes North latitude. It is surrounded by lagunes or lakes communicating by six different passages with the ocean. Nor is the city more accessible on the side of the continent; since from all that tract of land bordering on the lagunes, only two passes can be entered even by small boats. The waters are never frozen hard enough to support the weight of cannon, carriages, and the other necessary appendages of an army.

THE natural advantages which *Venice* has in point of security, are however counterbalanced by some not inconsiderable inconveniencies attending her situation. They reckon among these, the danger that in progress of time the lagunes will be filled up by the quantities of sand carried down by the rivers, and of mud and slime thrown in by the tides; in which case the city would become defenceless, if not insupportable, on account of noxious exhalations. To this may be added the incredible charge of building and repairing houses, the very foundations of which are laid at a greater expence than in other countries whole edifices are reared. Upon the whole, nothing can be more noble and beautiful than to see one of the finest cities in the world rising out of the waters, and appearing to float on the ocean, which contributes equally to its ornament, conveniency, and security. Its magnificent pa-

^d SABELLIC. BLOND. FLAV. FORLIVIENSIS, l. 1.

Inhabitants.

laces, lofty towers, and houses washed by the flood, form a most delightful and striking spectacle: in a word, which ever way we approach this noble city, it shews itself equally peculiar and majestic. Travellers differ in their estimate of the number of the inhabitants. Some exaggerate them to 300,000; and others, with as little reason, diminish their numbers to one third of that sum: perhaps we shall be nearest the truth if we calculate at a medium.

Territories.

As to the territories of the republic, they are still considerable and extensive, notwithstanding the loss of the *Morea*, *Morlachia*, and the chief islands of the *Archipelago*. The *Venetian* dominions in *Italy* consist of the *Dogado*, or *Venice proper*, the *Polesino de Rovigo*, the *Pandonano*, the *Veronese*, the *Cremaasco*, the *Bergomasco*, the *Brescian*, the *Trevisiana*, the *Bellunese*, the *Vicentia*, the *Feltrino*, part of *Friuli*, and the *Cadorino*, a large and fruitful tract of country. The dutchy of *Venice* and province of *Padua*, in particular, are rich and populous: the latter, on account of its fertility, has been called the terrestrial paradise. Besides these thirteen *Italian* provinces, they likewise possess *Istria*, a peninsula bounded by *Carniola* on the West, and surrounded by the *Adriatic Sea* on the South, North and East. In *Morlachia* they hold the dominion of a few towns; and the whole sea-coast of *Dalmatia*, except the territories of *Ragusa*; to which we may add some valuable islands on the coasts of *Epirus* and *Dalmatia* ^c.

Commerce.

THE trade of the republic has been much reduced for near two centuries, the greater part of it having fallen into the hands of the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*. Formerly the *Venetians* engrossed the whole commerce of *Asia*, *Turkey* in *Europe*, and the islands of the *Archipelago*: but the discovery of *America*, and the commerce carried on in the *East Indies* by the cape of *Good Hope*, has done them irreparable damage, and been more prejudicial to their state, than all the expensive and bloody wars carried on against the Infidels.

Constitution.

WITH respect to the constitution of *Venice*, it is justly applauded by all the best modern politicians. It has been affirmed by *Thuanus* and others ^f, that, contrary to the nature of all other political and natural bodies, this republic will ever be exempted from decay and corruption, as long as she adheres to her first and fundamental principles. The following reasons have been assigned for the stability of the *Venetian* government, and the duration of liberty amidst the many attempts of her potent neighbours and ambitious subjects.

^c ATLAS Geograph. DESDIER. part 2. SALMON's Modern State of Italy, vol. 10. ^f Histor. sui temporis. OCEANA, p. 56.

HER firm attachment to her general principles ; it being a maxim of the *Venetian* government, that innovation and change produce greater abuses than those inconveniencies they were intended to remedy. Hence her decrees are irrevocable.

THE prudent and wise manner in which she has ballanced between the contending powers of *Europe*, throwing herself always into the lighter scale, in order to preserve a just political ballance.

THE knowledge, judgment, and experience of her senators, who are obliged to perform a kind of probation in the several inferior employments of the state, before they are admitted to the highest council of the republic.

THE judicious and equitable distribution of rewards and punishments, as they are appointed by the laws. Here alone it is, that the smallest offence against the state, or suspicion of an attack upon the liberty of the people, is punished with immediate death ; while the industrious, useful, and ingenious citizen and mechanic, is sure of being rewarded^b. Here alone it is, that corruption and venality are crimes of as heinous a nature as treason ; that even an attempt to purchase a place under the government, or a voice in the senate, is made capital ; that the nobility, officers, and gentlemen are forbid, under the severest penalties, to accept of presents from foreign states ; and even the ambassadors obliged to account, to the full value, for any gifts and favours conferred upon them by the courts where they reside.

WE may add, the extraordinary secrecy enjoined in all state affairs¹ ; and the severe and rigid laws against the betrayers of public trust, and revealers of the mysteries of the cabinet.

THE restraints with which the laws have clogged the prerogatives of the sovereign, who is in fact little more than president of the supreme council of the nation, with the badges rather of rank than of power ; and the bounds prescribed to the wealth and ambition of the subject^k.

The exclusion from all places of profit or civil power^l of the clergy and every member of the church, and confining their authority wholly to ecclesiastical affairs. Among the causes of stability of this republic, we may likewise reckon the patriotic disposition and sincere love of their country and constitution, observable even in the *Venetians* of meaner rank ;

^b PARUTI, l. 6. SABELL. dec. 3.

SABELL. *ibid.*

¹ PARUT. *ibid.* SABELL. *passim*, FLAV. FORLIV.

passim.

^k PARAT. SABELL. *passim*, FLAV. FORLIV.

^l BODIN, lib. 2. DESPIER, part 2.

the address and policy of her ambassadors; the great riches of her bank; and in short, the very model and form of the constitution and government; of which it may be necessary to give a description, as far as we are assisted by the imperfect accounts of writers.

THE *Venetian* republic is a mixed government, compounded of monarchy, aristocracy, and a kind of democracy. The *Venetians* boast that their constitution has continued above 1300 years; though from their history it appears to have undergone various changes and revolutions. Most historians are of opinion, that the city was originally under the government of the consuls and magistrates of *Padua*; but as they increased in wealth and numbers, that a deputy from each district or island, in whom was lodged the legislative power, was elected. It does not appear at this distance of time, whether this change was effected by force, or by the consent of the *Paduans*; all we know is, that it happened about the thirty-third year of the city. It might probably be effected when *Attila* entered *Italy*, and destroyed *Aquileia*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, and other cities, by which means *Venice* received a great increase of inhabitants. Thus the consular power was abolished, and the tribunitian established; a form that remained for near three hundred years, until the city fell under despotic sway^m, and the power of a sovereign, who for many years ruled with almost unlimited authority. We shall have occasion to remark, in the course of our history, the means used to retrench his power, to limit the prerogative of the doge, and reduce the government to that mixed nature of which it now consists. At present we shall content ourselves with describing the particular members which constitute the republic, and regulate the state.

Doges.

IT is observable, that from the time the republic was first governed by a sovereign, every alteration and change of the constitution served to limit and retrench his authorityⁿ. The *Venetians* are perfectly satisfied, that the liberty of the people is incompatible with the interests of the prince, who assumes a power superior to the laws; he is therefore not only subjected without reserve, but clogged by particular restrictions, which would seem to render his condition inferior to that of a private senator. Dispatches are made in his name, and the letters of foreign courts addressed to him; but he delivers them unopened to the senate, and reports their answer to the ambassadors. To keep him in continual remembrance

^m SABELL. l. 1. d. 1. SABELL. ibid. FLAV. BLOND. FORLIV, l. 1. d. 1. ⁿ DESPIER, p. 2. BURNET, p. 26.

that

that his power is subordinate to the senate and council, they forbear the examination of all propositions made by the ministers of other states, until the doge and his counsellors have withdrawn. His answers to foreign ministers must be general; if they should prove displeasing to the senate, he is sure to meet with rough checks and sensible mortifications^o. Nor is it in these audiences only the doge must square his conduct to the narrow bounds of his authority; it is likewise in particulars where his passions, his humanity, and happiness are concerned. He can neither marry, visit, or stir out of the city without leave. If he sets foot on the continent, his authority ceases: and indeed; solitude and dependance would appear to be the distinguishing and essential qualities of his function. It is true, the doge is addressed with the respect paid to a sovereign prince; he is attended with the ensigns and badges of royalty; and in short, enjoys the whole pomp, pageantry, and *circumstance* of power, without the authority.

THE great council is composed of all the *Venetian* nobility, *The great council.* who have attained the age of twenty-five years. It frames laws, chooses senators, confirms the elections of the senate, nominates to all public employments, the podestates, procurators, governors, &c. It reforms all public abuses and errors, holds the supreme legislative power, and is the first tribunal, the basis and support of the government. The doge is president of this council; but its decrees and resolves are valid without his presence; his name, however, is used out of form and compliment. Upon the whole, the great council would seem to be a kind of mixture of the peers and commons of *Great-Britain*. The individuals enjoy the rights and privileges of the former, while the power of the latter is lodged in the body collective^p.

THE senate, or *pregadi*, is that part of the constitution *The senate.* where the executive power resides. All resolutions upon peace and war, treaties and alliances, are taken here. All laws made in the great council receive the sanction of the senate before they pass into act; and it has the power of sending ambassadors, and the disposal of many inferior offices, civil and military. Originally it consisted of sixty senators, called *ordinary*; since, an addition of sixty more has been made^q: these last are called *extraordinary*, and compose a *junto, la quinta*. The opinions are taken by ballot; and to prevent confusion, only the members who immediately compose it, are suffered to vote, although the great council, the seignory, the forty

^o HOWEL, p. 56.

^p DESD. ut supra, Fougass. p. 56. 7.

^q SABELL. FLAV. l. 1, d. 2.

judges of criminal courts have admittance, and the liberty of speaking for or against the opinions proposed. As the sixty extraordinary senators are annually chosen in the great council, and are either changed or continued as their conduct deserves, it attaches them inviolably to their duty, and prevents their abusing the authority lodged in their hands. The profound secrecy of an assembly, composed of so great a multitude, is very extraordinary: this the republic has brought about, by the inquisition of state, the exclusion of all strangers, ecclesiastics, and even of their own relations, and nearest connexions¹.

The seignory.

THE seignory, or council of ten, consists of the doge, six members of the great council, and the three chief judges of the highest court of judicature. Next to the inquisition of state, this is the most formidable tribunal of the republic².

State inquisition.

The council of ten receives all accusations and informations against persons suspected of designs against the government.

Three of their number compose the inquisition of state. They imprison, condemn, and execute arbitrarily, without hearing the prisoner's defence, either in person or by his advocates. They are the guardians of the public tranquillity; watch over the welfare of the city; compose quarrels, and suppress tumults; keep a strict eye over factious, turbulent, and ambitious spirits; regulate the coin, weights, measures, and markets; and are equally the terror of the nobility and commons, the prince and the subject, and as odious as they are formidable. The executions and judgments of the tribunal of three, or state inquisition, are equally expeditious and secret. To avoid public clamours against their severity, the offender is in the night thrown into the sea, upon the bare evidence of their spies, or any two witnesses suborned for the purpose. But this injustice and cruelty has been somewhat remedied within this last century. An unguarded word, the most trifling insinuation, or indirect reflection upon the government; the being seen with fire-arms, and other frivolous indiscretions, were formerly deemed crimes against the state, and of so heinous a nature as to merit immediate death or banishment. Yet has this formidable tribunal been one cause of the long duration of *Venetian* liberty, if a people groaning under the tyranny of so merciless and arbitrary a triumvirate, can be said to enjoy liberty.

Savi.

THE council called the *savi*, or sages, consists of sixteen persons; six called the *savi grande* take cognizance of all the

¹ DESB. p. 3. ² BODIN, l. 2. PAUL. JOV. l. 1. CAS-
SIODORUS RAVEN. p. 23.

affairs relative to the fleets and armies of the republic; five others confine themselves more particularly to land affairs; and the remaining five are employed in the care of the marine, trade, and commerce. The former of these are called *savi de terra firma*, and the latter *savi de gli ordini*, chosen out of the most experienced persons of the city¹.

FROM these arises another order or board, consisting of the *doge*, the *seignory*, and the *savi*, in conjunction; and this college is reputed the most useful council of the state. *College of the seignory and savi.* They hear all letters sent to or received by the senate, read by the secretary²; they give audience to foreign ministers and agents, and take cognizance of all foreign and domestic complaints. Thus all matters of state, unless they require extraordinary secrecy and dispatch, are deliberated by the *savi* and seignory, in their several departments; by the college composed of the union of both; by the senate; and lastly, by the great council. Hence it is that the resolves of the republic are deliberate, prudent and perpetual; and that her caution and wisdom have been the admiration of ages. It must, however, be acknowledged, that what they stile the basis of government, and prop of the constitution, the state inquisition, and its horrid train of spies, emissaries and informers, wears an ugly aspect, and contradicts the practice of the most civilized nations and best regulated states. It may have discovered attempts, and frustrated conspiracies against the government; but surely nothing can reconcile a man, born under the influence of liberty, and nursed in the lap of freedom, to so horrid, cruel and arbitrary a jurisdiction. Informers have ever been esteemed the pests of society, and instruments of tyranny; and they were the detestation of Greece and Rome, as long as liberty remained. But Venice gives them the protection of her laws, and pensions from the government, upon the most infamous and pernicious footing; their informations are received in a secret manner, thrown into a stone appropriated for that purpose, and anonymous. Thus the excellencies of the Venetian constitution are weighed down by faults of so gross and enormous a nature, as one would think less tolerable than the most despotic and absolute monarchy.

OF all the ecclesiastics in Europe, those of Venice alone are excluded the councils and public employments of the state. *Church.* The republic has laid it down as a principle, that she should have an absolute sway over her subjects of every condition and degree. The interdiction of Paul the Vth. is a noble instance

¹ DESDIER.² DESDIER.

of her adherence to this maxim. The pope is deemed a mere temporal prince, and the patriarch a cypher at *Venice*. The republic is supreme in all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, within her dominions. The government of the church is divided between the patriarchs of *Venice* and *Aquileia*: the province of the former is confined to the city; of the latter to the continent, who is more independent and better supported by the spiritual authority of the pope, than his brother prelate. He is appointed by the senate, who oblige him to chuse a noble *Venetian* for his coadjutor. As the patriarchs are not permitted to nominate to the cures or benefices of the city, or dutchy of *Venice*, so their credit is no greater than their authority; the priests and religious decline their jurisdiction even in ecclesiastical affairs, in favour of other tribunals under the influence of the senate. In short, the severity of the republic no two centuries ago to the jesuits, has ever since humbled the ambition of the clergy, and kept them in a servile awe and slavish dependance on the civil power.

S E C T. II.

Of the first Establishment of Government at Venice; the Abolition of the Consular, and first Institution of the Tribunitian Power; the first Wars carried on by the City; its Progress to Consequence and Grandeur; and the Alteration made in the Constitution by electing a Doge in the Room of the Tribunes.

A. D.
421.

*The first
establishment of go-
vernment.*

THE historians of the earlier periods of the republic seem to have supplied by fiction what was wanting upon authority; and to have filled up the chasm in annals and records from the fertility of their own invention. They are profuse of their encomiums upon the regularity, order, strict piety, and morals of this infant city, but extremely sparing of facts. If we credit them^a, the great delicacy and scrupulous exactness in the choice of members composing this little community, is beyond example: the purest religion, the most unblemished morals, rigid virtue and integrity, together with a certain degree of wealth and quality, were the indisputable qualifications of those admitted to the privileges of the city.

^a BLOND. FLAV. de gestis Venet. SABELLIC. l. i. d. i.

CASSIODORUS^b relates, that one would have taken this multitude of people rather for a numerous seminary of philosophers living at their ease, cultivating the duties of religion and virtue, and enjoying a perfect tranquillity, than for the concourse of a distressed, clamorous, and disorderly rabble. They contended not in luxury, ostentation, and expence; but in moderation, chastity, and virtue. Riches, honours, ambition, and the train of evils which constitute the great concern of the rest of mankind, had no charms for the *Venetians*: rich and poor lived upon a familiar equality. Property was common to all, and entirely devoted to the occasions of the public. Merit was the only distinction; that alone was esteemed true nobility which was acquired by virtue. Industry and frugality were commended, as they were useful to the community; virtue and piety, as they ennobled the man by the practice of what became a rational creature. Upon these their conferences turned, and upon these alone their quarrels, if any, arose. Power and authority were conferred on modest merit; the voluptuous, the presuming, and worldly-minded, were excluded from public trust and credit. Such is the picture drawn by the earliest writers of this happy state, to which perhaps we may venture to accede, under certain restrictions.

UNDER such happy auspices did this republic receive her first laws, ordinances, and regulations; in such practices and studies did she pass her amiable infancy. A total chasm appears in history from the sixth year of the city until the abolition of the consular, and establishment of the tribunitian power, twenty-five years after. *Aquileia, Verona*, and many of the cities and provinces upon or near the sea-coast, having been destroyed about this time, *Venice* received a great increase of inhabitants. The miserable remains who had escaped the rage of the conquerors, fled to it in crowds, and so augmented the number of citizens, that *Venice* was considerably enlarged, a great number of islands taken into its compass, and the districts and several wards multiplied. Upon this a new division of the city was made, each ward enjoying its own peculiar rights and immunities, at the same time that it composed one whole. Hence the consular government was thought inconvenient. Either some wards must enjoy privileges superior to the rest, by the consuls chosen out of them, or a consul must be elected from each; which, on account of their number, as well as the dignity annexed

*Change of
govern-
ment.*

^b Apud SABELLIC. SANSOVINO, *ibid.*
Comment. l. 1.

^c BONITEN.

*Tribunes
elected.*

to the function, would create an expence to the public altogether insupportable. To obviate every difficulty, a scheme was proposed for new-modelling the government. A general assembly of the nation was convened; and, after some warm debates, and keen altercations, the following proposals were at length assented to, and ratified by a majority, viz. That ^d a tribune should be yearly appointed by each district or island composing the state: that they should have power to take cognizance in all causes, over all persons, and to decide all controversies arising within their several jurisdictions: that they should imprison, condemn, and acquit within the limits of their ward; but that an appeal, in dubious cases, or where the parties complained of injustice, might be made to the superior assembly of the nation: that this great assembly or council should consist of all the persons possessing a certain property, and of a certain degree of quality within the city: that it should be supreme in all judicial cases: that it should possess the legislative and executive authority, with a power of entrusting what part of the latter it thought fit, to the tribunes, or other magistrates by them appointed: and that it should have the power of nominating to all places, offices, and public trusts, that of chusing the tribunes alone excepted. Such was the plan of government which succeeded the consular, and continued, with little variation, the space of near three hundred years, until the power of the tribunes was sunk in the authority of a duke or *doge*.

*The first
wars carried on by
Venice.*

AFTER the destruction of *Padua* by the *Lombards*, the *Venetians* were not only become a free and commercial people, but a state of considerable importance on the continent; the masters of a fleet, and body of land-forces. Their first disputes were with the *Lombards*, who having seized upon *Friuli*, the province of *Venetia*, and almost all the territories of the infant republic, confined the dominion of *Venice* within a small compass. We know nothing of the issue of this quarrel.

HISTORIANS make the first mention of the *Venetian* fleet about this period^e. The *Istrians* and *Dalmatians* had made some descents upon the skirts of the city of *Venice*, plundering several houses, and using violence on the inhabitants. They had likewise disturbed their commerce, and committed depredations upon the merchants trading to the islands of the *Ar-*

^d SABELLIC. l. i. d. i. DESDIER. p. 2. BONITEN. Comment. l. i. ^e SABELLIC. l. i. d. i. BONITEN. Com. PAUL. DIACON,

chipelago, and maritime cities of *Italy*. The *Venetians*^f fitted out a small squadron, and immediately sailed in pursuit of the enemy, without any formal declaration of war. Having come up with the pirates, they attacked and defeated them, destroying a great number of ships, obliging them to sue for peace, to give hostages for their conduct, and make reparation for the damages the republic had suffered.

NOT long after, an insult was offered to the republic by the *Terpestines*, the inhabitants of *Trieste*, who landing suddenly, carried off a number of the citizens. ^g *Pietro Candiano*, a leading man at that time, was appointed to revenge this unprovoked affront. His diligence was so great, that the same day two ships of war were equipped, and under sail to seek the enemy, with whom he came up in the evening. He gave immediate orders for the attack, defeated the enemy, retook his countrymen, and carried the *Terpestines* prisoners into *Venice*.—These are the first instances we have of the prowess, spirit, and resolution of this republic.

A degree of consideration and esteem among the neighbouring powers was acquired by these first exploits. Their *acquires* reputation preserved the *Venetians* for some time unmolested, *esteem and* and suffered them to pursue the arts of peace, to beautify *consequence*. their city, frame laws, establish good order and discipline among the several degrees of inhabitants; to prosecute their trade, commerce, manufactures, and every species of industry; by means of which they, in a short time, attained to a high pitch of affluence and power.

ABOUT this time the republic entered into treaty with the brave *Narses*, lieutenant of *Justinian*, who had been sent to rescue *Italy* from the usurpation of the *Goths*. The *Venetians* made no secret of this alliance: they publicly assisted him with arms, money, and shipping, and every thing else stipulated or required. *Totila*, who commanded the *Goths*, was encamped upon the banks of the river *Adice*^h. In order to come up with him, without fatiguing his troops by a laborious, long, and difficult march, *Narses* resolved to transport his army by sea to *Ravenna*; this the *Venetian* fleet executed, coasting along the *Italian* side of the gulph, and landing the troops safe without the loss of a single ship. The soundings were perfectly known to them, having by this time acquired a considerable skill and experience in maritime affairs. We are not informed what share they bore in the action, or

^f SABELL. l. d. i. FOUGASS. l. i. d. i. BLOND. FLAV. de gest. Venet.

^g SABELL. l. i. d. i. BONITEN, l. i. BLOND.

Hist. p. 298.

^h SABELL. ibid. BLOND. FLAV. de gest. Venet.

Idem in Hist.

whether any of their forces were present; all we know is, that *Narfes* having gained a complete victory, expressed his sense of the obligations he lay under to the *Venetians*, by several rich presents, high marks of distinction, and particularly by building two fine churches, dedicated to the saints *Theodore* and *Germinian*; the oldest public buildings besides *St. Mark's* and *St. Peter's*, in *Venice*. These are all the particulars with which historians have favoured us, of the public transactions of the *Venetians* for the space of two hundred and seventy-two years. Nor have they been more particular concerning her domestic conduct. It is true, indeed, that a new founded state, studious of raising herself by her industry, commerce, frugality and prudence, little connected with other nations, solitary by situation as well as from inclination, and chiefly bent upon cultivating peace, and reaping the fruits of tranquility, is capable of furnishing but few of those events which are thought worthy of being transmitted to posterity. They now indeed begin to be more minute; and exhibit a particular detail of that great revolution which brought the republic into the hands of one man, after having abolished the power of the tribunes. We are told, that the magistrates using their power wantonly, assuming an authority superior to the laws, punishing offences committed rather against their own persons, than against the state, had become odious to the people; that their private dissensions had spread the seeds of discord, and excited a ferment over the whole city, so as wholly to alienate the minds of the public from the established government; that the attempts of the *Forlians*, a little state in their neighbourhood upon the continent, who had endeavoured to draw some advantage from the civil broils of *Venice*, had encreased the general dislike to the power of the tribunes. To these causes may be added, the depredations committed by the *Lombards*, with many other grievances, which, on account of their domestic quarrels, they were unable to repel. In this situation a general council was demanded by the unanimous voice of the public, that the state of affairs might be canvassed, and the constitution new modelled.

Change of
govern-
ment.

THE assembly of the nation having met, the bishop of *Grada* was chosen to preside, attended by a numerous body of the superior clergy; from which we may observe, that ecclesiastics had not as yet been excluded from the government. Nothing but complaints, murmurs and revilings against the tribunes could be heard. They were accused of extortion, cruelty, murder, and tyranny. It was asserted, that the republic must fall; their liberties be annihilated; their wives and

children exposed to the unbridled lust, and their property to the rapacious avarice of those merciless tyrants, unless an end was put to their authority, by introducing another form of government. After various speeches, debates and proposals, the assembly proceeded to business. Numberless defects in their present constitution were remarked. They observed, that a power of convoking the great council was lodged in no part of the state; that the various opinions and clashing interests of so numerous an assembly, without a head, was attended with discord and animosity; that having no one to direct their proceedings, they were slow, irresolute, and without vigour in their measures; that the public affairs were conducted rather according to the passions and interest of factions, than the occasions of the state; and, that the executive power was necessarily transferred to the tribunes, who were often ignorant, of mean extraction, and low fortune^k. Hence arose the abuse of their authority; ignorance is ever the foundation of conceit; meanness of insolence; and poverty begets oppression and avarice. They likewise remarked, that unanimity and concord could never exist in a state, where the chief members were unconnected; that the tribunes, being excluded from a seat in the assembly, must of course be ignorant of the sense and spirit of many of the laws committed to their care; that as they formed no regular council among themselves, the distribution of justice must vary in the several districts of the city; the laws be local; one part of the nation groaning under bondage, while the other enjoyed the sweets of liberty; and the happiness of the people depending upon the humour, disposition or caprice of a few petty magistrates^l. The result was, to abolish the tribunitian power, and in its stead to elect a *duke* or *doge*, in whom should be vested the supreme authority. He was to represent the honour and majesty of the state; to have respect and distinction paid him superior to what the tribunes, or even the consuls enjoyed; he was to assemble and preside at the great council; to have a casting vote in all disputed points; to nominate to all offices, places and preferments; and lastly, to enjoy the same supremacy in the church as in the state^m.

PAULATIO, of *Heraclea*, is supposed to have procured Paulatio, the election to fall upon himself, by his dexterity, address, and the first intrigues. He was a man of fine talents, specious eloquence, handsome and intrepid. His generosity had made him popular, and his experience in public business necessary in the as-

A. D.
697.

^k SABELL. BLOND. ut supra.

^l BONITEN. Com.

^m SANSE. delle Vit. de Principi, l. 13. SABELL. l. f. d. i.

sembly.

sembly. He never countenanced those factions which disturbed the tranquility of the republic, though it is imagined that when discord ran high, he applied to his own purposes the divisions which he could not heal. In short, his cool prudence, his insinuating manner, and artful conduct, had so greatly influenced the assembly, that he was elected sovereign by the unanimous concurrence of the council, to the great joy of the people, who were extravagant in the demonstrations of their satisfaction.

PAULATIO, Doge I.

A. D.
697.

THE new doge began his administration with reforming abuses, inspecting the conduct of the late magistrates, framing laws with the sanction of the general council, putting the fleets into a respectable condition, adorning the city, and extending commerce, encouraging industry, and rewarding merit; in short, by every action which could render his person beloved, or his people happy. He formed an alliance with *Luitprand* duke of *Forli*: some say he conquered him. He extended the limits of his native city *Heraclea*, now under the dominion of the *Venetian* republic, from the river *Pavia* to the rivulet called *Pavicola*. By his mere authority and interest he induced the *Equilines* (supposed to be the same with the *Fesulans*) to acknowledge the sovereignty of the republic^a. To sum up all, he made the nation happy, powerful, and wealthy. After a reign of twenty years and six months, he died universally regretted and beloved. He was the first, and the was one of the best princes *Venice* ever saw. His ambition terminated in the good of the public, insomuch that he neglected the interests of his own family, to give his whole attention to the aggrandizement of the country over which he was sovereign.

MARCELLO, Doge II.

A. D.
717.
Marcello,
doge II.

MARCELLO of *Heraclea*, or, as *Sanfovino* calls him, *M. Tegaliano*, succeeded *Paulatio* in the dogeship. All that history relates of him is, that he was wise, prudent, and warlike. Writers have not informed us of his exploits, nor of the transactions of the republic during his administration. Some indeed affirm, that no such person ever existed, or at least acted in quality of doge; but *Sanfovino*^o and *Sabellicus*^p relate, that he reigned nine years, and died with the reputation of an able politician and brave soldier. Indeed the

^a SABELLIC. l. d. i.

^o Chron. Venet.

^p L. i. d. i.

writers of the first 400 years of the republic, are rather biographers than historians; they entirely slip over the affairs of the public, excepting where the doges are immediately concerned. This it is that renders every account we have hitherto seen of this early period lame, barren, and defective.

HYPATO, Doge III.

AT the death of *Marcello*, the great council met for the election of a new doge, when *Horleo Hypato*, commonly styled *Orso*, was preferred to the other candidates. As he was a great warrior and politician, the council looked upon him as the person best qualified to conduct the state at a critical juncture, when all their prudence and fortitude were required. The *Lombards*, having seized upon *Ravenna*, and deposed the *exarch*, were become formidable to all the provinces upon the coast of the *Adriatic*°. The doge was hardly settled in his new government, when the fugitive *exarch* came to implore his assistance to reinstate him in his authority, and rescue the city out of the hands of the *Lombards*. *Horleo Hypato*, sensible that no time ought to be lost in giving a check to this enterprising people; and willing at the same time to do honour to the request of pope *Gregory* the third, who warmly espoused the *exarch*, prepared a fleet and army, with all possible expedition, to oppose the barbarians. All things being in readiness, he landed his army, and laid siege to *Ravenna*; took and restored it to the former inhabitants, who immediately replaced their banished *exarch*. What the *Venetians* had hitherto done, was by way of retaliation, or in self-defence: with *Narjes* they acted as auxiliaries; but now extending their politics, they became principals, and conducted a war with which they had nothing to do, without any other assistance than the spiritual endeavours of the pope; which would have afforded but a slight protection to the *exarch* against the power of the *Lombards* p.

Hypato,
doge III.

A. D.
726.

The Venetians extend their politics.

ABOUT this time the affairs of the republic were disturbed by some divisions in the church. *Calixtus* bishop of *Aquileia*, disdaining to acknowledge the superiority and jurisdiction of the new see of *Grada*, raised a little army, and over-running the whole territory of *Grada* and the adjacent provinces, he every where committed devastations, which in a *Goth*, *Hun*, or

Civil divisions.

° SANSOV. del. v. p. SABELL. l. i. d. 1. BLOND FLAV. Hist. p. 362. P SABELL. ibid. BLOND. de gestis Ven. Etiam in Hist. p. 374.

Enthbard, would have been termed savage; but in a catholic priest were thought pious, and deserving canonization, notwithstanding the whole dispute turned upon a ridiculous point of precedence: however, by means of the pope's mediation, the affair was at length terminated to the satisfaction of all parties¹.

NOTWITHSTANDING the other valuable qualities of the doge, he had a fierceness and haughty insolence, which not only rendered him disagreeable, but frequently intolerable. The *Heracleans* having by some trivial fault incurred his displeasure, he entered their country in a hostile manner, laying every place waste in his progress. At length, meeting with a body of their troops, a battle was fought, in which both parties behaved with incredible valour: the field was long disputed, and victory hovered in suspense, when a random blow put an end to the doge's life, and secured their liberty to the *Heracleans*.

Interreg-
num.

A. D.
737.

AFTER the death of *Hypato*, a kind of interregnum for the space of a year ensued. *Sabellius* relates, that warm debates, and violent heats reigned in the assembly; that the people were divided about a successor; and that a majority appeared for a change of government; which was effected, contrary to the inclinations of the most considerable families. The plan proposed and carried into execution was, that a master of the horse should be chosen every year, into whose hands was transferred the authority of the doge: the short duration of his power, would, it was thought, be a sufficient check against the abuse of it; especially as his conduct underwent a severe scrutiny at the expiration of his office¹. The first person appointed to this authority was *Dominico Leo*, a man of some sway and interest in the city: he was succeeded by *Felix Cornicula* for the next year; who quitting the reins at the time appointed by law, had *Deodato*, son to *Hypato*, elected in his room². He was recalled from banishment three years after his father's death, and passed through nine months of his office, at which period he died, universally esteemed. *Juliano Cepari* was next chosen, of whom we know nothing more than his having ruled for a year. Then was elected *Fabrizio Ciani*, or, according to others, *Giovanni Fabrizio* the fourth and last master of the horse; or general of the forces³: he was deposed before the year expired, had his eyes put out,

A new
form of go-
vernment.

A master
of the horse
chosen.

¹ SABELL. l. i. d. i.
1. i. d. i. BLOND. de gest. Ven.
SABELL. l. i. d. i.

² SANSOV. del v. p. l. 13, SABELL.
³ SANSOV. Chron. Veneto-
⁴ SABELL. ibid.

and was confined for life, though for what fault we are not informed.

THUS ended the authority of the new governors: an authority laid aside with as little reason as it had been assumed, and equally short in its duration, and sudden in its establishment.

S E C T. III.

The Form of Government again changed, and the Doges restored; Venice engaged in divers foreign Wars, and particularly with Pepin King of France, who laid siege to the City, and was forced by the Bravery of the Venetians to relinquish the Enterprize.

T H E O D A T O, Doge IV.

THE minds of the people were eagerly bent upon the re-stitution of the ducal government. Whether this proceeded from the natural inconstancy peculiar to states surrounded by the sea, and divided by this strong barrier from the rest of the world; or whether the inclinations of mankind dispose them to obey regal authority with a cheerfulness in proportion to the distance it is exalted above them, we will not determine: certain we are, that confusion and anarchy must have ensued, had not the people been gratified with restoring that very authority they reviled as tyrannical and oppressive but a few years before. In short, a doge was elected, the choice falling upon *Theodato*, the second son of doge *Hypato*, and the brother of *Guiliano Hypato*, master of the horse^a. *Theodato* was recalled from banishment, in which he had lived ever since the death of his father, to take upon him the supreme government. His first public transaction was to curb the ambition of the *Lombards*, and procure justice to the *Heracleans*; this he effected without bloodshed, by the mere weight of his influence and authority. *Theodato* next repaired the castle of *Brundulla*, standing at the mouth of the bay leading to *Chioggia*. This fort is exceeding strong, both by nature and art: what were *Theodato's* motives to add to the fortifications we know not; this is certain, that *Galla* made use of it as a pretext to cover his own villainous intentions. He omitted no opportunity of insinuating the suspi-

A. D.
742.

*Theodato
the 4th
doge.*

*Of service
to the He-
racleans.*

^a SABEL. l. 2. d. 1. SANSON. del. v. p. 1. 13.

Deposed.

cious, dangerous, and dark designs of the doge; that he intended no less than to render himself independent and absolute; that besides his haughty carriage to the nobility, and fawning obsequiousness to the common people; besides the strong body-guard he always maintained, and the state he assumed, this last action, his fortifying with all possible art, and keeping a strong garrison in a castle of no use to the republic, was an undeniable proof of his ambitious views. Having thus wrought upon the passions of the leading men, he obtained a body of troops, with which marching secretly to *Brundulla*, while the doge was there, he unexpectedly entered the castle, seized, blinded, and deposed *Theodato*: then returning to *Venice*, he had the address to procure himself to be elected in his stead. Thus ended the power of the unhappy *Theodato*, after he had governed the republic for thirteen years^b. He was a man of a speculative turn, much addicted to study and retirement; of few words, and a reserved carriage: the misfortunes of the first part of his life had confirmed his natural propensity to solitude; yet when he appeared in public, no man paid a greater attention to the magnificence, munificence, and majesty of a prince.

G A L L A, Doge V.

A. D.
755.
Galla,
doge V.

SOME writers affirm, that *Galla* never was lawfully elected; but seizing the authority, maintained himself in it by his influence over the troops given him to depose *Theodato*^c. This circumstance is not improbable, if we consider his character, and the short duration of his power. He was master of deep dissimulation, an insinuating manner, and specious appearance; he could cloak the blackest vices under the appearance of virtue, and mask his ambition with the direct semblance of patriotism. But when his cunning was insufficient to effect his purposes, he was equally vigorous in his public, as he had been artful in his secret practices, sacrificing honour, honesty, and reputation, to his interest and the love of power. After a reign of one year and two months, he was deposed and blinded (a piece of policy the *Venetians* would seem to have borrowed from the Eastern nations) leaving behind him the character of a bad man; an ambitious, turbulent and tyrannical prince.

^b BLOND. FLAV. Hist. 391. SANSOV. del v. p.

l. 2. d. 1. SANSOV. del. vit. de princip. l. 13. p. 214.

^c SABEL.

DOMENCO MONEGARIO, Doge VI.

AFTER the expulsion of *Galla*, the general council appointed *Domenco Monegario* his successor. What could induce them to this choice is not easily imagined, as we are told that his judgment^d was so weak, and his temper so impetuous, as to render it necessary to direct the one and controul the other by the authority of certain tribunes. This was his known character before he was elected to govern the republic; upon his accession, he shewed himself a monster of iniquity^e. He was cruel, covetous and lewd beyond example; insomuch that the republic, finding the virtues of the tribunes an unequal balance to his vices, inflicted the same punishment on him as they had done on his predecessor (A).

A. D.
756.Domenco
Monegario, doge
VI.Tribunes
oppose him.

MAURITIO GALBAIO, Doge VII.

THE cruelty of the late administration did not deter the council from electing *Mauritio Galbaio*, who was permitted to associate his son *Giovanni* with him in the government. About the beginning of *Mauritio's* dogeship, the *Heracleans* and *Jesulans* abandoned their dwellings, and sought protection of *Charlemagne*, who settled them in *Malamoc* until their affairs could be reinstated^f: the occasion of their flight proceeded from the discovery of some conspiracies which *Fortunato*, bishop of *Grada*, had formed against the republic. The *Heracleans* and *Jesulans* were deeply concerned in the plot, and fearing the resentment of the doge, whom they intended to depose, thought to screen themselves under the sanction of *Charlemagne's* power; the *Venetians*, however, bravely attacked them, driving them out of *Malamoc*, without regarding the emperor's protection. *Charlemagne* was so incensed, that he ordered *Pepin* to declare war against the republic. *Pepin* immediately published a declaration against the *Venetians*; but he had not entered their territories when news was brought to him, that *Astulphus*, king of the *Lombards*, was committing the most horrid cruelties in the pope's dominions, and destroying every thing with fire and sword; this for a while

A. D.
764.Mauritio,
doge VII.War with
Pepin.

^d SABEL. *ibid.* ^e SANSON. l. 2. d. 1. BLOND. de
gest. V. SANSON. vit. l. 13. ^f SANSON. *ibid.* SABEL.
l. 2. d. 1. BLOND. FLAV. Hist. p. 395.

(A) According to *Sabellius*, years in the dogeship. But *Sansovino*, in his chronological tables, has prolonged his power to the eighth year.

Venice
declares it-
self a free
state.

Mauritio
dies.

suspended, but did not altogether divert the blow intended. *Pepin* was no sooner at liberty to turn his arms against the republic, than he pursued the war so successfully, as to deprive them of almost all their dominions upon the continent: he destroyed *Heraclea*, and laid waste the country of the *Fesulans*; an extraordinary method of assisting those who had demanded his succour. We are for this reason inclined to distrust this account of the origin of the war; and the more, as some anachronisms in it render the whole improbable: the most specious cause is, that the *Venetians* had incurred the displeasure of *Pepin*, by the assistance they lent *Astulphus*, with whom they were in alliance. *Bonitentius* relates, that *Pepin's* success was not great, and the impression he made on the frontiers, which *Mauritio* bravely defended, inconsiderable. We are farther told, that before he came to a decisive engagement with the *Venetians*, he was called off from the war by the revolt of *Astulphus*: certain it is, that the *Venetians* had about this time declared themselves a free, independent state, neither acknowledging the superiority of the Eastern or Western empires, nor even the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, but under certain restrictions^s. This circumstance then might be an additional cause of *Pepin's* resentment, and have drawn upon the *Venetians* the war. Soon after the conclusion of this affair *Mauritio* died; and with him was extinct for a time, the happiness of the republic: his wisdom had conducted them safely through the most perilous and critical conjuncture the state ever beheld, and his valour gained him the esteem of *Pepin*, then the greatest potentate of the West^h. He was humane, affable and courteous; he possessed all those talents and qualities which could gain him the esteem or love of the people (B).

G I O V A N N I, Doge VIII.

A. D.
773.
Giovanni,
doge VIII.
succeeds.

THE republic had reason to lament the loss of this amiable prince: his son *Giovanni*, the very reverse of the father's character, succeeded. *Giovanni* had been his father *Mauritio's* colleague; and now succeeding to the whole authority, he begun his administration with harrassing *Giovanni de Trieste*,

^s BLOND. de g. V.
l. 13.

^h SANSON. del. vit. de princip.

(B) The year of his death is not agreed upon by historians. *Sabellius*, *Sanfovino*, and others think the time less.

bishop of *Grada*, a prelate of virtue and piety. We are left in the dark in relation to the cause of this cruel usage; probably whim, caprice, and his dislike to a man of fair reputation, might be the sole occasion—*Invidia virtus plectatur*¹. Whatever it was, the bishop met with the most barbarous and inhuman usage; he was taken, and after a short confinement, thrown headlong from a high tower. The succeeding bishop formed a strong party in *Venice* against the doge, either to depose or to murder him; but the plot was discovered just as it was on the point of execution, and the bishop and other conspirators forced to save themselves by flight. The leading men in this plot were *Demetrio Marmani*, *Foscario de Georges*, and *Obelerio*, at that time tribunes²: they concealed themselves in *Treviso*, but the bishop went directly to the court of *Pepin*, and threw himself upon that prince's protection. *Pepin* had been stiled king of *Italy* by the pope; in consequence of which he always espoused the cause of the church, without enquiring into its merit. He resolved to support the bishop; but before hostilities were commenced, *Giovanni* and his son *Mauritio*, whom he had made his colleague, were deposed for their barbarity and insolence; and *Obelerio Antenoreo*, one of the tribunes, elected doge. In this period it was that *Olivula* was erected into an episcopal see, (the first we have any mention of in *Venice*) having the islands *Lupria* and *Dorseduxa* within its jurisdiction; the ancient family of the *Scapari* at this time built the church of *Moses*, the finest piece of architecture *Venice* had seen; *Sergius*, a private stranger, who had been suddenly and miraculously cured of an inveterate disease, founded and adorned the building called *St. Michael's church*, in gratitude to that saint for his recovery. These, and such other important facts, do the historians of early ages relate¹.

O B E L E R I O, Doge IX.

OBELERIO was one of the tribunes who conspired against *Giovanni*: he had taken refuge in *Treviso*, where he resided till the expulsion of the doge and his son. Upon his accession he requested the permission of the assembly to dissolve some part of the government upon his brother *Beato*, modestly declaring, that he was unable to support the whole burden^m. *Beato* was sent to *Constantinople*, probably to

A. D.
804.

Obelerio,
Doge IX.

¹ Ibid. SABEL. l. 2. d. 1. ² SANSOV. ibid. BLOND de g. V.

³ BONIT. Com. l. 1. ^m SANSOV. d. p.

strengthen the republic against the approaching storm from *Pepin*, by the friendship of *Nicephorus*: he was kindly received by the *Greek* emperor, and treated with the respect due to a crowned head. During his absence *Valentin*, the youngest brother, was appointed to assist *Obelerio*: but here we find so many contradictions as it would be impossible to reconcile; such a variety of discording opinions among authors, that we are at a loss which of them to follow. *Sabellicus* relates, that *Obelerio* being deposed by his brother *Beato*, fled to *Charlemagne* for protection; that the emperor sent orders to *Pepin* to march immediately into *Italy* against the *Venetians* and *Beato*, who had usurped the whole authority^b: others say, that *Pepin* had entered the frontiers of the republic before the emperor's commands arrived, in order to restore the bishop of *Grada*. *Sabellicus* farther relates, that *Pepin* having seized all the dominions of the republic upon the continent, was preparing to lay siege to *Venice*, when his fleet was entirely dispersed and ruined by a storm.

*Pepin lays
siege to
Venice.*

In a war that broke out between *Pepin* and the *Greek* emperor *Nicephorus*, the doge undertook to mediate a peace; but shewing a bias to the interest of *Nicephorus*, the treaty was abruptly broke off^c. *Pepin* was so incensed at *Obelerio*'s partiality, that he determined to carry the war into the *Venetian* dominions, and destroy the very being of the republic. After having laid waste the province of *Venetia*, he led his army directly to *Venice*, blocking the city up at the same time by his fleet. The *Venetians* were not disheartened at the number of their enemies, the reputation of *Pepin*, or the civil divisions among themselves; their animosities were laid aside, and a strict union formed against the common enemy: the chief command was given to *Valentin*^d, as *Obelerio* was supposed too nearly allied to *Pepin*, to fight with that good-will and cheerfulness the service of his country required. The *Venetians*, notwithstanding the most obstinate defence, the most vigorous sallies, and their selling every inch of ground at an incredible expence of blood, were at length reduced to that part of the city south of the *Rialto*; this stream, and their own bravery, being now their only defence. While *Pepin* was preparing to lay a bridge over the canal, they resolved, as a last effort, to attack *Pepin*'s fleet, and to vanquish or die in defence of their liberty. Embarking all the troops they could spare, they bore down, with the advantage of the wind and tide, upon the enemy, and began the attack with

^b L. 2. d. 1. SANSOV. del. v. p.

1. 13.

^d SABELL. l. 2. d. 1.

^c FOUQ. p. 16, SANSOV.

such fury, as obliged the *French* admiral to give way. The lightness of their ships, and their knowledge of the soundings, gave the *Venetians* every advantage they could wish: the enemy's fleet was run aground, and the greater part of their troops perished in attempting to escape; the ships were all, to a few, either taken or destroyed. During this action at sea, *Pepin* resolved to assault the city by land, not doubting but the garrison was so weakened by the number of forces they had sent on board the fleet, as to be able to make but a slight resistance. Having for this purpose thrown a bridge over the *Rialto*, he was marching his troops across it when he found himself attacked on every side by the *Venetians* from their boats, and others who had posted themselves on the bridge. The battle was long bloody and doubtful, until the *Venetians* employed all their power to break down the bridge; which at last yielding to their obstinate endeavours, a prodigious slaughter of the *French* ensued: however, they fought like men in despair, seeing no hopes of safety but in victory; but all communication being cut off with the troops on shore, they were to a man either killed or drowned. The number of slain was so great, that the space between the *Rialto* and *Malamoc* was covered with dead bodies, and has ever since gone by a name expressive of the prodigious slaughter^e. *Pepin* was so struck with the intrepidity of the *Venetians*, that he raised the siege, abandoned the enterprize, and concluded a peace with the republic: he afterwards came to *Venice* to intercede for *Obelerio*, that he might be restored, which the *Venetians* granted, more out of respect to the request of so great a prince, than love to the unhappy *Obelerio*^f. The people had a notion that *Obelerio* had encouraged *Pepin* to declare war upon the republic, and that a correspondence between them was carried on during the siege; *Pepin* was therefore no sooner withdrawn, than the populace seizing upon *Obelerio*, tore his body in pieces, and scattered his limbs and bowels about the city. His wife shared the same fate; for as she was the sister of *Pepin*, it was not doubted but her influence was the cause of her husband's perfidy. Thus ended the bloody war with *Pepin*, which cost the doge his life, after he had governed jointly with his brothers for the space of five years. *Obelerio* had some excellent qualities; his heart was tender and humane; his aversion to blood made him hesitate and tamper in such a manner, as drew upon him the imputation of treachery^g: 'tis possible too that the easiness of

The doge
put to
death.

^e SANSOV. vit. principi. l. 13. p. 216.
l. 2. d. 1.

^f SANSOV. del. v. p. l. 13.

^g SABELL.

his temper, his affection for his wife, and even subjection to her violent passions, might have led him into an unjustifiable correspondence with *Pepin*; but we have no proof that he ever betrayed his country, or committed any other crime deserving the rigour of his punishment.

ANGELO PARTICIPATIO, Doge X.

A. D. 809. *OBELERIO* was succeeded by *Angelo Participatio*, the tenth doge; if we include *Valentin*, who commanded during the siege, the eleventh. *Sansovino* omits him in his table^a: we have followed this writer's authority, as his chronology is the most regular, best connected, and consistent with facts. *Participatio* was descended from an ancient family of *Heraclea*, as appears by an inscription upon a monument erected to commemorate his having repaired, beautified, and adorned the place of his nativity, hence called *Villa-nova*. In his administration the city of *Venice* was enlarged by an addition of sixty of the surrounding islands, connected with bridges, and taken into the liberties of the capital^b; the *Rialto* was assigned for the constant residence of the princes; and a palace of elegant structure reared for the abode of the doge.

ANGELO having associated *Giavanni*, his eldest son, with him in the government, he sent *Justiniano*, the younger, upon an embassy to *Leo* emperor of the East; where he acquitted himself with great dexterity and address, distinguishing himself by his sound judgment, and accurate knowledge of mankind. He was so incensed at the preference shewn *Giavanni*, that he obstinately refused to visit his father upon his return; and persisted in his resolution until *Giovanni* was deposed and banished: after which *Justiniano* was appointed his father's colleague^c.

ABOUT this time a plot formed against the doge was discovered: *Giovanni Tolonico*, *Bano Bragadino*, and other chiefs of the conspiracy were put to death; some of inferior rank banished, and slight corporal punishments inflicted upon several others. This affair being terminated, the *Venetians* found themselves involved in a quarrel with *Ulric* bishop of *Aquileia*, assisted by the *Forlians*. *Ulric* had resented the see of *Aquileia*'s being subjected to the jurisdiction of the bishop of *Grada*: in order to revenge himself, he raised an army, entered into treaty with the *Forlians*, and marched into the

^a Chronico. Venet.

^b SABELL. l. 3. d. 1.

l. 3. d. 1. SANSON. del. vit. LA BETAERIE l. 13.

^c SABELL,

bishopric

bishopric of *Grada* in a hostile manner. He likewise fitted out a fleet to molest his brother prelate by sea; but the *Venetians* coming up with the latter, burnt, sunk, and destroyed the squadron, taking *Utric* and all his principal officers prisoners: then landing their forces, they not only dispersed the bishop's army, but took several towns upon the coast, and laid waste the whole province of *Friuli*. At their return they set *Utric* and the other prisoners at liberty, on condition he would annually send to *Venice* twelve wild boars, a bull, and twelve loaves, in acknowledgment of his subjection: we are told that a festival, in commemoration of this victory and tribute, is still observed. These are all the transactions, public and private, which occur during the government of *Angelo Participatio*.

JUSTINIANO, Doge XI.

JUSTINIANO, at his father's death, came into possession of the whole government. His first public act was to send a fleet to the assistance of the emperor *Michael*, against the *Saracens*, who were by this time become a formidable and dangerous people to the christian powers. Thus we see, that the *Venetians* were among the first christians who endeavoured to give a check to the progress of the Infidels: we shall soon find them taking the lead, and fighting the most spirited and dreadful battles.

ALL that historians farther relate of *Justiniano* and the republic, during his government, consists of miracles, legends, and fables of superstition and ignorance: this indeed may be collected from them, that he was a wise prince, who pursued peace and the happiness of his people; cherished trade and industry, and cultivated the duties of religion, virtue, and humanity. He died two years after he had taken upon him the supreme authority, being succeeded by his brother *Giovanni*.

GIOVANNI, Doge XII.

GIOVANNI was hardly established in his authority when an impostor started up, who personated *Obelerio*, and pretended he had been unjustly deposed. Arriving in the island of *Carlia* (now *Vogio*) he was well received by many of the principal inhabitants, who espoused his cause, either from a persuasion that he was the real *Obelerio*, or from private motives.

* SANSON. *ibid*.

p. 217. BONITEN. l. 1.

* SABEL. l. 3. d. 1. SANSON. l. 13.

In a little time he mustered a considerable army, and contracting an alliance with the *Narentines*, a piratical state, was preparing to attack the city, when *Giovanni* surprised him with a powerful fleet, and obliged him to fly to *Malamoc*. The inhabitants of this island, in attempting to screen the pretended *Obelerio*, brought ruin upon themselves; for *Giovanni* attacked and defeated them, burnt the city, seized upon the impostor, and cut off his head: before he returned with his fleet, he punished the *Narentines* for the assistance they afforded the pretended *Obelerio*, the disturbances given the republic, and for several depredations committed on the *Venetian* merchants^f.

SOON after, *Giovanni* was forced to quit the city by a powerful faction, headed by *Carosio*, who on the doge's departure seized upon the palace, and usurped the supreme authority: but his sway was of short duration; he was deposed by some of the chiefs of his own faction, and *Giovanni* recalled by those very persons who had conspired against him but a few weeks before. His whole life was checquered with a variety of good and bad fortune: first he was appointed his father's colleague, then deposed by his brother; soon after recalled by the people; next obliged to fly from a faction; suddenly again recalled by the same faction; and lastly deposed, his hair shaved, and himself constrained to end his days in a monastery.

PIERO TRADONICO, Doge XIII.

A. D.
839.
Piero Tradonico,
doge XIII.

PIERO TRADONICO, a native of the ancient city *Pola*, was elected doge in the room of *Giovanni Participatio*, and was scarce established in his authority, when *Theodosius* (perhaps *Theophilus*) lieutenant to the emperor *Michael*, came in person to *Venice*, to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive against the *Saracens*, who had seized some of the islands of the *Archipelago*, and were then ravaging *Italy*^g. The *Venetians* readily acceded to his proposals, and immediately equipped a fleet of sixty gallies, with orders to join the *Grecian* fleet with all expedition, and seek the enemy. *Sala*, the *Saracen* general, was then besieging *Tarentum*, which he quitted on advice that the combined fleet was approaching, and retired to *Crotona*; here he made a stand, and was soon attacked by the *Grecian* admiral. The battle was long and bloody; but just as the *Venetians* had broke the enemy's line,

^f SABEL. l. 3. BLOND. de gest. Venet. p. 219.

^g SANSON, l. 13.

and victory was inclining to the confederates, the *Grecian* admiral bore away with all the sail he could make, leaving the *Venetians* to shift for themselves. They were soon surrounded and oppressed by the superior number^a of the *Saracen* fleet; but preferring death to an inglorious flight, they fought until scarce a ship remained to carry the report of their misfortunes to *Venice*. The news of this defeat threw the republic into the utmost consternation and perplexity; they doubted not but the *Saracens* would immediately lay siege to the city, for which it was but badly prepared, having lost the bravest of their forces in the late unfortunate engagement: however, the fears of the republic were soon happily removed, by certain intelligence that the *Saracens* were gone to *Ancona*, which place they pillaged and destroyed.

THE piratical *Narentines* were elated with the misfortunes of the republic; and thinking her low condition a proper opportunity for revenging the late disgrace, they begun to rob, plunder, and lay waste the coast of *Dalmatia*, carrying their incursions to the gates of the city *Caorli*¹. The *Venetians* were little disposed to enter upon a new war; yet thinking it beneath the dignity of the republic tamely to bear with the insolence of those robbers, they fitted out a fleet, which soon reduced the *Narentines* to submission, and obliged them to repair the damage. Before the *Venetians* had recovered the great loss sustained by the defeat from the *Saracens*, civil commotions arose to complete their misery: the whole state was divided into two violent factions, each supported by the noblest and most powerful families in *Venice*. On the one side were the *Justiniani*, the *Polani*, and the *Bassei*; on the other, the *Selioni*, the *Sevoli*, and the *Barbolani*; who carried their animosity so far, that not a day passed without frays, bloodshed, and murder: at last the *Barbolani* were driven out of the city, which in some measure appeased the fury of the combatants. They were soon after restored, at the intercession of *Lodovico* II. and then again the tumults were renewed, in one of which the doge was murdered. *Sabellicus* relates, that he was for a long time bravely defended by his servants, who, after he was killed, retreated into the palace, and stood a siege for thirty days, until famine at length compelled them to surrender^k. It was death to seize upon the palace, deemed the property of the republic; yet in consideration of their brave zeal for so good a master, they were

A. D.
849.

^a SABEL. l. 3. d. 1.
Hist. p. 397.
BEL. l. 3. d. 1.

¹ BLOND. de g. Ven. Etiam in
^k SANSON. del. v. de princip. l. 13. SA-

pardoned and rewarded. A strict scrutiny was then made into the occasion of the doge's murder: some of the conspirators were hanged, others drowned, and a great number banished. Thus died *Piera Tradonico*, after he had governed the republic with great reputation for the space of twenty-nine years. All the historians agree in giving him the highest praises; they call him temperate, pious, just, a warrior, and a statesman: the misfortunes of the city they attribute to the pride, wealth, and ambition of the nobility. A tribunal was appointed to inquire into the causes of the civil divisions; it consisted of the bishop of *Equilina*, the dean of *Grada*, and *Dominio Bassoni*, men of great prudence and caution. Their impartiality and integrity were so universally acknowledged, that both parties acquiescing in their judgment, peace, concord, and happiness, were in a little time restored.

ORSO PARTICIPATIO, Doge XIV.

A. D. 864. THE assembly then proceeded to the election of a new doge, when the majority declared in favour of *Orso Participatio*. He begun his administration with endeavouring to preserve the public tranquility; but the ambition and warlike disposition of the *Saracens* frustrated his design. They made a sudden incursion into *Dalmatia*, plundered and destroyed the country; then ravaging the coast of *Istria*, they laid siege to *Grada* with a powerful fleet and army. The republic saw, that spirit and resolution must be exerted. A fleet was equipped, and the doge came so suddenly upon the enemy, that breaking up the siege, they retired precipitately with the loss of a great number of men and vessels: we are told that, upon this occasion, *Giovanni*, the doge's son, gave so many proofs of his courage, conduct, and other military qualities, that he was raised to the dignity of colleague to his father. *Bonitentius* mentions another defeat sustained by the *Saracens* before *Tarentum*; likewise a victory obtained over the *Narentines*, who had broke through the former peace, and laid waste the country of *Istria*. *Sabellicus* passes over the former, as not deserving credit; but it seems to be incontestably proved by an inscription quoted by *Sanseverino* (A). *Orso* now turned his attention to domestic affairs; he made up the quarrel between the prelates of *Grada* and *Tourcelles*; he assigned that part of the city called *dorfe dura*, which was naked and desolate, for the residence of his squires; he composed

(A) *Furentes Dalmatos compescuit, Saracenosque Italiam vex-* *antes apud Tarentum feliciter pro-*
fligavi. p. 220.

all differences subsisting between the republic and the *Forlians*, or people of *Friuli*; he brought about a perfect harmony between the sees of *Aquileia* and *Grada*. After a happy, wise, and prosperous reign of seventeen years, *Orso* died, the darling of the people, the terror of the *Saracens*, and scourge of the *Narentines*. He found the republic low, he left it flourishing; divided into factions, filled with tumults and civil broils, he restored tranquility, peace, and harmony; the treasury exhausted, the marine ruined, and the public commerce destroyed, he rendered the state rich, powerful, and respected by all its neighbours.

A. D.
881.

GIOVANNI PARTICIPATIO, Doge XV.

ORSO was succeeded by his son *Giovanni*; *Sabellicus* calls *Giovanni* him his brother. The new doge, at the request of the assembly, Participatio sent his brother *Badoario* to pope *John*, to solicit the investiture of *Commachia*, and that it might for ever be annexed to the *Venetian* dominions. *Marini*, the earl of *Commachia*, having notice of this embassy, lay in wait for *Badoaria*, wounded and made him prisoner, obliging him to purchase his liberty by a promise, in the name of the republic, that the design should be relinquished^m. *Badoario* dying soon after his return to *Venice*, the republic declared war against the earl, besieged *Commachia*, and used with the utmost severity the persons concerned in the conspiracy against the ambassador. *Giovanni* falling dangerously ill, he devolved the government upon his brother *Orso*, who soon voluntarily resigned the trust: upon this *Giovanni*, having recovered his health, again resumed the management of the state; but soon after, being seized with a slow lingering malady, formally abdicated his authority (B). *Giovanni Participatio* was both a soldier and politician; but he had an insolence and pride of disposition, which rendered his government odious to the people.

XV.

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XVI.

PIETRO CANDIANO was appointed doge by the universal consent of the assembly: to him *Giovanni* resigned

A. D.
887.

^m SANSOV. del. v. de principi. l. 13. p. 221.

(B) *Sansevino* relates this fact of *Candiano*; but all the historians besides attribute it to *Giovanni*. What confirms their authority is, that *Sansevino* him-

self allows of *Candiano's* being slain in the field, which is improbable if he resigned the dogship.

the

Pietro
Candi-
ano, *doge*
XVI.

the trust, coming publicly with the state of a doge to the council, and returning to his own house as a private person^a. The people were so taken with the modesty, and yet dignity of his manner, and the grace with which he divested himself of power, that, forgetting their former dislike to his government, they all cried out, that no one but *Giovanni* was worthy to rule: however, he persisted in his resolution, and *Candiano* was confirmed in the supreme magistracy. The incursions of the *Narentines*, who had been so lately chastised, rendered it necessary to equip a fleet. *Candiano* taking upon himself the command of a small squadron of seven galleys, came up with the pirates, and maintained a hot engagement for several hours, notwithstanding their great superiority: at last the enemy, finding that victory depended upon the doge's life, who was every where present animating his men, bore down with their stoutest ships upon *Candiano's* galley. The dispute was obstinate; but the doge being slain, the men surrendered themselves to the *Narentines*^b. The assembly was inconsolable at this loss, and the people tumultuous; nor could any thing appease them besides a promise from *Giovanni* that he would resume the government, if a doge was not immediately elected to their satisfaction^c. The council nominated *Pietro Tribuno*, a person equally esteemed for his public and private virtues: the people were contented, and regularity and order restored.

A. D.
888.

PIETRO TRIBUNO, Doge XVII.

Pietro
Tribuno,
doge XVII.

SOON after *Tribuno's* accession, the republic was thrown into the utmost consternation by a report that a powerful army of *Hunns*, who had broke into *Italy*, was marching towards *Venice*. The *Hunns*, having defeated *Berengarius*, entered *Italy*, putting every *Roman* they met to the sword, burning the villages, destroying the harvests and vintages, slaughtering the cattle; in short, laying every place waste and desolate, without remorse or humanity. Induced by the wealth of the *Venetian* republic, they resolved to sack and pillage the city. Marching through the maritime provinces, they burnt *Villa Nova*, *Fesuloa*, and *Chioggia*: after destroying every thing upon the coast, they prepared boats to attack the *Rialto*, which they imagined must yield to their prodigious numbers^d. *Pietro Tribuno* omitted nothing which became a great general and a soldier: he placed strong guards

A. D.
903.

^a SABELL. l. 3. d. 1.

^b BLOND. FLAV. Hist. 348. SA-

BELLIC. l. 3. d. 1.

^c SANSON. del. v. p. l. 13.

^d SA-

BELL. l. 3. d. 1. BLOND. Hist. l. 2. d. 2.

round the city, fortified the places most exposed, equipped a fleet with incredible dispatch, and disturbed and harassed the enemy by perpetual sallies. His activity, penetration, skill, and presence of mind, were the astonishment of every one. He animated the troops by his example; was the foremost in every attack: in a word, was the life and soul of the whole state.

THE *Hunns* were preparing to make a general assault; and *Pietro*, after a short and animating speech, ordered the soldiers to be embarked, and immediately bore down upon the enemy near *Albiola*. The battle began with fury, and continued with obstinacy for several days, neither side discovering any signs of weariness; the fleets separated at night, the combatants returning next day to the charge with fresh vigour: the *Venetians* every where opposed courage to numbers, and the doge performed prodigies of valour. At last *Tribuno*, fearing that the spirits of his men might sink under the obstinacy and multitude of the enemy, collected all his force, resolving either to die or make an impression upon their line. He was so bravely seconded by his troops, that the barbarians were broken and defeated, and nothing but slaughter and a general carnage ensued. The sea was covered with dead bodies, and the *Venetians* fought, says the florid *Blondus*, upon heaps of the slain barbarians as upon dry land; the siege was raised, the *Hunns* driven out of *Italy*, and the reputation of *Venice* for arms became famous all over the world*. In this manner do their historians speak; and truly we must allow, that never were valour, conduct, and perseverance more conspicuous than upon this occasion. The city was ill prepared for a siege when it was invested. Besides the scarcity of provisions, the weakness of the marine, and the low state of the finances, which had been greatly exhausted in the late wars against the *Saracens* and *Narentines*, a general languor, despondency, and depression of spirits, prevailed among all degrees of the inhabitants, owing to the late losses and miscarriages: but necessity, and the animating example of their valiant doge, overcame all difficulties, and inspired every *Venetian* with sentiments worthy of the freedom of their constitution, and wisdom of their government. As soon as they were delivered from the barbarians, the doge applied himself to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the siege; to relieve those who had suffered by the death of their fathers, husbands, or sons; to repair the buildings that had been pulled down, or

* BLOND. de g. V. SABEL. l. 3. d. 1. SANSOV. del vit. de princip. l. 13.

otherways damaged, by the barbarians; and to establish, peace, order, and tranquility, thro' every part of the republic. While he was thus employed, an acute disease suddenly deprived the republic of her greatest commander, her wisest statesman, and best governor.

URSO BODOAIRIO, Doge XVIII.

A. D.
912.

Urso Bodoairio,
doge
XVIII.

His son
made prisoner.

He resigns.

THE council of state proceeded to the election of a successor; their choice fell upon *Urso Bodoairio*, commonly called *Urso Participatio* the second, a man of strict morals, great piety, prudence, and justice; of a peaceable and quiet disposition, equally studious of his own ease and of the public tranquility. The republic sent *Pietro*, the doge's son, on an embassy to *Constantinople*, where he was well received, loaded with rich presents, and honoured with the title of protospater of the empire: on his return he was attacked, plundered, and made prisoner by *Michael*, a petty prince of *Dalmatia*¹. Some time after *Pietro* made his escape, and returned in great distress; but neither the hardships he suffered, the insult upon the republic, nor the entreaties of his son, could prevail on the pacific temper of *Urso* to declare war against the *Dalmatians*. After governing the state for the space of twenty years, with great moderation, *Bodoairio* resigned his authority and retired to a monastery, where he finished his days in the austere practice of the most rigid virtue².

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XIX.

A. D.
932.

Candiano
doge XIX.

PIETRO CANDIANO the second, was elected doge in the room of the abdicated prince. About this time the republic declared war against the *Commachians*, who had broke through the last treaty: it was carried on with so much vigour and success, that the *Commachians*, finding they were unable to cope with so powerful an enemy, surrendered prisoners at discretion. The *Venetians* used their power with great moderation; they set the enemy at liberty, and restored them to all their former privileges. In this dogeship, *Istria* likewise was conquered and annexed to the dominions of the republic; soon after *Candiano* died, having governed the republic for seven years. He is ranked among the middling princes, having neither virtues nor vices in his character so distinguishing, as to merit particular regard.

PIETRO PARTICIPATIO, Doge XX.

Pietro Participatio,
doge XX.

THE administration of the succeeding prince, *Pietro Participatio*, was pacific. Nothing is recorded either of him or of the

¹ SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. de g. V.

² SANSON. de v. p.

republic, but that he obtained from the emperor the privilege of coining money in his own name, with the arms of the state on the reverse^b. Some historians affirm, that the republic assumed the right of coining money long before this æra, which indeed is probable, as they had declared themselves a free people in the beginning of *Charlemagne's* reign¹.

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XXI.

PARTICIPATIO was succeeded by his son *Pietro Candiano*, the third of that name. He had been colleague to his father for the first year of his dogeship, but was banished the city for his intolerable cruelty, pride, and insolence. Experience and misfortune, however, reclaiming him, he was recalled and substituted by the common consent in his father's room, of which the people had never cause to repent.

CANDIANO was scarce established in his authority, when the peculations, frauds, and robberies of the *Narentines* obliged the republic to declare war against this people. They had in a manner blocked up *Venice*, so that a merchantman had no safety in going in or out of the harbour; nor indeed in any part of the *Adriatic*, which was crowded with the ships of piratical states^k. Shame and revenge took possession of every breast: a fleet was manned with all expedition, and sent in quest of the pirates; who, being distributed in single ships, or small squadrons, were unable to resist so strong an armament: they therefore submitted themselves to the clemency of the republic, and were pardoned on condition they would repair all the damage sustained by the *Venetians*, pay an annual tribute, and give security for their future behaviour¹. In the mean time violent tumults and seditions prevailed all over the city. The doge had taken for his colleague *Pietro*, his second son, a young man of a factious, turbulent, and impetuous spirit^m. Not satisfied with the preference to his elder brother given him, he was ambitious of governing alone; he animated the people to seditions, excited tumults, and encouraged insolence and contempt of his father's authority: in short, the profligate, the robber, and assassin, were not only protected, but encouraged by *Pietro*. The senate, dreading the consequences of such tumultuous riots, did all in their power to support the old doge's authority, to quell seditions, and compose the minds of the people. At last in person, followed by the senate, *Candiano* addressed the multi-

A. D.
942-

*Pietro
Candiano,
doge XXI.*

A. D.
943-

^b SANSOV. del. vit. de princ.

¹ BLOND de g. V.

^k SA-

BELL. l. 3. d. 1.

¹ SABELL. l. 3. d. 1. BLOND de g. V.

^m SABELL. ibid.

Pietro banished.

tude in terms so feeling and pathetic, that their rage was suddenly turned against *Pietro* and the other incendiaries, who, at their remonstrance, were banished the cityⁿ. The clergy and people bound themselves by a solemn oath never to recal them: an oath which we shall soon see was broke through. *Pietro*, after wandering about for some time, at length went to *Guido*, son and successor of *Berengarius*; to him he applied himself so successfully, that *Guido* furnished him with six large armed galleys to make war upon his father and country. Without remorse or feeling he commenced hostilities, took, plundered, and destroyed all the *Venetian* shipping; and committed such enormities as broke his good old father's heart. The misfortunes of *Candiano's* administration may be ascribed solely to his parental affection, and particular fondness for the least deserving of his children.

Candiano dies.

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XXII.

Pietro Candiano, doge XXII.

CANDIANO was scarce dead, when the affections of the people, ever inconstant, were as violently bent upon recalling *Pietro*, as before they were on punishing him with death or banishment. He was at this time in arms against the republic; yet the people, unmindful of the oath they had voluntarily taken but a year before, dispatched messengers to him, and conferred upon him the whole supreme authority, from a share in which he had lately and deservedly been deposed. Not satisfied with the common honours bestowed upon doges, they sent three hundred ships and barges, filled with the nobility and chief citizens, to meet him^o: but they soon received the just reward of their folly and perjury; nor did he long enjoy a dignity he owed more to the caprice of the people, than to his own merit.

A. D. 967.

CANDIANO was not long possessed of the supreme authority, before he broke out into the most profligate, abandoned, and wanton wickedness: he was now an assemblage of every vice which can have place in the human heart; his cruelty, lust, avarice, and brutality were not to be equalled. The misery of the republic was augmented by a dreadful fire which broke out, and, in the space of a few hours, consumed above three hundred houses, an incredible number of inhabitants, and a prodigious quantity of effects of great value.

BEFORE this accident the doge had levied an army, and marched against the inhabitants of *Uderza*, on pretence of their withholding certain lands belonging to his wife. He first

ⁿ BLOND. *ibid.*

^o SANSOV. del. v. p.

plundered and laid waste their country, then attacked their city, took and levelled it with the ground, using the citizens with the utmost inhumanity^P: from thence he passed to *Ferrara*; assaulted and took a city on the confines, treating it in the same manner he did *Udessa*. Upon his return to *Venice* his views rose in proportion to his success: he practised every excess of an absolute and barbarous tyrant. That he might be able to proceed with impunity, he was constantly attended by a strong body guard, and a numerous garrison in the palace: but no defence is sufficient to protect a tyrant against the resentment of an injured people. The *Venetians*, calling to mind their ancient liberty, suddenly fell upon the guard, dispersed them, and sacrificed the doge to their resentment. Other historians relate (for they differ in particular circumstances in every period), that the doge retreating to his palace, defended himself with great valour: that upon this the assailants set fire to the houses nearest the palace, not being able to approach it, which in a little time consumed them, the palace, doge, and garrison. This is probably the same fire which other historians affirm to have happened in the beginning of *Candiano's* dogeship; but the accounts of this transaction are so various, that we must leave the reader to determine for himself. Upon this calamitous occasion perished the beautiful churches of *St. Mark*, *St. Theodore*, and *St. Mary Jubenica*.

Put to
death.

A. D.
976.

THE republic, says *Sabellicus*, having recovered her liberty, it was difficult to judge whether her joy at finding herself rid of a cruel tyrant, or sorrow to see the ravages committed by the fire, were the greatest: nothing but feasting, mirth, and festivity were to be seen on the one hand; while on the other, complaints, lamentations, and wailings, were poured forth. The council, fearing the consequences of this distracted situation of things, hastened to the election of a new doge. After their late sufferings, it is not to be doubted but they used the utmost caution and circumspection in the choice of a prince: they were happy in their endeavours, the election having been declared in favour of *Pietro Urseolo*, a man equally distinguished by his birth, his public and private virtues.

PIETRO URSEOLO, Doge XXIII.

URSEOLO was with the utmost difficulty prevailed upon Pietro to accept the honours assigned him by the voice of the nation^Q:
Pietro
Urseolo,
doge

^P SABELL. l. 3. d. 1. BLOND. Hist. l. 2. d. 1.
 l. 1. d. 2. BLOND. Hist. l. 2. d. 2.

^Q SABEL. XXIII.

he pleaded conscience, inability, and his dislike to grandeur and business; but the more his modesty declined the offers made him, the more earnest were the people in their intreaties. At length, out of love and compassion for the public, he accepted that authority of which the less deserving were ambitious from views of self-interest. He begun his government with rebuilding the palace and St. Mark's church at his own expence; he made large donations to the sufferers by the late fire, and omitted nothing which could restore the city to its former splendor, or the citizens to their happiness^r.

The Saracens come into Italy. While he was thus employed, the *Saracens* broke into *Italy*, took and destroyed *Capua*, and were besieging *Barri*, a town in the *Bergamasco*. The inhabitants were greatly distressed by famine, when *Urseolo* seasonably arrived with a fleet to their relief: he contented himself with supplying the town with provisions, and reinforcing the garrison, until the arrival of the *Grecian* fleet. As soon as they had joined him, he fell upon the *Saracens* with such resolution and conduct, that he soon defeated and compelled them to raise the siege: it deserves notice, that the emperor's lieutenant served under *Urseolo*. In the mean time the doge's conduct was so moderate, his manner so affable, his vigilance so strict, and his justice so impartial, that every unprejudiced person acknowledged the wisdom of his conduct: factions, however, were formed against him by the adherents and ministers of the late unhappy *Can-diano*. The bishop of *Grada* had likewise nearly engaged the republic in a war with the emperor *Otho*; but the wisdom of *Urseolo* triumphed over every difficulty, and secured tranquility, peace, and happiness to his people^r. After a short reign of two years, he resigned the trust he had managed with so much integrity, and set out on a pilgrimage to *Aquitaine* (C); after having with the utmost care regulated the affairs of the public in such a manner, that his successor might not be embarrassed, and bequeathed his estate to the republic, telling the senate he should have little occasion for riches in exercising the duties of religion^t.

A. D.
977.

^r SANSOV. del. v. p.

^s BLOND. de g. V. SABEL. l. 7. d. 2.

^t SABEL. l. 1. d. 2.

(C) The doge had undertaken this pilgrimage at the instigation of one *Gueria*, a monk, who resided for some time at *Venice*; he lived for some years in *Aquitaine* in a course of rigid devotion, quite unmindful of

his former dignity. In such acts of austerity did the religion of those days consist; as if one of the first duties of a reasonable creature was not to contribute all in his power to the good of society.

VITALIS,

VITALIS, Doge XXIV.

THE assembly met to appoint a successor; *Vitalis*, son of *Vitalis Candiano*, was the person fixed upon. Of him, or of the republic during the year he governed, we find nothing recorded, besides his having obtained leave for his brother the bishop of *Grada* to return to the city. About the end of the year he fell dangerously ill, and imagining he should not recover, he vowed to live a monastic life the remainder of his days, which he unwillingly performed after the terrors of death were removed^u.

TRIBUNO MEMIO, Doge XXV.

A NEW election became necessary by the resignation of *Vitalis*; accordingly the great council chose *Tribuno Memio*, 979. A man of profound wisdom and experience. Civil discords arose in the very beginning of *Tribuno's* government, which miserably distracted the republic. The powerful families of *Morosini* and *Caloprini* had carried their animosity so high, that every day produced tumults, riots, and bloodshed^x. *Morosini* was at length murdered by an opposite faction; and *Caloprini* forced to fly the city to avoid justice. He went directly to the court of the emperor *Otho*, and promised to deliver the city into his hands, if he would declare war against the republic: the emperor bearing a grudge to the *Venetians*, would willingly have complied with *Caloprini's* proposal, had he not found it inconvenient. In some measure he gratified this fugitive, by strictly prohibiting all the subjects of the empire to carry on any sort of trade, commerce, or intercourse with the *Venetians*. As *Venice* was wholly supplied in corn, beef, and the other necessities of life from *Italy* and the empire, this injunction soon produced a famine: however, the republic would not descend from its dignity by making concessions to the emperor; on the contrary, they razed to the ground the house of *Caloprini*, and banished his whole family. Just as their necessities became extremely pressing, they were happily relieved by the death of *Otho*^y, the succeeding emperor not chusing to support *Caloprini* against his country. Plenty and peace were hardly restored to *Venice* when *Tribuno Memio* died, or as some historians affirm, was deposed^z: certain it is, that his government was not universally approved. A prince who takes part in factions must ne-

^u SANSOV. *ibid.* ^x SABEL. *ibid.* ^y SABEL. l. i. d. 2. ^z FLAV. de gest. Ven. Idem Hist. l. 3. d. 2.

cessarily incur the dislike of many of his subjects, and govern with a partiality that will infallibly render him odious, and his people unhappy.

A. D. *PIETRO URSEOLO the Second, Doge XXVI.*

991.

Pietro Ur-
seolo,
doge
XXVI.

War with
the Naren-
tines.

PIETRO URSEOLO the second, was declared successor to *Tribuno* by the council and people, a dignity which is said to have been foretold him by his father. Under *Urseolo* the republic ascended rapidly to a high degree of wealth, power, and grandeur. The *Venetians* obtained liberty for their merchants to trade freely without duty or impost to all the ports of *Greece, Italy, the empire, Egypt, Syria*: the *Narentines* were again suppressed, *Nola* reduced, and with several cities of *Dalmatia* and *Istria*, annexed to the *Venetian* dominions: *Lessina*, the rendezvous of pirates, was taken; *Spalatro* subdued and subjected to *St. Mark's*. Thence the doge sailed to *Corfou*, which he attacked and destroyed: he then steered for *Pharos*, (now *Lefnia*) and destroyed a strong fort at the mouth of the haven, the town sharing the same fate, after a gallant defence. The duke having cleared the seas of pirates, subjected *Istria, Dalmatia, Liburnia*, and the islands upon the coasts, to the state, returning triumphant, surrounded by the acclamations of his joyful people: upon this occasion it was that the title of dukes of *Venice* and *Dalmatia* was conferred upon the doges^a. Magistrates were immediately appointed to govern the conquered cities, and every other measure taken that could establish their tranquility. Soon after *Urseolo* died. *Urseolo* having by will divided his estate into three parts; one he bequeathed to his relations, the other to the exchequer, and the third to the poor. He deservedly bore the reputation of a great warrior and statesman; but what particularly endeared him to the people was the goodness of his heart, which made him the friend, the father, and protector of indigent merit^b.

A. D. *OTHO URSEOLO, Doge XXVII.*

1009.

Otho Ur-
seolo, doge
XXVII.

To repair in the best manner possible the loss sustained by the death of so valuable a prince, the council raised his son *Otho* to the supreme dignity. *Otho* so exactly followed the steps of his father, that the republic was scarce sensible of the change.

^a BLOND 1. 3. d. 2. SANSON. del. v. de p. DES. p. 2.

^b SANSON. del. v. de p.

Two years after he had been created doge, he found it necessary to engage the republic in a war. The inhabitants of *Atri* had made incursions into the *Venetian* territories, plundering and destroying the frontier towns, and cruelly robbing the inhabitants of *Loretto* of their just rights and privileges. The *Venetians* endeavoured to obtain justice by negociation; but this being denied, they marched an army against the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near the town of *Loretto*, dispersed their forces, and compelled them to sue for peace, and make restitution ^c.

War with
the Atri-
ans.

SOON after the republic had finished this affair, she found herself involved in another, and no less troublesome quarrel. *Marcimirus*, prince of *Croatia*, had infested the boundaries of *Zara*, seized several towns, detaining the inhabitants prisoners until they had sworn allegiance to him, contrary to an express treaty concluded a few years before with the republic. The inhabitants of *Zara* applying to the *Venetians* for assistance, were supported by a powerful armament, commanded by the doge in person. *Marcimirus* gave him battle, and was easily broken and defeated ^d. Historians do not inform us whether this war was carried on by sea or land; they only relate, that *Otho* having vanquished the enemy, scoured the coasts of *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, and *Istria*, which his father had brought under the dominion of the republic. Soon after his return, a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by *Dominico Flabenco*: he was seized, his beard shaved, deposed, and banished, fifteen years after he had assumed the supreme authority; *Sabellicus* says five, admitting which there must have been an interregnum of ten years; a conjecture supported by no authority. *Otho* was possessed of great abilities in the senate, the cabinet, and the field. He had a particular talent in watching incidents and turning them to the advantage of the state; he was naturally inclined to war, but the general plan of his politics aimed at peace, and promoting arts, industry, and commerce: however, his character was not without blemish; he was vindictive, cruel, and jealous, except when his good sense found it necessary to suppress his natural disposition ^e.

A. D.
1013.

War with
the prince
of Croatia.

Otho de-
posed by
conspiracy.

A. D.
1026.

His cha-
racter.

PIETRO CENTRANIGO, Doge XXVIII.

No sooner was *Otho* deposed, than *Pietro Centranigo* was elected doge. *Pietro* applied himself assiduously to compose the tumults occasioned by the late conspiracy; to establish

Pietro
Centrani-
go, doge
XXVIII.

^c BLOND. Hist. l. 4. d. 2.
BEL. l. 2. d. 2.

^d SABEL. *ibid*.

^e SA-

Deposed.

order, regularity, and peace through every part of the republic. When *Otho* was banished, his brother *Urso*, fearing he might fall a sacrifice to the same faction, fled precipitately from his diocese of *Grada*, and concealed himself in *Venice*¹. *Pepin*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, taking advantage of his flight, and of the public disturbances, seized upon *Grada*, pretending that he held it for *Urso*, and appropriated the public money to his own use. *Centranigo* was preparing to force him to make restitution, when he was deposed and confined to a monastery by a faction, after having governed with great humanity and prudence, for the space of five years².

DOMINICO FLABENICO, Doge XXIX.

Dominico
Flabeni-
co, doge
XXIX.

AFTER various tumults and disorders in the state, during an interregnum of one year, *Dominico Flabenco* was raised to the supreme authority with the universal assent of the people. He set out on his administration with a most vindictive, unjust, and unpopular action; assembling the people, he proposed expelling the family of *Urseolo* as persons disaffected to the free constitution of the republic, and ambitious of ruling arbitrarily. The multitude, unmindful of the just government, wise conduct, and great bravery of *Otho* and his father, determined to oblige the doge and secure their liberties, by which means one of the most noble, ancient, and worthy families in *Venice* received a wound, of which it never afterwards recovered³. In *Dominico's* reign it was ordained, that no future prince should associate a colleague in the supreme power; a rule ever since unaltered⁴. Without performing one signal action he died of old age, and was succeeded by *Dominico Contarini*, called to the government by the general voice of the nation.

A. D.

DOMINICO CONTARINI, Doge XXX.

1043.

Dominico Contarini, was not to be restrained by treaties, or the most solemn engagements, whenever his interest and ambition were concerned: he had now absolutely subdued *Zara*, and over-run a great part of the country; many cities had likewise revolted to him, either out of fickleness, or dislike to the *Venetian* government. To put a stop to these evils, the doge, with a powerful fleet, set sail to the coast of *Dalmatia*, landed

¹ BLOND. de. g. V.
² SEL. ibid.

³ SANSON. del. v. p.

⁴ BLOND. Hist. p. 359.

⁵ SA-

his army, and invested *Zara* by sea and land : the city did not hold out long ; and the terror with which the surrender of this important place struck the other cities, kept them fast in their obedience and fidelity *. *Sanfovino* relates, that *Zara* had revolted to the king of *Hungary*, whose troops composed the garrison at the time it was reduced by *Contarini*.

DOMINICO SELVO, Doge XXXI.

AFTER a happy reign of twenty-nine years, *Contarini* died, greatly admired for his wisdom, valour, and conduct ; *dies.* and no less beloved on account of his courtesy, humanity, benevolence, and clemency¹. His body was interred with great pomp ; during which ceremony *Dominico Selvo*, who attended, was proclaimed doge, amidst the acclamations of *Selvo*, the people. This doge had the honour of giving the first check to the *Norman* power, at that time very formidable : they were attacked before *Durazzo* by the *Venetian* fleet, defeated, and forced to relinquish the siege. They returned soon after, and were a second time attacked by *Selvo*, but with different fortune ; he was now defeated in his turn, and his whole fleet taken and destroyed : although the doge had exhibited very extraordinary proofs of courage and conduct, he no sooner arrived in *Venice*, than the people, exasperated at the loss, deposed him without ever enquiring into his conduct.

VITALIS FALIERO, Doge XXXII.

VITALIS FALIERO was chosen to succeed *Selvo* : his first proposal in council was, that ambassadors should be dispatched to the emperor *Alexis*, to solicit the investiture of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*, countries which the republic held by the right of conquest. *Dominico Dandolo*, *Ciani Vitalis*, and *Andrea Michaeli*, were the persons fixed upon to negotiate this important affair : the emperor received them as they had reason from the services of the republic to expect, granted their request, by which those provinces were inseparably annexed to the *Venetian* dominions. *Faliero* died after a long reign distinguished only by miracles and fables, the offspring of superstition and ignorance.

Vitalis Faliero,
d. XXXII.
A. D.
1084.

Dalmatia annexed to the Venetian dominions.

VITALIS MICHAELI, Doge XXXIII.

He was succeeded by *Vitalis Michaeli*, who greatly augmented the maritime power of *Venice*. In his time the croi-

Michaeli,
d. XXXIII

* SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.

¹ SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.

sade was preached up in *Europe*: the republic was not proof against the contagion of enthusiasm; she took part in the holy league, and equipped a fleet of two hundred vessels. Before this armament put to sea, a rupture with the republic of *Pisa* happened, owing to the mutual jealousy of the rival states: the *Venetians* first attacked and defeated the *Pisans* in a bloody sea action; after which the fleet steered for *Smyrna*, and from thence directed their course to *Ascalon*, then besieged by the christians. To the intrepidity of the *Venetians* may be attributed the conquest not only of *Ascalon*, but of *Caipha*, and *Tiberias*: it is probable the doge would have pursued his good fortune, had he not been recalled to repel an invasion of the *Normans* into *Dalmatia*. Here he was equally successful; the *Normans* were every where defeated, and the doge returned loaded with booty and glory to *Venice*; soon after which he died, much esteemed and regretted.

ORDELAPHO FALIERO, Doge XXXIV.

Ordela- *ORDELAPHO FALIERO* was elected to succeed *Vitalis*: he was scarce fixed in his authority when a great
pho Fa- fleet was again sent to the coast of *Africa*; *Sabellius* calls the
liero, doge number sixty, but *Blondus* makes it up one hundred. The
XXXIV. *Venetians* assisted *Baldwin* in the siege of *Ptolemais*, or *Acon*, and were the chief instruments of its surrender; afterwards they laid siege to *Sydon* and *Faronica*, both which places they carried by assault. *Baldwin*, in recompence of her services, presented the republic with the city of *Acre*, which he endowed with extraordinary immunities and privileges; upon which the fleet returned home, doing nothing more for the remainder of the season^a.

War with THE beginning of the following year a controversy arose
the Padu- between the republic and the *Paduans*, which terminated in
ans. a war: the latter, assisted by some of the neighbouring states, ventured a battle; but were defeated with the loss of six hundred of their men. This affair happened at *Bebia*, just upon their confines, and so terrified the *Paduans*, that they solicited protection from the emperor *Henry* the fourth^b. The emperor generously used his influence to reconcile them, and succeeded.

THIS year two dreadful fires happened, which destroyed a great number of houses, consumed whole streets, and laid

^a SABELL. l. 5. d. 2.

^b BLOND. Hist. d. 3. l. 4.

waste sixteen of the islands on which the city stood : several of the most beautiful churches, and other buildings perished in the flames ; but so great was the industry, wealth, and number of the inhabitants, that in a few months hardly any remains of the late desolation were visible. The city received new lustre by the fire ; and the churches, houses, and buildings, seemed to rise with additional grandeur and elegance out of their ashes^c.

Fire in
Venice.

SCARCE had the republic recovered this calamity when news arrived of the revolt of *Zara* : the citizens expelled their governor, and put themselves under the protection of the king of *Hungary*. This prince, puffed up with his late success against the *Normans*, which by the way he chiefly owed to the *Venetians*, was so ungrateful and perfidious, as to seize upon several towns in *Dalmatia*, contrary to a solemn treaty ; other cities, and among these *Zara*, voluntarily acknowledged his dominion, throwing off their allegiance to the republic^d. The doge passed with a strong squadron to *Dalmatia*, besieged *Zara*, and soon obliged it to surrender. *Ordelapho* likewise defeated an army that had been sent to the relief of the place, slew a great number, and took some hundreds prisoners. From hence he marched to *Siegua*, which had likewise revolted, drove out the *Hungarian* garrison, and severely chastised the inhabitants : the other towns submitted of course, and once more acknowledged the jurisdiction of the republic. The doge, not satisfied with recovering *Dalmatia*, crossed the mountains into *Croatia*, and wholly subdued it ; whence the republic assumed the title of lords of *Croatia*^e.

War with
the prince
of Croatia

ORDELAPHO having settled the provinces, and left garrisons in the cities, returned to *Venice*, attended by a great number of prisoners of condition and rank, where he was joyfully received by the people. His stay was but short ; for another great army of *Hungarians* entering *Dalmatia*, made a rapid progress in the conquest of the province. The doge knowing the *Dalmatians* to be of an inconstant fickle disposition, thought that no time was to be lost in opposing the enemy : fitting out, therefore, a fleet with the utmost expedition, he landed his troops, and engaged the enemy. The conflict was violent, victory for a long time declaring for neither side : at last the doge, incensed at the resistance of an enemy so often conquered by the *Venetians*, broke in upon their ranks with a chosen body of troops, which would have certainly determined the battle favourably, had he not unhap-

A. D.
689.

^c SABELL. l. 6. d. 1. ^d BLOND. de g. V.

SABELL. l. 6. d. 2. SANSOV. del. v. p.

^e SA-

pily been mortally wounded. His death so dispirited the *Venetians*, that dispersing themselves they quitted the field, leaving the wounded to the mercy of the *Hungarians*, who cruelly butchered all the prisoners, and so successfully pursued the rear of the flying army, that a prodigious slaughter ensued. The whole city was greatly afflicted at the defeat of their army, and death of their prince, who so bravely asserted the rights of the republic: the people were clamorous for a peace, and the council irresolute. It was at length determined to send ambassadors to the king of *Hungary*, to obtain a truce at least, upon the best terms possible: in the mean time the body of *Ordelapbo* was brought to *Venice*, and honourably interred, being attended with all the nobility in deep mourning, and the rest of the people, who loved his person as much as they admired his courage^f.

DOMENICO MICHELI, Doge XXXV.

Domenico Micheli, *DOMENICO MICHELI* succeeded to the government. Immediately after his accession, the pope's nuncio arrived in *Venice*, and excited such a spirit of enthusiasm in the people, that it was unanimously resolved to send a fleet to assist the christians in *Africa*. Such was the eagerness of the citizens to embark in this expedition, that they strove whose names should be first enrolled, and in a few days a fleet of sixty gallees put to sea, steering its course to *Dalmatia*. The doge having victualled the fleet, sailed from thence to *Cyprus*, where hearing that the *Saracens* were besieging *Joppa*, he made the best sail he could thither. The garrison was reduced to the last extremity when the doge arrived, surprised, and defeated the enemy, made a prodigious slaughter, and obliged the *Saracens* precipitately to raise the siege: the booty which the *Venetians* took upon this occasion was immense, and sufficiently reimbursed the expence of the expedition. After this victory the doge went to *Jerusalem*, where he was kindly received, and complimented upon his conduct and late success.

Tyre besieged.

TYRE was next besieged by the united forces of the republic and *Varimond* bishop of *Jerusalem*. It had been agreed, that when the cities of *Tyre* and *Ascalon* were reduced, the *Venetians* should share two-thirds of the spoils and property taken. Accordingly the city was invested by sea and land for two months: the garrison made no overtures towards a capitulation; and feuds, jealousies, and suspicions, began to distract the councils of the besiegers. The troops on shore com-

^f SABELL. l. 6. d. 2. BLOND. FLAV. l. 1. d. 3. de' g. V.

^g BLOND.

plained,

plained, that all the fatigue, dangers, and hardships of the siege fell upon them, while the *Venetians* lying at ease in their ships, were to reap the chief advantages from their success: these and other complaints being either redressed or silenced by the doge, peace and harmony were re-established, and the siege prosecuted with so much vigour, that the garrison was forced to surrender at discretion. The share agreed upon was without any dispute assigned to the *Venetians*, whose moderation as well as courage gained them great reputation.

WHILE the *Venetians* were gathering laurels in Syria, *Cagliane Commenius*, son of the emperor *Alexis*, jealous of the great reputation of the republic, resolved to attack her, weakened by the absence of the fleet and doge; but the *Venetians* having timely notice of his intentions, recalled the doge. Stopping at *Rhodes* on his way home to refresh and water the fleet, the inhabitants refused to furnish him with the necessaries he demanded: incensed at this denial, he attacked the city, took and levelled it with the ground. From thence he sailed to *Chios*, which he likewise laid waste and destroyed, carrying off the body of *St. Isidore*, in those days reputed a treasure of inestimable value: then he seized upon *Samos*, *Lesbos*, *Andros*, and all the other islands of the *Archipelago*, belonging to the emperor. Setting sail to *Dalmatia*, he recovered *Zara*, *Spolatra*, and *Trabu*, places which had revolted in the preceding administration: this glorious campaign ended, he conducted his fleet back to *Venice*, where he was joyfully received by the people^b. From this time to his death *Domenico* pursued pacific measures, and cultivated the arts, commerce, and industry. The republic had acquired great honour and wealth under him, and was advancing by large strides to that high pitch of glory, grandeur, and power, she soon after attained.

A. D.
1124.]

PIETRO POLANI, Doge XXXVI.

DOMENICO MICHELI was succeeded by *Pietro Polani*, his son-in-law. Soon after *Polani's* accession the *Paduans*, unmindful of the conditions of the late peace, began to encroach upon the frontiers of the republic. The *Venetian* general on the continent highly resented their perfidy, and, without consulting his superiors, attacked and defeated the *Paduan* army: the slaughter was great on both sides, but the honour of the field remained to the *Venetians*. This single battle disposed both parties to peace, which accordingly was concluded on condition that the *Paduans* ba-

Pietro Polani, doge XXXVI.

War with Padua.

^b SABELL. l. 6. d. 1.

nished from their city the promoters of the war. Tranquility had no sooner been restored to the republic, than it was again disturbed by a request from the emperor *Emanuel*, that the *Venetian* fleet might be sent against *Roger* king of *Sicily*, and son of *Guiscard* prince of the *Normans*. A powerful armament was equipped to assist the emperor, and *Polani* embarked in person in the expedition; but meeting with a terrible storm that damaged the fleet, he put into *Caorli* to refit. Here the doge fell dangerously ill, and despairing of recovering soon enough to come up with the *Normans*, he committed the fleet to his brother *Giovanni*, with orders to proceed against the the enemy. *Giovanni* taking and destroying several of *Roger's* ships he met with in his cruize, failed to *Corfu*, which he reduced by force. On his way from thence he met the whole *Norman* fleet coming to the relief of the place. Immediately an action began: *Giovanni* attacked with great fury, and was received with equal valour; but the *Venetians* proving the more skilful mariners, got the windward of the enemy, soon broke their line, sunk, took, and destroyed a number of their ships, and at last gained a complete victory with an inconsiderable loss¹. The empire being thus relieved, *Giovanni* returned with the fleet to *Venice*, a prodigious booty, and a great number of prisoners: but the doge's death, which happened a few days before, prevented the general expressions of joy for so glorious a victory. At the death of *Roger* king of *Sicily*, the republic entered into an alliance with *William* his successor, who granted a variety of valuable privileges and immunities to the *Venetian* merchants trading to his dominions. Six ships of war were this year sent out to clear the gulph of pirates, in which they were so successful, that a boat loaded with gold, says *Blondus*, might easily pass from one end of the *Adriatic* to the other.

The Venetians beat the Sicilian fleet.)

DOMENICO MOROSINI, Doge XXXVII.

Domenico Morosini, doge XXXVII.

In the room of the late doge was elected *Domenico Morosini*: in the beginning of his government a terrible fire broke out, which some ascribe to chance, others to design, that consumed a great part of the city. The republic spared no pains to discover the cause of this misfortune, but all their endeavours were to no purpose; the incendiaries, if any there were, could never be brought to justice².

ABOUT this time the *Polani* and other inhabitants of *Istria* were committing several depredations and robberies on the

¹ BLOND. Hist. d. 3. l. 3.

² SABELL. l. 7. d. 1.

high seas, which the republic thought it her duty to repress. Having for this purpose sent the duke's son, attended by *Marino Gradonico*, the fleet besieged *Pola*, and in a short time took it by storm, putting the chief pirates in irons, and pardoning the other inhabitants, on their promising to send yearly to *Venice* two thousand weight of oil for the use of *St. Mark's church*¹. Little besides happened under this doge, who employed himself chiefly in religious and ecclesiastical affairs, building churches, founding monasteries, removing the bodies of saints and martyrs, and other such acts of what was then denominated piety.

VITALIS MICHAELI, Doge XXXVIII.

MOROSINI was succeeded by *Vitalis Michaeli* the second, A. D. 1156. a man of prudence, valour, and experience: he persuaded the republic to join *France* and *England*, in supporting the *Vitalis* claim of *Alexander* the third to the see of *Rome*, in opposition *Michaeli*, to *Ostavian*, backed by the emperor *Frederic*. The emperor doge was incensed at the proceedings of the republic, and gave orders to the states bordering upon the *Venetian* dominions to make incursions, to plunder, destroy, and lay waste every place belonging to the *Venetians*^m. In consequence, a number of petty states, who envied her greatness, joined in a league offensive and defensive against *Venice*. *Verona*, *Padua*, *War with* and *Ferrara*, each of which had before felt the weight of her *Verona*, arms, now combined to destroy the republic: they joined *Padua*, forces, and began with attacking the frontier towns; among and *Ferrara* the rest *La Mothe*, a place of some consideration, which they razed. dismantled, after plundering and making prisoners the inhabitants: a new enemy likewise started up. *Ulric*, bishop of *Bishop of Aquileia*, laying hold of the troubles of the state, had raised *Aquileia* an army of *Forlians* and seized upon *Grada*, not with intention to keep it, but only to enrich and beautify his own cathedral with the spoils of this see: however, the *Venetians* coming upon him, not only retook the plunder but sent the prelate and several of his inferior clergy prisoners to *Venice*ⁿ.

It would seem, that the success of this republic was become the object of envy and hatred of all the other powers; *Trenchery* of *Emanuel*, emperor of *Greece*, used his utmost address *of Emanuel* to embroil the *Venetians* with their ally *William* king of *Sicily*; *Greek* but the senate kept clear of this snare, and made spirited *emperor* answers to the emperor's ambassadors. This enraged *Emanuel*:

¹ SABEL. *ibid*.^m SABEL. l. 7. d. 1.ⁿ *Ibid*. Item

BLOND. Hist. d. 3. l. 3.

A. D.
1170.

Trahu
besieged.

he made it a pretence for declaring war against the *Venetians*, and seizing upon the cities of *Spalatra*, *Trahu*, and *Ragusa* ^o. Soon after he sent ambassadors to the *Venetians*, to assure them that his intention was not to detain those places, which in the first heat of passion he had seized; that he had the greatest affection for the republic, as well as gratitude for the many services they had done his predecessors and the empire; that their merchants might trade without fear of molestation in all his ports; and that the *Venetians* might always rely upon his friendship, notwithstanding the late differences. The *Venetian* merchants made themselves happy with this instance of the emperor's generosity; they fitted out large fleets, in order to repair the loss sustained by the late stop to their commerce; but they soon received the reward of their credulity: their ships no sooner put into the ports of *Greece* than they were seized, the crews imprisoned, and the cargoes sent to the emperor's warehouses. A few who made their escape soon informed the republic of the perfidy of the *Greek* monarch ^p. A spirit of revenge fired every breast, and a fleet was equipped to retaliate the injury, and punish the treachery: this naval armament consisted of an hundred gallies and twenty ships of war, well manned and victualled, who were soon joined by twenty ships and gallies from *Istria* and *Dalmatia*, the whole commanded by the doge in person. His first exploit was against *Trahu*, which he besieged, took, and demolished, in order to strike terror into the other towns that had thrown off the *Venetian* yoke, and acknowledged the dominion of *Emanuel*. Having subdued the rebellious cities of *Dalmatia*, he set sail for *Negropont*: as he was preparing to enter upon hostilities, the governor demanded a truce; a conference ensued, in which the governor assured him that the emperor would prefer a disadvantageous peace to a successful war ^q: but his intention was only to gain time, as appeared by the result. The bishop of *Equiline*, and *Manasses Bodoairio*, were dispatched to *Emanuel*, from whom they could obtain nothing but fair speeches and specious promises, upon which they could have no dependance after the late violation of the most solemn oaths: sometimes he would approve of their demands; again he would refer them to his council; then he would send ambassadors to *Vitalis*, with different terms: in short, it was obvious that he intended nothing more than to protract the time; the bishop and *Bodoairio*, therefore, took their leave and returned to the doge, whom

^o SABEL. l. 7. d. 1.

^p Ibid.

^q SABEL. l. 7. d. 1.

they

they found at *Chios*, which island he had reduced during their absence^r. The emperor's intrigues succeeded so well, that the season was spent in negotiations, which terminated where they began: the doge, therefore, resolved to winter at *Chios*, in order to be ready the following campaign; but a contagious distemper appearing among his troops, carried them off in great numbers. The report was, that the springs and wells in the island had been poisoned by the emperor's order; and indeed so violent was the disorder, and so great the havock among the troops, that there seemed room for suspicion^s.

THE doge, perceiving the contagion to encrease among his men, thought proper to return home; by which means the infection was received and soon spread over *Venice*, sweeping off daily incredible numbers of all ages, sexes, and degrees. The people began to murmur and complain of the doge's conduct, which they ascribed to design and treachery, rather than imprudence or inattention^t. This was the temper of the city when the great council met: here it broke out with the utmost violence; nothing but upbraidings and revilings could be heard: the prince was called a monster, traitor, and parricide; a wretch that had sold his country to the blackest and most perfidious of all enemies, and who had even dipt his hands in the blood of that people he was bound by every law, human and divine, to protect. He was not permitted to make his defence; they supposed him guilty, and the clearest proofs and strongest conviction could not alter their sentiments. In short, he fell a sacrifice to the strong passions, furious zeal, and blind prejudices of an incensed multitude: his body was instantly mangled and torn in pieces, his name stigmatized with infamy, his house razed to the ground, and his innocent family banished the city^u. Thus, by an extraordinary fatality, perished *Vitalis Michaeli*, after he had governed for the space of seventeen years, with moderation, prudence, courage, and conduct. His misfortunes would seem to arise from his own integrity and the treachery of his enemy.

VITALIS was scarcely dead when the passions of the people subsided from rage into compassion; from resentment into pity^v. The edict which had banished his family was revoked, and the favours which he was incapable of receiving liberally conferred on his wife, children, and domestics. Upon this occasion was erected the seignory, or council of ten,

^r SABELL. *ibid*.^s SABEL. *ibid*. BLOND. Hist. l. 4. d. 3.^t SABEL. *ibid*.^u SABEL. l. 1. d. 1.^v BLOND. Hist.

l. 3. d. 3.

to take cognizance of all tumults, riots, seditions, high crimes, and misdemeanours ².

SEBASTIANO ZIANI, Doge XXXIX.

A. D.

1173.

Sebastiano
Ziani,
doge
XXXIX.

SEBASTIANO ZIANI, the succeeding doge, was no sooner elected than he was involved in a war with *Frederic Barbarossa*. Pope *Alexander* had taken sanctuary in *Venice*, to avoid the persecution of *Barbarossa*, who had professed an implacable hatred to him, for having refused to stand by the judgment the emperor gave in favour of *Octavian* his rival. The *Venetians* dispatched ambassadors to the emperor, who answered them in a rage, "Go and tell your prince and people, that *Frederic* the *Roman* emperor demands his enemy, who is "protected by them. If they send him not instantly, bound "hand and foot, he will overturn every law, human and divine, to accomplish his revenge: he will bring his army "before their city, and fix his victorious standards in the "market-place, which shall float in the blood of its citizens." The ambassadors returning with this terrible menace, it was agreed to equip a fleet with all expedition, and prepare for repelling the emperor's meditated vengeance. While the *Venetians* were thus employed, *Otho*, the emperor's son, entered the gulph with a strong squadron of seventy-five galleys, and was making sail to the city. The doge resolved to oppose him with the few ships which were fit to put to sea: the fleets met off the coast of *Istria*, and a dreadful battle ensued, the event of which was, that the doge conquered his enemy, took, sunk, and destroyed forty-eight of his ships, and returned in triumph to *Venice*. From this time was continued the ceremony of marrying the sea: the pope going out to meet the victorious doge, presented him with a ring, saying, "Take, *Ziani*, this ring, and give it to the sea, as a "testimony of your dominion over it. Let your successors "annually perform the same ceremony, that posterity may "know your valour has purchased this prerogative, and sub- "jected this element to you even as a husband subjecteth his "wife ²."

OTHO was taken prisoner in this battle; but he was permitted, on his parole, to visit the imperial court of his father. This young prince had conceived the highest friendship for the republic, and esteem for *Ziani*: he determined to serve them, by putting an end to a war which the states could not

¹ SABEL. l. 7. d. 1.

² SABEL. l. 7. d. 1. DESD. p. 2.

² SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. FLAV. de gest. V.

long support against the power of the emperor. On his arrival at court, he urged such arguments as not only prevailed on *Barbarossa* to conclude peace with the republic, but to visit a city so famed for commerce and naval power. His arrival at *Venice* was equally unexpected and agreeable: he was treated with all possible respect; and on his departure attended to *Ancona* by the doge, the whole senate, and body of nobility. At *Venice* he was reconciled to the pope, both agreeing to confer the highest honours and privileges on the doge and the republic. It was soon after this event that *Ziani*, on account of his age, resigned the ducal diadem, retiring to spend his life in a monastery, after he had governed the republic with great reputation, spirit, prudence, and justice, for the space of eight years (A).

ORIO MASTROPIETRO, Doge XL.

ORIO MASTROPIETRO was now raised to the ducal dignity. *Sabellicus* relates, that a council of four persons was appointed to chuse another council of forty, in which should reside the power of electing a doge; but no other historian takes notice of this regulation: it is probable therefore that *Sabellicus* means by this council the first rise of the *pregadi*, or senate, or of the forty judges in criminal cases; for we do not find one instance in history where a general assembly of the nobility was not called at the death or resignation of a doge.

Orio Mastropietro,
doge XL.

Origin of
the *prega-*
di, or *se-*
nate.

(A) Before he retired he gave a prodigious sum of money in trust to the procurators of *St. Mark*, as a perpetual fund for indigent orphans, widows, distressed tradesmen, merchants, and all those who were reduced by misfortunes, and not thro' extravagance, or neglect. He settled this endowment with a simplicity, modesty, and reserve becoming the true nature of charitable institutions: here was no pomp, parade, or ostentation; every thing was conducted with the utmost delicacy and secrecy; nor was the person relieved hurt by the manner of conferring the obligation. He was privately sent for, and desired to give a faithful account of his situation, cir-

cumstances, and the causes which had reduced him, which, with his name, were entered in a weekly register, and in a few days the sum the procurators thought necessary was sent to him. The trustees made up their accounts annually, to be inspected by the seignory, the *savij*, and the doge, to prevent the abuse or embezzlement of the charity. However, in process of time, this noble institution, like all other public endowments, was prostituted to the base purposes of the trustees, nobility, and whoever had weight, interest, and influence to make the proper application, without regard to merit or want (1).

(1) *Sanseverino*, lib. 13. p. 231.

MASTROPIETRO was no sooner fixed in the sovereign authority than he struck up a treaty with the *Pisans*, and settled all the differences between the states, that he might be at liberty to punish the treacherous city of *Zara*, which had a fourth time revolted, and received a *Hungarian* garrison^a. The inhabitants of this place had, at different times, put the republic to great charges to keep them in obedience; she was now therefore determined to give them a decisive blow: for this purpose a strong squadron was equipped, many of the citizens contributing out of their private fortunes to the expence, and embarking themselves in the expedition. The fleet soon arrived upon the coast of *Dalmatia*, reduced all the rebellious islands, and was preparing to lay siege to *Zara*, when the pope's nuncio arrived^b. His business was to request the *Venetians* to defer the punishment of the *Zaratins*, that they might once more be at liberty to embark in the holy war, and assist in stemming the conquests of *Saladine*, which, like a torrent, overwhelmed *Syria* and *Palestine*.

The Pope demands a fleet to be sent to Syria.

A. D.
1188.

THE *Venetians*, unwilling to be wanting either in respect to his holiness, or zeal for the church, raised the siege, and returned to *Venice* with the fleet, to victual it for a longer voyage, and receive a reinforcement of men and ships. The expedition used was so great, that, in conjunction with the *Pisan* fleet, they were besieging *Acon* long before the arrival of the other christian princes; which city, after a tedious and bloody siege, they subdued. The fleet was scarce arrived when the doge resigned his authority, having reigned fourteen years; during which he maintained that character of wisdom, integrity, and virtue, for which he had been distinguished in a private station.

Orio Mastropietro resigns.

HENRICO DANDOLO, Doge XLI.

A. D.
1192.
Henrico Dandolo, doge XLI.

THE assembly met (the council of forty, says *Sabellicus*) for the election of a new doge, when their choice fell upon *Henrico Dandolo*, under whom the republic arrived at a high pitch of reputation, power, and grandeur. The *Pisans*, who envied the rising dignity of *Venice*, seized every occasion of coming to a rupture. While they jointly carried on the siege of *Acon*, numberless little feuds, jealousies, and differences had arisen among the soldiers. The *Pisan* fleet returning home from *Syria*, surprised, took, and plundered the city *Pola*, then tributary to the *Venetians*, leaving in it a garrison. The republic, not caring to put up with an affront so flagrant,

^a SABEL. l. 8. d. 1.
^c SANSOV. p. 232.

^b BLOND. l. 5. d. 3. SABEL. ibid.

fitted out six ships of war and six galleys, which were immediately sent to retake *Pola*: in this they not only succeeded, but in the destruction of a great number of *Pisan* ships lying in the harbour^d. Soon after the *Venetians* intercepted, sunk, took, and destroyed a rich homeward-bound *Turkey* fleet. About this time it was the doge prohibited the merchants of *Verona* to enter the ports of the *Venetian* dominions, or to carry on any kind of trade, intercourse, or commerce, with the republic. The *Veronese* had plundered some *Venetian* traders in the river *Adice*; and though the violence received no countenance from the government, yet as no compensation was made to the sufferers, the doge thought this breach of the law of nations deserved to be resent. His spirited conduct soon brought the *Veronese* to make acknowledgments and satisfaction for the injury done; upon which their merchants were restored to their usual immunities^e.

War with
the Pisans.

A. D.
1193.

Trade
with Ve-
rona pro-
hibited.

THE republic at the same time sent a strong squadron against the combined fleets of *Pisa* and *Brundisium*. It was commanded by *Giovanni Basilio* and *Thomaso Phalerio*, two officers of experience and valour: they soon humbled the pride of the confederates, having not only destroyed all their shipping at sea, but struck terror into the whole coast of *Brundisium*, and even into the city. The *Brundisians* made a separate peace, which soon reduced the *Pisans*, unable to carry on the war alone, to the necessity of accepting such terms as the republic chose to impose^f.

Peace with
the Pisans.

IN consequence of a treaty with *Alexis* and *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, sixty galleys, twenty ships of war, and a great number of transports, were immediately equipped against the *Istrians*. So heartily did the republic engage in this enterprise, that the doge, notwithstanding a defect in his sight almost to blindness, embarked with a choice body of troops^g. The enemy, confounded with so formidable an armament, sent to demand peace upon any terms, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the republic: the revolted cities likewise returned to their duty, *Zara* alone remaining obstinate: this place, therefore, the fleet attacked, though the city was defended by strong walls and a numerous *Hungarian* garrison, well provided. In the end, the perseverance of the besieged was forced to yield to the bravery of the *Venetians*; the city was dismantled, deprived of its privileges, the *Hungarians*

A. D.
1201.

^d SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. BLOND. de gest. V.

l. 8. d. 1. BLOND. l. 3. d. 2.

l. 3. d. 2. SANSON. delle vit. di p.

^e SABEL.

^f Ibid.

^g BLOND.

made prisoners, and many of the principal inhabitants put to death^h.

THE season in the mean while was spent without any thing effected for the relief of the old emperor, the original purport of the treaty. The princes proposed wintering in *Dalmatia*, and deferring the expedition to *Greece* until the following summer; but their intention was altered by the tears, intreaty, and eloquence of young *Alexis*: he pathetically lamented his father's blindness, imprisonment, slavery, and his own banishment, by the cruelty of his uncle: he called upon the friendship his father inviolably preserved for the republic; their faith, alliance, and compassion. His eloquence was so moving, his judgment so ripe, and his promises so large, that the princes determined upon affording him immediate assistance, and accordingly sailed for *Greece*. *Constantinople* was invested and taken, the usurper forced to fly, the old *Alexis* restored, and tranquility seemingly established: but *Alexis* soon dying, his son was elected in his room, who was a few days after deposed and murdered by his own subjects, *Myrtillus*, a man of obscure birth, raised by the favour of old *Alexis*, assuming the imperial dignityⁱ. The French and Venetians were encamped without the city. *Myrtillus*'s first care, therefore, was to drive them out of his dominions: for this purpose he attempted to surprize the camp; but being repulsed, shut himself up in *Constantinople* determined to stand a siege. The allies assaulted it with so much vigour, spirit, and intrepidity, that the usurper, unable to withstand them, made his escape, leaving the city to the mercy of the conquerors: however, the citizens defended it for some time after his flight; but, after a siege of eighty days, were forced to surrender.

Constantinople taken by the French and Venetians.

A. D.
1203.

Baldwin
made emperor.

UPON this *Baldwin* was elected emperor, and all the chief offices of the empire filled up with *Venetians*, as a recompence for their services: *Thomaso Morosini*, in particular, was appointed patriarch of *Constantinople*, the doge protospater, and many other favours were conferred upon the republic^k. The allies entered *Thrace* early in the spring, and subdued it; then followed the conquest of *Candia*, and other islands in the *Archipelago*, which were given to the *Venetians*: in short, before the end of the campaign, the whole empire was subjected to *Baldwin*, and very considerable acquisitions made by the republic.

^h SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. BLOND. *ibid.* BLOND. ut supra. DANIEL Hist. de France, vol. i. ⁱ SABEL. BLOND. and DANIEL uti supra. ^k SANSOV. del. v.

DURING

DURING this expedition to Greece, the *Zaratines* again revolted, made inroads and incursions into the *Venetian* territories, drawing off several other cities from their allegiance. *Rayniero Dandolo*, the doge's son, was sent with a fleet against them: after divers battles and sieges they were conquered. *Dandolo* took several children of distinction as hostages, raised a heavy contribution, and obliged them to pay a yearly tribute to the republic. About the same time the doge and his son returned to *Venice*, loaded with rich booty, and dignified by laurels and victories¹. Old *Dandolo* soon after died, having acquired the reputation of a wise, active, and brave prince: he raised the republic to a degree of splendor and consequence to which it had never before arrived, and laid the foundation of that greatness to which the *Venetians* soon attained^m. He was succeeded by *Pietro Ziani*, son to the doge of that name.

PIETRO ZIANI, Doge XLII.

IN the beginning of *Ziani's* government ambassadors came from *Constantinople* to solicit the doge and senate, that the *Venetians* residing in *Greece* might be allowed to chuse a prætor, subordinate to the republic, but with a supreme power over the *Venetians* residing upon the Eastern continent. The subjects of the republic were so numerous and powerful in *Constantinople*, and all the other parts of the empire, that it was thought necessary to grant their request, finding it would be inconvenient either to subject them to the laws of the empire, or remit every judicial case to *Venice*. In order to form a chain of territory, they were permitted to conquer all the islands of the *Archipelago*, which had not yet acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic, and to include them in their own jurisdiction, under certain limitations and restrictions. For this purpose the *Greek Venetians* fitted out a fleet, every man of a certain property supporting the expence of one or more ships, and reaping a proportionable share of the conquests. They soon reduced *Naxos*, *Pharos*, *Molos*, *Herma*, and *Andros*, with several other islands; afterwards they attacked and took *Negropont*, *Euripa*, *Tenos*, *Miconia*, *Sciros*, *Philocation*, and *Lemnos*, leaving colonies in eachⁿ.

WHILST private adventurers were acquiring wealth, and extending the dominion of the republic, the doge and great fleet were not idle. He was scarce got out of the gulph when

A. D.
1203.
Pietro
Ziani,
doge
XLII,

The Venetians subdue the Greek islands:

¹ BONITEN. Comment. p. 63. ^m SANSOV. del. vit. di Dan. SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. ⁿ SABEL. ibid. BLOND. de g. V.

Leo Vi-
trano put
to death.

he met with *Leo Vitrano*, a famous *Genoese* pirate, who had infested the seas, making plunder of ships of whatever nation fell in his way: him the doge fought, defeated, carried prisoner to *Corfu*, where he was hanged in *terrorem*. After recovering *Corfu*, he directed his course first to *Modona*, and then to *Corona*, two cities famous for harbouring robbers, thieves, and pirates: these he entirely demolished, rooting out the infernal nest °.

A. D.
1206.
Genoese
defeated.

SOON after another small squadron of the republic fell in with the grand *Genoese* fleet, at that time scouring the seas, and committing depredations unbecoming a civilized state and regularly planned government. *Giovanni Trevisano*, who commanded the *Venetian* fleet, consisting of nine galleys, attacked the *Genoese*, and, after a bloody and obstinate engagement, obliged them to sheer off, with the loss of twelve of their ships P.

THE following year a dissention arose with the *Paduans*, at certain games instituted by the *Trevisans*, to which the gentry of all the neighbouring states assembled: the quarrel, which arose from a trifling accident, soon produced serious consequences, and ended in a war, in which the *Paduans* were worsted, and obliged to sue for peace. This the *Venetians* granted at the intercession of the patriarch of *Aquileia*; but it was of short duration: for another war soon broke out, which terminated equally to the ignominy of the *Paduans* and the glory of the *Venetians* 9.

First war
in Candia.

THE island of *Candia* became now a bone of contention between the rival republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*. It had not been well settled under the *Venetian* government, when the *Genoese*, envying the prosperity of their sister commonwealth, began to excite the *Candians* to revolt, and shake off the dominion of the republic: to this the *Greeks* were well disposed; and, upon the promise of powerful succours from *Genoa*, some of their chief men appeared in arms. They began with attacking the forts defended by *Venetian* garrisons, forming magazines, and equipping a fleet: but, though the rebels were powerfully supported, they could not long withstand the force of the *Venetians*, the island was wholly subdued, and divided among the nobility, on condition that they should maintain it at their own expence, acknowledge the sovereignty of the mother country, pay a yearly tribute, and, when called upon, fit out a certain number of ships to join the *Venetian* admiral 1.

A. D.
1207.

° SANSON, del. v. p. BONITEN. Com. p. 64. P BLOND. de g. V.
1 BLOND. ibid. SABELL. l. 8. d. 1. 1 SABELL. BLOND. ibid
BONITEN. Commen. ibid,

THIS tranquility did not last long ; for the *Venetian* gover-^{Second} nor was murdered, and the very person he had called in to his assistance, gone over to the rebels, and now at the head of their forces ; his name was *Marco Sanuto*, a man of considerable property in the neighbouring islands. His intention was no less than to become sovereign of *Candia*, independent of his country ; though *Sabellicus* says, that he carried his rebellion no farther than the death of the governor, his inveterate enemy, which seems improbable from the continuance of the war longer. After various marches, counter-marches, feints, skirmishes, and sieges on both sides, at last *Gritti*, the *Venetian* general, was surprised and defeated by the rebels : he made his escape from the battle, and died a few days after of grief and shame, for having been vanquished by a handful of irregular undisciplined militia¹. ^{war in Candia. A. D. 1209.}

THE engagement produced a truce, and that a treaty, which lasted during the dogeship of *Ziani*, who resigned his authority, after having governed for twenty-four years. *Ziani's* character differed widely from that of his father, who defeated *Otho* : he was reserved and close in his conversation ; parsimonious, and even penurious in his conduct ; cautious to timidity in his disposition, at a time when the republic required spirit and intrepidity in her prince : yet he died with the reputation of a good, mild, and even successful governor, though we find the state engaged in quelling rebellions, composing tumults, and quieting civil broils for the greater part of his administration².

GIACOMO THIEPOLO, Doge XLIII.

GIACOMO THIEPOLO, governor of *Candia*, was elected *Jacomo* doge in his room : he gave his first attention to the affairs of *Thiepolo*, this island, where new insurrections appeared. The disaffected *Greeks*, not thinking themselves able to cope with the republic, sent to *John Vattasus*, governor of *Lesbos*, proprietor of considerable territories on the continent, and of several islands in the *Archipelago*, offering him the dominion of *Candia*, if he would expel the *Venetians*. *Vattasus*, induced by those promises, arrived at *Candia* with thirty gallies, and a considerable body of forces : he besieged two or three towns, which he took after an obstinate defence, and great slaughter of his troops. He was preparing to sit down before the capital, when *Gradonico*, the governor, surprised his camp, and forced him to retreat with precipitation. Finding

¹ SABELL. l. 8. d. 1.

² SANSQV. del. v. di p.

A. D.
1229.

greater difficulties in the conquest of the island than the rebels had represented, he resolved to abandon the enterprize, and leave them to the punishment of their rashness. Upon this the chiefs of the malcontents sent proposals to *Gradonico*, which being accepted, they returned to their allegiance: one of the conditions was, that they should pay yearly five hundred pounds weight of fine wax for the use of St. *Mark's* church^u.

Revolts of
Candia.

GRADONICO dying, the provedatori took upon them the government, until another governor should be appointed: his death produced another rebellion, fomented by *Vattafus*, and supported by a fleet he sent with ammunition, stores, and a body of troops. The rebels had not made any considerable progress when the new governor arrived, and resolved to give them battle before their numbers were increased. He landed his troops at some distance from the enemy's camp, with directions to attack it as soon as they perceived his fleet engaged, thus proposing to make the action general and decisive. After they had fought all day, the governor, having received a wound, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that his troops might return next morning with fresh vigour to the charge; but the rebels, and *Vattafus's* admiral, not caring to engage a second time, with troops who had shewn a resolution of either conquering or dying, removed before day-light to a more advantageous station, in order to make proposals of accommodation. The terms offered were accepted conditionally, that they either surrendered or put to death *Emanuel Dracentopolus*, and his brother *Constantine*, two persons of the first rank in the island, and the promoters of the rebellion^w.

VATTASUS, and some other neighbouring princes, having entered into an alliance against the Eastern empire, at that time in a declining condition, *John* king of *Jerusalem*, governor of *Constantinople*, applied for assistance to the *Venetians*, by means of their prætor, or consul, at *Constantinople*. *Zeno* the prætor gave immediate notice to the doge and council of the danger with which the empire was threatened, of its weak situation, the low condition of its finances, the power of the enemy, and the dependance it had upon the republic for protection and shelter against the impending storm. Orders for levying an army, and equipping a fleet, were immediately issued; but, in despite of the expedition used, the enemy were before the walls of *Constantinople*, laying close siege, before the arrival of the *Venetians*. *Leonardo Qui-*

^u SABEL. l. 8. d. 1,
BONIFEN, Comment,

^w SABEL. ibid. BLOND. d. g. V.

rini, and *Marco Guffoni*, captain-general and admiral of the Venetian armament, made all the sail possible to succour the city: their arrival was seasonable, the besieged were reduced to the last extremity. The signal was given for attacking the enemy's fleet, and executed with such courage and conduct, that in a few hours it was totally defeated, with a prodigious loss and slaughter: then the victorious *Venetians* entered the city, where they were received with the utmost joy and gladness: the spirits of the citizens were raised, and the utmost confidence inspired into every breast. Their stay was but short; for as soon as the troops had refreshed themselves, they were ordered to embark and return to *Venice* (A).

A. D.

1234.

Constanti-
nople be-
sieged.

POPE *Gregory* was at this time oppressed by *Frederic*, who committed the most shocking and inhuman barbarities in the ecclesiastical territories: he requested assistance of the *Venetians* against that merciless tyrant, and had a fleet, consisting of forty sail, and a body of troops sent to his assistance, under the same *Quirini* and *Guffoni*. Before they sailed news arrived that the doge's son, who served in the pope's army, was taken prisoner and put to death by *Frederic*. This inflamed the troops with a violent desire of revenge: however, no general action happened, until the *Genoese* demanded their assistance against *Frederic* and the *Pisans*, who had an hundred gallies at sea ^x.

THE alliance of the two republics was brought about by pope *Gregory* the ninth, who was sensible that he could not keep too strict an union among the *Italian* powers, to strengthen him against his sworn enemy the emperor. In this treaty it was stipulated, that neither republic should form an alliance, declare war, or furnish aid or support to any other power whatever, without consent of the contracting parties; and that the whole force and power of either should be ready to assist and succour which ever of the parties was attacked. Excommunications and dreadful anathemas were thundered by the pope against the breach of this league, so useful to the support of the holy see against the emperor ^y. The *Venetian* fleet was immediately dispatched to the succour of their allies; but soon recalled to the relief of *Constantinople*, be-

Treaty
with the
Genoese.^x SABEL. l. 8. d. 1.^y SABEL. ibid. BLONP. de. g. V.

(A) *Sanfovino* places the war with the emperor *Frederic* before the first siege of *Constantinople* by *Vattasus*; but in this he is contradicted by *Blondus* and *San-*

bellicus, who, from a number of circumstances, seem right in placing it between the two wars carried on by that prince against the *Grecian* empire.

sieged

sieged a second time by *Vattafus* : before their arrival the siege was raised, and the enemy defeated by a brisk sally which *Giovanni* the prætor made at the head of the *Venetian* inhabitants. The fleet then returned to join the *Genoese* ; but neither were hearty in the alliance : a jealousy and rivalry reigned between those proud republics, which soon afterwards terminated in a bloody war, in spite of the pope's endeavours to maintain the alliance. Their feuds prevented any thing being carried on with vigour against the *Pisans* : however the junction of the fleets had this good effect, that neither the *Pisans* nor the emperor durst attempt an attack upon so formidable an armament. While *Fiacomo* was carrying on the war on the continent against the emperor's lieutenant, *Padua* had been cruelly enslaved by the Imperialists, who committed the most inhuman barbarities where ever they passed. The *Venetian* did all in his power to bring them to a general action ; but for several campaigns nothing happened besides plundering, burning, and destroying towns and villages : at last the doge died before a decisive stroke was struck ; and the breach with the *Genoese* grew so wide, that the *Venetians* found it necessary to drop the pope's quarrel, to attend to their own affairs ^z.

A. D.
1249.

SANSOVINO mentions an inscription upon his tomb, which would seem to point out some reformation of the laws, and change of the constitution under him (B) : but no other writer countenances this suggestion. History indeed is silent as to the conduct of *Thiepolo* ; yet we may collect that he was a mild, good, and pacific prince, though the numerous and extended connections of the republic engaged her in frequent wars during his administration.

MARINO MOROSINI, Doge XLIV.

MARINO MOROSINI was the next doge elected : his government was short, but warlike. This year *Philippo Fontano*, bishop of *Ravenna*, came to *Venice* in quality of legate from pope *Alexander*, preaching up eternal felicity to those who would take arms against the emperor's lieutenant in *Italy* ^a. An implicit faith in the pope's word composed the religion of those times ; we need not therefore doubt of the legate's success in raising recruits by means of so large a premium. Many of the nobility and chief citizens entered

^z SABELL. l. 8. d. i.
ihid.

^a BLOND. l. 4. d. 2. SABELL.

(B) *Armis recupero* *Jadram*, *legesque reformo*, p. 233.

into

into the legate's service, who was no less a temporal than a spiritual soldier : the republic furnished *Fontano* not only with troops, but with arms, money, and provisions ; so careful were the *Venetians* of their salvation. The legate was pretty successful against the emperor's lieutenant ; he took *Padua*, and several other cities, when his army was greatly weakened by the départure of the *Venetians*, recalled on account of the war which had now broke out with great fury with the *Genoese* ^b.

RELIGION likewise was the cause of this rupture, and of much bloodshed. The *Venetians* and *Genoese* both pretended an exclusive right to a certain church in the city of *Acon*, taken from the *Saracens* ; the former founded their claim upon the compact with *Baldwin*, the latter on the decision of *Philip* of *Mortfort*, governor of the city : both were obstinate, and the dispute soon came to blows. It was now to be finally decided by the sword : the pope laboured all in his power to reconcile them ; but their animosity was carried so high, that nothing but the ruin of one of the parties could prove satisfactory. They entered upon hostilities with that rancour, virulence, and malice, peculiar to all wars carried on upon account of religion. The fleets met near *Ptolemais* ; both were powerful, and they engaged with great fury : the battle was bloody and long, until by a stroke of military skill in the *Venetian* admiral, the *Genoese* were broke and dispersed, many of their ships, and about two thousand prisoners taken. Nor did this victory satiate the revenge of the *Venetians* ; they expelled all the *Genoese* from *Acon*, demolished their houses and churches, leaving not the smallest vestige remaining of their having ever inhabited the city : they likewise employed as slaves in their galleys all the prisoners taken in the late battle, nor could the influence of the pope procure their release, until he began to thunder out dreadful maledictions. This war is mentioned by *Sabellicus* under the dogeship of *Morosini* ; but *Sanseverino* and *Blondus* place it under his successor. It is probable that as *Morosini*'s sway was short, that it might have begun with him, and continued during the first years of *Zeno* : certain it is, that *Morosini* died soon after the departure of the legate *Fontana* from *Venice* ; but whether before or after this engagement in *Syria*, we cannot positively affirm. All authors allow that he governed between three and four years ; that the republic was happy and flourishing under him ; that he had distinguished himself

*War with
Genoa.*

*Genoese
defeated.*

A. D.
1252.

^b BLOND. de g. V. SABELL. uti supra. BLOND. de g. V. Etiam Hist. l. 8. d. 1.

in his private capacity, when a young man, no less in the field, than he did afterwards in his old age, in the cabinet; and that the qualities of his head could only be surpassed by those of his heart.

RINIERO ZENO, Doge XLV.

Riniero Zeno, doge XLV. AT the accession of *Riniero Zeno*, elected successor to *Morosini*, the republic sent *Gilberto Dandolo* with a squadron of thirty galleys to *Greece*: he soon had the good fortune to fall in with the combined fleets of *Greece* and *Genoa*, which he attacked with so much resolution, that the *Greeks* soon gave way, and the *Genoese* being left alone, surrendered, few or none of them having been able to escape^c. They however, soon replaced this loss by another squadron, more powerful than the former, and the *Venetian* admiral had likewise received an addition of fifteen galleys: the *Genoese*, commanded by the famous *Michael Doria*, fought out the *Venetian* admiral *Dandolo*, who was no less eager to come to an engagement. They soon met, and a battle was fought with the utmost resolution, conduct, and obstinacy: hatred, revenge, and glory animated both; a rivalry subsisted between the commanders as well as the states. The honour of each country depending upon the ability and courage of those two admirals, nothing was omitted, nothing left undone, which great and skilful officers ought to direct, or soldiers perform: but fortune did not second the great qualities and merit of *Doria*. After one of the bloodiest actions related in history, his line was broke, but not his courage: he continued to defend himself with infinite intrepidity after the greatest part of his fleet was taken, sunk, or burnt: at last, overpowered with numbers, he fell into the hands of the *Venetians*, which gave them juster cause of triumph than all their other conquests. This victory cost the republic many of her best officers, with an incredible number of private men; but the public joy at having humbled a proud rival, suppressed all reflections on the loss sustained. It was the first fair trial of valour and skill the two republics had ever made, the event of which gave the *Venetians* that superiority at sea which they maintained for a series of years. The conduct of the admirals was no less to be admired after than during the battle: the one bore his adversity with that greatness of soul, that invincible spirit and resolution, which made even the enemy acknowledge he deserved victory: the other, his prosperity with a moderation, calmness, and generosity, which obliged

A. D.
1262.

Doria defeated.

His character.

^c SABEL. BLOND. *ibid.* BONITEN. Comment.

Doria

Doria to confess that he ought to conquer: in short, those two great men, who were inveterate enemies before fortune had declared herself, became the warmest friends as soon as their almost equal merit had proved to each how deserving he was of the other's esteem^d.

PALEOLOGUS imagining that the *Genoese* would not be able to recover this severe blow at *Trepani*, struck up a separate peace with the *Venetians*; like a true politician he regarded his own interest only, holding as nothing the most solemn treaties and engagements^e.

ALTHOUGH the war was conducted with great prudence, conduct, and success, yet the people murmured: the vast fleets and armies became insupportable; every thing was taxed high, even the necessaries of life; trade was at a stand, and industry entirely suppressed, on account of the number of citizens employed in the public service, as well as the high price of provisions and scarcity of money. The government finding it necessary to reinforce *Dandolo* with troops and ships to oppose a new fleet, equipped by the *Genoese*, had recourse to a new tax upon the markets, which so incensed the common people, that they assembled in a riotous manner about the palace, breathing vengeance against the doge and senate. *Riniero Zeno* thinking to awe them by his authority, or quiet them by his moderation, came out to harangue the people; but no sooner had he appeared than the mob insulted him with stones and dirt, and obliged him to retire: however, the nobility exerted themselves with so much resolution, vigour, and spirit, that the tumult was at last dispersed, and the ringleaders imprisoned^f. The imposition was laid upon the markets, the reinforcement sent to *Dandolo*, and the people soon satisfied of the necessity of this measure; for it had scarce joined the main fleet when they were attacked near *Rhodes* by the *Genoese*, impatient to revenge the late affront, and wipe off the disgrace: but it was apparent that *Doria* did not command; the *Genoese* were broke and put in confusion after the first charge, a complete victory was gained, and a great number of ships taken.

A short time after *Dandolo* met with a fleet of the enemy's merchantmen returning home, richly laden; of these he made prize, sending them home to *Venice*, to the great joy of the people, who now began to forget the oppression with which they purchased so many victories, and so much glory^g. Nor was the republic less successful in *Syria*, from

A. D.
1263.

A sedition
in Venice.

The Genoese
again defeated.

^d AMELOT, l. 2. c. 4. SABEL. *ibid*.

^e SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. SANSOV. p. 234.

^f BLOND. l. 4. d. 2.

^g BLOND. de. g. V.

whence they had driven the *Genoese*, making themselves masters of *Ptolemais*, as well as of the sea-coast : but *Riniero* did not long enjoy the fruits of these uninterrupted successes ; he was carried off by a sudden illness, after governing the state, with a rapid tide of prosperity for seventeen years. During his dogeship the republic attained to a very high pitch of power, consequence, and reputation abroad, though not equally prosperous at home : the finances were low and exhausted ; industry and commerce gave way to martial achievements ; and public glory seemed to be eagerly desired, while private œconomy and happiness were universally neglected.

LORENZO THIEPOLO, Doge XLVI.

A. D.
1268.

Lorenzo
Thiepolo,
doge
XLVI.

ZENO was no sooner dead than the council met for the election of a new doge, when a majority of voices declared for *Lorenzo Thiepolo*, son to doge *Jacomo*^h. The christians in *Syria* being in the utmost distress, and daily losing ground to the Infidels, the pope and the kings of *France* and *Sicily* offered their mediation to accommodate matters between the *Venetians* and *Genoese* : *Clement* the pope desired, that if a peace could not be settled, that at least the two republics would suspend their animosity, conclude a truce, and turn their arms against the Infidels. As *Venice* and *Genoa* were then the most powerful maritime states in *Europe*, it was not possible for the other potentates to make any progress in the holy war without their assistance. After the conferences had been twice broken off, at length a truce was concluded at the intercession of *Philip* king of *France*, who was bent upon sending assistance to the adventurers in *Syria*. Thus ended this war, after it had been carried on with the utmost heat, enmity, and rancour, for the space of eleven years.

Peace with
Genoa.

BUT the *Venetians* had scarcely breathed after this war, when they found themselves engaged in another with some of their neighbours. An impost had been laid by the republic upon all merchandize and shipping passing between the gulph of *Fana* and the mouth of the *Po* : this the *Venetians* had done with a view of filling their exhausted treasury, and likewise out of pique to some of the bordering states, who had refused to send corn to the city during a late famineⁱ. The *Bolognians*, who at that time possessed the extensive province of *Romagnia*, began to grumble at this proceeding as an

^h SAKSOV. p. 234.
l. 4. d. 2.

ⁱ SABEL. l. 8. d. 1. BLOND.

infringe-

infringement of their liberties, and a prejudice to their commerce. Not caring to declare war before they had made every necessary preparation, they raised troops, and equipped a fleet in the most secret manner. As soon as their armaments were in forwardness they sent ambassadors to *Venice*, to solicit at least a mitigation of the duty imposed upon the commerce passing through certain streights, with orders that in case of refusal they should immediately come away and denounce war^k. The doge, however, readily penetrated their intention, and to counterplot them, ordered a certain number of galleys to go and seize upon the mouth of the *Po*, a station of great importance.

War with
the Bolog-
nians.

At last, after skirmishing for near two years, both armies came to a general engagement: the *Venetians*, commanded by *Marco Gradonico*, were inferior in number to the enemy; but that deficiency they compensated by discipline, courage, and a general: the battle was warm for the space it lasted; but the *Venetians*, pushing on with boldness, soon broke and routed the enemy, made great havock of the rear of the flying *Bolognians*, and took some thousands of prisoners, which obliged them to sue for peace^l. Their proposals were accepted, on condition that they destroyed the fort erected at the mouth of the *Po*, made reparation for the damages they sustained by the war, and submitted to the impost.

Bologni-
ans de-
feated.

For a series of years the *Venetians* had been engaged in continual wars, no intermission, no rest or breathing; whence we may justly infer, that the power of the republic had excited the jealousy of her neighbours. Peace was but just established with the *Bolognians* when another little state, the inhabitants of *Ancona*, had taken arms against her, in order to open to themselves a free navigation. To preserve the appearance of moderation, they first sent ambassadors to the pope, requesting his mediation and interest with the *Venetians* to remit the late impost: the pope, glad to be thought of consequence, ordered the *Venetians* to send ambassadors to *Viterbo*, to hold a conference upon this subject. The ambassadors went, and managed the conference with so much address, that his holiness was entirely gained, and the complaints of the *Anconitans* left unredressed. So heartily did he espouse the republic, that he procured the truce with *Genoa* to be prolonged for two years, to prevent her being embarrassed with two wars at the same time^m. During these

A. D.
1273.

Dispute
with the
Anconitan-
s.

^k SABEL. l. 8. d. 1.
NITEN. Comment. l. 3.
BEL. l. 8. d. 1.

^l SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. *ibid.* Po-
^m BLOND. Hist. l. 4. d. 2. SA-

negotiations *Thiepolo* died, after he had been doge about six years, and was succeeded by *Jacomo Contarini*.

JACOMO CONTARINI, Doge XLVII.

Jacomo Contarini, doge XLVII. THE new doge was but just elected when an accident had almost broke the truce with *Genoa*: a *Venetian* merchantman was seized by two gallies belonging to the *Genoese*; and as it was not doubted but it was done by the orders of the government, the doge and republic began to prepare for war: however, they resolved before hostilities commenced, to demand restitution by their envoy; and if this was refused, to retaliate. The envoy had no sooner presented his memorial, than the *Genoese* ordered the ship and cargo to be restored, and compensation to be made for the loss sustained by the detention, together with every thing else the *Venetians* requiredⁿ.

Istrians revolt. IN the mean time some disturbances arose within the dominions of the republic. The *Istrians*, who had always been the most faithful of all the conquered provinces, were now suddenly in rebellion, and supported by the patriarch of *Aquila*; but the patriarch and rebels were soon conquered by **A. D. 1275.** *Andrea Basso*, the *Venetian* admiral, and reduced to their obedience.

War with Ancona. THE war with *Ancona* was for some time suppressed, but not extinguished. It now broke out with great violence: the *Anconitans* took the opportunity of the republic's being engaged in *Istria*, to redress their grievances, by committing violence on the *Venetian* shipping, and refusing to pay the duty required in the gulph of *Fana*^o. A squadron of twenty-six sail was sent by the doge to lay siege to *Ancona*: the *Venetian* admiral attacked the harbour; but being repulsed, the fleet was soon after dispersed by a storm, six gallies were lost, and the rest so damaged as to be unfit for service until they were refitted. The *Venetians*, not dispirited, sent another fleet upon the same enterprize, which, by a stratagem of the enemy, proved equally unsuccessful. Thus, in a short space, the *Venetians* had been twice defeated in their attempts, either by unforeseen accidents or misconduct: nothing, however, could make them lay aside their design of humbling the *Anconitans*. Another fleet, more formidable than either of the former, was ordered to lay immediate siege to *Ancona*, which so terrified the inhabitants, that they dispatched some of the chief citizens to pope *Nicholas*, just then elected, to

ⁿ Ibid. BONITEN. Com. uti supra.
BONITEN. l. 2. ibid. l. 3.

^o BLOND. l. 4. d. 2.

request his assistance against the oppression of the *Venetians*^p. At the same time the *Venetian* ambassadors came to *Rome* to congratulate the pope upon his accession, but were denied audience: the republic resented the affront by recalling her ambassadors; but they had scarce quitted the city, when they were seized, and brought back by order of his holiness, who again dismissed them with a severe reprimand. The *Venetians*, however, paid very little regard to the pope's indignation; for the day after their ambassadors returned, a reinforcement was sent to their fleet at *Ancona*, with express orders to proceed in the siege with all possible vigour. When the *Anconitans* perceived that neither the pope's authority nor their own forces were sufficient for their defence, they supplicated peace; which the republic obliged them to purchase at a very considerable price, to indemnify the expences of the war^q.

A. D.
1277.

GIOVANNO DANDOLO, Doge XLVIII.

Two years after, the doge being unable, by reason of his great age, to attend public business, resigned his authority, and had for his successor *Giovanni Dandolo*. The government of this prince began inauspiciously, the city having been greatly damaged by the overflowing of the sea, and a dreadful earthquake. A new war likewise broke out with the patriarch of *Aquileia* and the *Istrians*, which occasioned a good deal of trouble to the *Venetians*: on the first arrival of the *Venetian* forces in *Istria*, the patriarch, finding himself too weak, and imagining it would be difficult to effect a junction with the *Istrians*, pretended to submit upon the terms granted by the republic. Having thus deceived the *Venetians*, he soon found means to join count *Goritian*, the *Istrian* general, and to draw over several cities which had hitherto remained firm in their duty: their numbers were in a little time encreased to an army of thirty thousand men, a force which required all the vigour, caution, and strength the republic was able to exert. A strong armament was prepared with all possible dispatch, which in a short time besieged *Trieste*; but the vigour and numbers of the garrison obliged the *Venetians* to relinquish the enterprize.

A. D.
1280.

For the space of two years hardly any thing, besides fruitless attacks upon *Trieste*, encampments, marches, and feints, occurred in *Istria*. The affairs of the republic in *Syria* succeeded little better; for *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Baruth*,

^p SABEL. l. 9. d. 1. SANSON. del. v. di p.
d. 2. SABEL. l. 9. d. 1.

^q BLOND. l. 5.

A. D.
1286.

were taken by the Infidels : not long after the *Venetians* were driven out of *Acon*, and all the christians out of *Syria*. *Dandolo* was so affected with all these misfortunes, that he fell sick, and died a sacrifice to the public misfortunes, which, however, could not be charged to his misconduct.

Pietro
Gradonico, doge
XLIX.

PIETRO GRADONICO, Doge XLIX.

UPON the death of *Dandolo*, *Pietro Gradonico* was promoted to the dogeship : in the beginning of his reign the republic put an end to the war with the patriarch and the *Istrians*, with a view of employing all her power against the *Genoese*. We are not told, by *Sanfovino*, the only historian who mentions it, the particular terms of this peace, or whether the *Istrians* submitted to the *Venetian* government : we imagine, therefore, that a truce only was agreed upon, since we find hostilities again renewed in *Istria* a few years after.

A. D.
1289.

THE truce between the republics of *Venice* and *Genoa* being some time expired, neither made overtures it should be renewed : the dominion of the sea would seem to be the only cause of recommencing hostilities, since the city of *Acon*, the former bone of contention, was now out of the question, both *Venetians* and *Genoese* being driven from thence by the Infidels. The *Venetian* fleet, consisting of sixty gallies, commanded by *Rogero Morosini*, first began to enter upon action : this admiral sailed directly to *Pera*, a port much frequented by the *Genoese* merchants trading to *Greece*. This little fort he invested, took, and destroyed ; afterwards doing the same to several small settlements belonging to the enemy upon the same coasts^r. All this season the *Genoese* consumed in making preparations for the war, and in conveying their merchants to their different destinations. Early in the spring the *Venetians* sent another squadron, under the command of *Giovanni Souranza*, to the city of *Capha* in the *Chersonese*, which after a tedious siege he took and demolished ; but winter coming on before he could return, his fleet was blocked up by the frost, and many of his crew perished with the cold and want of necessaries ; a loss which more than overbalanced the advantages arising from the plunder and destruction of *Capha*.

Genoese
war.

A. D.
1290.

A. D.
1291.

THE following year the *Genoese* fleet at length put to sea, under *Lampadio Doria*, of the same family with the famous admiral of that name, conquered by *Dandolo* : it consisted of seventy gallies and ships of war, well manned and ap-

^r BLOND, de g. V. etiam in Histor. l. 5. d. 1.

pointed, all fired with sentiments of revenge, and determined to perish or wipe away the disgrace sustained in the last great engagement. *Doria* steered his course to the gulph of *Venice*, with intention to lay siege to the city; but meeting the *Venetian* fleet, under *Andrea Dandolo* at *Corfu*, an engagement ensued: the battle commenced with great fury, and was for several hours maintained with equal courage, and without any apparent advantage. Nothing besides the dreadful shouts of the combatants, the shrieks of the dying, or complaints of the wounded could be heard; nothing seen but dead and mangled bodies, ships burning, sinking, or broke to pieces; thus the fight continued with prodigious slaughter; both pushed on by hatred, encouraged by the hope of victory, and animated by the conduct and harangues of their admirals. At last the *Venetians* were defeated, if that can be called a defeat where scarce a number of the conquerors remained sufficient to report the news of their victory: *Dandolo* was made prisoner, and not a ship belonging to the republic but was taken or destroyed. *Sabellicus* says, that four thousand *Venetians* were made prisoners; but from the accounts of other historians not half that number remained alive on both sides*. *Andrea Dandolo* was so much affected with the disgrace of having yielded up that honour acquired in the last war, that in the agony of despair he dashed out his brains against the side of the cabin where he was confined†: a conduct very different from *Doria's*, but equally indicative of greatness of mind, delicacy of sentiment, and public spirit.

RICOALDO of *Ferrara* relates, that the misconduct of thirty *Venetian* gallies, who kept aloof and slackened sail during the engagement, occasioned this defeat; and that upon returning home the chief officers met with that death in an ignominious way which they so carefully avoided in a manner honourable to themselves, and serviceable to their country. Certain it is, that the joy at *Genoa* for a victory so dearly purchased was not great, hardly a family in the city having escaped the loss of a father, son, or brother. The grief at *Venice* was still greater; for to the loss of their fleet and army, they had the additional affliction of having been vanquished: however, the *Venetians* did not despond; they fitted out another fleet, no less powerful than the former, every man in the city cheerfully contributing towards the expence. Part of this armament was kept for the defence of the city and commerce; another part, consisting of twenty-five gallies,

Venetians
defeated.

A. D.
1292.

* BLOND. de g. V. etiam in Hist. l. 8. d. 2.
l. 10. d. 1.

† SABEL.

under the conduct of *Marco Bassio*, was sent to protect the islands and towns in the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas^u. *Bassio* soon fell in with the *Genoese* fleet, who, elated with their late victory, bore down and engaged him. The *Venetians*, tho' inferior in number, fought bravely for some time, but were at last defeated, with the loss of sixteen gallees.

THOUGH this calamity was much less than the former, the affliction of the republic was augmented: already oppressed with shame and misfortune, fresh disgrace would have proved intolerable, if the intrepidity of the doge, who alone appeared undaunted and resolute, had not stemmed the torrent of despair^w.

ALTHOUGH the victorious *Genoese* triumphed along the coasts, made descents upon several of the *Venetian* maritime towns, and even took, plundered, and destroyed *Cidonia*, a city in *Candia*, yet the doge was determined once more to try the fortune of the republic. Another fleet was fitted out, and several battles fought with various success, until both sides exhausted, spent, and unable longer to continue so ruinous a war, laid down their arms by mutual consent. The want of ability, not of inclination to prosecute their animosity, ended a quarrel which had brought both the republics to the brink of ruin^x.

A. D.
1294.

A conspi-
racy.

BUT this bloody war was not the only danger with which *Venice* was environed: seditions, tumults, and conspiracies at home equally threatened her destruction. One *Marino Buconio*, a man of no rank or power, but of a bold, enterprising, and seditious spirit, formed a design of murdering the doge, and several senators of the first merit and distinction: for this purpose he engaged a party of all the discontented, violent, factious, and desperate men about the city. The plot was conducted with great secrecy and conduct; but just as it was ripe for execution, one of the conspirators, from remorse of conscience^y, discovered it to the doge, who ordered *Buconio* to be seized and put to death: several of his accomplices shared the same fate, which struck such terror into the rest, that they fled out of the city to avoid justice^z.

A. D.
1296.

Another
conspiracy.

THIS plot was hardly suppressed when another more dangerous, not only to the person of the doge but to public liberty, was formed by *Baimonti Thiepolo* and others of the nobility: the scheme was laid to enter the palace, murder the doge, council, and senate; to assume the reins of autho-

^u BLOND. l. 5. d. 2. ^w SANSON. p. 236. ^x SABEL. l. i. d. 2.
^y SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. l. 6. d. 2. BONITEN. Comment. SAN-
SON. del. v. p.

rity; divide among the conspirators the property and power of the deceased; and to rule with an arbitrary sway, without restriction of oaths, or controul of councils and senates^z. A multitude of the common people, either from the love of novelty, or the speciousness of their reasoning, and force of money and promises, were gained. Upon the day fixed for the execution of their wicked purpose, secret notice of it was sent by an unknown hand to the doge, who immediately communicated it to some of the senators in whom he could most confide. The senators were scarce assembled, with such of their friends as the short notice would suffer them to collect, when the conspirators assailed the palace: the alarm instantly spread over the city, and brought every man attached to the constitution to the assistance of the doge and senate. In the mean time the conspirators had filled the spacious market-place of *St. Mark's* with their armed associates. Here a furious battle began: on one side stood *Baimonti* and the conspirators, endeavouring to destroy liberty, property, and the common rights of humanity; on the other, the doge and senate, bravely resolved to perish with their freedom. *Gradonico* animated his party by his speech and example: they pressed forward upon the conspirators, who finding themselves inferior in number, and disappointed in their hopes of taking them unprepared, began to give way. *Fustiniano* seasonably coming up, with a fresh body of men he had collected together, attacked the conspirators vigorously in the rear, broke them, and made prodigious slaughter^a. *Baimonti* perceiving his party giving way, was the first to desert, as he had been the foremost in promoting the villainous design: he endeavoured to escape, but was knocked down by a large stone a woman let fall upon his head from her window, and, before he could recover himself, was taken and cut in pieces by some of the doge's friends who pursued him: the rest were almost all either taken or killed. The arms of *Baimonti* and his accomplices were erased out of the public records, their houses pulled down, estates confiscated, and families for ever banished the city and dominions of the republic. This happy delivery from oppression, bondage, and death, is to this day yearly commemorated at *Venice*^b.

BUT the troubles of the republic did not end here; for *Zara* revolted, embracing the opportunity of her distressed condition, revolted and expelled *Morosini* their governor. The doge equipped a fleet to reduce them to obedience, but died

A. D.
1299.

^z Authors cited before.

^a SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. l. 6. d. 2.

^b BURNET's Travels.

before

before any progress was made in the war. The administration of this excellent prince was one of the most unfortunate to the republic: it was indeed the ambition and martial turn of the *Venetians* which had at this time occasioned their misfortunes, not accident or misconduct.

MORINI GEORGI, Doge L.

A. D.
1305.
Morini
Georgi,
doge L.

MORINI GEORGI, surnamed *Santo*, or the *Holy*, was for his wisdom appointed in the room of *Gradonico*. The senate wisely preferred a governor of experience and prudence, to one possessed of more shining but less solid qualities; one whose age and temper would dispose him to cultivate peace, industry, and commerce, which of late had been much neglected: but though *Georgi's* inclination led him to pursue pacific measures, the necessity of the state obliged him to prosecute the war with the *Zaratines*.

BELETTO was sent to *Dalmatia* in the last year of *Gradonico's* dogeship; but the summer was spent before the walls of *Zara*, and no memorable action performed. *Georgi* sent *Dalmasio*, a *Spaniard*, with a thousand horse to support *Beletto*, to cut off convoys, and scour the country; but the *Zaratines* found means to tamper with this officer: however, *Zara*, distressed for provisions, surrendered upon gentle and easy conditions. *Dalmasio* made his escape to *Italy* in a small bark he had hired, to prevent falling into the hands of the *Venetians*, and was shipwrecked in his passage.

A. D.
1307.

BEFORE the news of the surrender of the city arrived at *Venice* the doge died, after having performed many acts of piety and charity, a year and eleven months after his election^c. He was succeeded by *Giovanni Souranza*, chosen by the unanimous assent of the people.

GIOVANNI SOURANZA, Doge LI.

A. D.
1310.
Giovanni
Souranza,
doge LI.

UNDER *Souranza's* dogeship a magistrate was appointed to preside over trade and commerce: in a few years the number was increased to three, which was the first rise of a commercial board or council^d. Nothing memorable happened during his government: some little disputes indeed arose with the *Genoese*, but they were soon terminated without bloodshed: a rebellion in *Candia* appeared, but was instantly suppressed; and the *Paduans*, by the assistance of the republic, were restored to their liberty, *Maslin*, the tyrant, being driven out of the city.

^c SANSON. delle v. p.

^d DESD. part. 2.

FRANCISCO DANDOLO, Doge LII.

FRANCISCO DANDOLO became so popular by his submission to the pope in a late embassy, in which he was mean enough to appease the pontiff's resentment by suffering himself to be chained down to the foot of his table, that he was unanimously elected in the room of the deceased prince; and indeed his firm conduct and resolution in quality of doge, would seem to wipe off the disgrace he incurred by his servile tameness when ambassador. Two *Venetian* merchantmen were taken about this time by the *Genoese*; but the doge being otherwise employed, deferred his vengeance to a more convenient opportunity.^c

Francisco
Dandolo,
doge LII.

THIS year the Infidels, not satisfied with having driven the christians out of *Syria*, molested the coasts of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and *Rhodes*, and so infested the seas, that there was no security for merchants to trade in the *Levant*. This induced the republic to enter into an alliance with the pope and the *French* king, to repel the attempts of the *Turks* in *Europe*, and recover *Syria*. It was stipulated, that the republic should supply a hundred ships of war and galleys, besides transports and store-ships; but the *French* failing in their engagement, this mighty enterprize ended with the treaty^f. The *Turks*, taking advantage of the irresolution of the christians, made themselves masters of the sea, putting an entire stop to every kind of commerce, which obliged the *Venetians* to send a fleet against them for the protection of their trade and islands. *Pietro Zeno* was appointed admiral: he pursued the Infidels with so much success, that he not only drove them out of the *Levant*, but defrayed the charges of the expedition by the captures.

A. D.
1330.

A. D.
1334.

THE power of the people of *Esca*lla, as historians call them, was become so great, that all the surrounding states apprehended being over-run by that treacherous and ambitious people: besides *Verona*, *Vicenza*, and *Brescia*, which they possessed for some time, they had lately seized upon *Parma*, after having by fraud driven thence the family of the *Rossi*. *Treviso* likewise, according to *Sabellicus*, fell into their hands. About a century before they were no more than a single family that had settled in *Lombardy*, which in time, by their strong connexions, ambition, and intrigues, formed this powerful state, that became an object of the jealousy of all its neighbours^g. *Maftin*, the chief, thirsting to be revenged on the *Venetians* for driving him out of *Padua*, annoyed the commerce of the city.

^c SABEL. l. 2. d. 2.
Hist. l. 7. d. 2.

^f Daniel, A. 2.

^g BLOND.

Thus

Thus the seeds of a war were laid, to prepare for which the *Venetians* raised forces, and made alliances with the *Rossi*, and other princes of *Italy*, who dreaded and had suffered from the power of *Mastin*. The *Venetians* never entered upon a war with greater alacrity : they really were not immediately concerned with *Mastin*, having nothing to fear from him while they applied themselves to commerce and maritime affairs : but they began early to give their attention to the balance of power ; a maxim in politics which has since proved the occasion of numberless wars in christendom, and in no part of it more than in *Italy*.

A. D.
1335.

THE league being concluded with the *Italian* states, the doge and senate gave orders, that the name of every person in the city fit to bear arms should be enrolled : the list amounted to 80,000^h from twenty to sixty years of age. Stimulated by an earnest desire to extinguish and root out tyranny, the action, says *Blondus*, was its own reward. Volunteers flocked from *France*, *Germany*, and *England*, to serve in this war ; insomuch that the *Venetians* could have raised an army, which, with one blow, would have destroyed the tyrant ; but it was not their policy to leave the event to the fate of one battle : they chose to try the power and courage of their enemy first by slight skirmishes, both to accustom their troops to an enemy, and try their fortune. The republic chose *Pietro Rossi*, an implacable enemy to the tyrant *Mastin*, to command their army. He was at this time closely besieged by *Mastin* in a little fort to which he escaped from *Parma* : but he ventured in disguise through the enemy's camp, and arrived safe at *Florence*, where resting but two days, his impatience to be in the field made him hasten, with a few troops of horse, to the camp. The enemy, hearing of his arrival near *Lucca*, placed a strong body in ambush to attack his rear, while he was opposed in front by another corps. *Rossi's* rear was soon put into disorder, and the troops gave all up for lost, when he arrived seasonably to animate, rally, and support them : he was every where present, giving his directions with a composure that inspired his own men with irresistible courage, and wholly discomfited the enemy. They were defeated, and pursued to the gates of *Lucca*, a great number of prisoners made, and a carnage and slaughter, which astonished even those acquainted with his valour.

IN the mean while the *Venetians* were not idle : *Gerrard Caminensis* had with a detachment seized upon the city of *Uderza* ; upon information of which *Mastin* marched against

^h P. PARUTI. l. 1. p. 2. SABELL. l. 2. d. 2.

him, attacked the garrison left by *Gerrard*, but was repulsed. Next day, however, he found means to draw the besieged into an ambuscade, which succeeding, the city fell into his hands.

ROSSI had scarce joined the army when the count of *Colalta*, with a strong corps, deserted the enemy and came over to him; an example that was followed by the *Forlians*, some of the inhabitants of the *Alps*, and a great number of *Germans*¹. *Maftin* finding the strength of the confederates, having experienced the valour of their leader, and knowing they were immediately to enter upon action, sent ambassadors to *Venice* with terms of peace, which were rejected. Breaking up his camp he put strong garrisons in *Lucca* and *Padua*, which last his brother *Albert* had taken by surprize, since the commencement of the war: then he ordered *Thomafino*, governor of *Meftra*, to tamper with the *Venetians*, as if he was willing to deliver up the town to them upon certain conditions. The sum agreed upon was delivered, and hostages given to *Roffi* for the surrender of the town upon a certain day. *Maftin* took care to dispose a strong body of horse and foot in the city, in such a manner as to be able to seize upon the confederates as soon as they entered, which accordingly was executed, and about three hundred prisoners made^k.

The treachery of *Maftin*.

Roffi then immediately marched against the enemy, determined to revenge this treachery. Before he broke up his camp he made a short speech to the soldiers, informed them of the base arts of the enemy and the captivity of their comrades, assured them of victory, recommended strict discipline and obedience to their officers, and lastly reminded them that safety as well as honour depended upon courage. He was advised to besiege *Trevifo*, but declared his first purpose was to fight the enemy; if they were defeated towns might be taken at leisure. The confederates arrived upon the banks of the river *Brente* before *Albert*, *Maftin's* brother, had intelligence of their motions: his army was equal in number to theirs, and his camp fortified on the left by the town of *Padua*, on the right by the marshes and fenny grounds, and in front by the river; yet he did not care to hazard the event of a battle, but decamped with great precipitation and joined his brother^l. *Roffi* continued to advance, and when he came sufficiently near offered battle to *Maftin*: upon his declining it he sent a herald to bid him defiance; but *Maftin* was too well acquainted with the reputation of the general and valour of his troops to accept the challenge: he even retired farther, and

¹ BLOND. l. 1. d. 3. ^k BONITEN. l. 2.¹ SABEL. l. 2. d. 2.

encamped

A fort
built at
Bevolen-
to.

encamped in a more advantageous and strong situation. *Rossi* finding it impossible to bring him to a decisive action, employed his army in building a fort at *Bevolento*, a situation extremely commodious for harraffing and checking the garrison in *Padua*^m. The remainder of the campaign was consumed in negociations and treaties, which ended in nothing.

DURING these transactions *Mestre* was surrendered to *Rossi*; many other towns revolted from the enemy; *Visconti* duke of *Milan*, and *Philip Gonzaga*, had already taken the field against *Mastin*. In short, he was environed by false friends and professed enemies, yet he was not deserted by his courage, deserving of a better cause. He every where opposed cunning, fraud, and intrigue, to the generous and open enmity of *Rossi*: one while he laid the country waste thro' which the confederates must pass; another time he advanced as if with intention to fight; then again he would decamp precipitately, and leave a body of troops in ambush: sometimes he would endeavour to starve *Rossi*, by cutting off his convoys of forage and provisions; then by forced marches would he attack his rear. In short, nothing was omitted which could annoy or harrafs; but he had to do with a general, vigilant, active, and experienced, perfectly acquainted with all his wiles and stratagems. At last *Mastin* was reduced to those difficulties into which he endeavoured to bring the enemy: he had so ruined and impoverished the country, that it was unable to support his army, and the neighbouring princes being all in the opposite interest refused to supply him. Now he fought battle with the same eagerness with which before he avoided it, which *Rossi* prudently declined, knowing that victory would certainly attend his protracting the war. To heighten his misfortunes the cities of *Feltre*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*, fell into the hands of the confederates; *Padua* revolted, and *Mastin's* army was daily diminished by desertionⁿ.

BUT the thread of success which had hitherto attended the allies was interrupted by the death of their general. The brave *Pietro Rossi* was killed by an accidental shot: he was greatly lamented on account of his virtues and abilities. In honour of his memory his brother *Orlando Rossi*, at that time besieging *Lucca*, a brave and experienced officer, was chosen in his room. As soon as he arrived at the camp he made an incursion into the *Veronese*, destroying every thing with fire

^m Ibid. item BLOND. de g. V. BONITEN. Comment. l. 2.

ⁿ SABEL. l. 2. BLOND. l. 7. d. 2. BONITEN. l. 3. item BLOND. de g. V.

and

and sword to the gates of *Verona*. *Mastin* was at this time besieging *Montichia*, and, when he least expected it, was surprized and defeated by *Orlando*, who drove him from the siege, and made prodigious slaughter in his camp. *Mastin* was equally unsuccessful in an attempt he soon after made upon the island *Longara*, which he attacked with sea and land forces: the garrison sallying out vigorously repulsed him with great loss, took several of his ships, and obliged him to abandon the enterprize. *Orlando* in the mean time invested *Vicenza*, and so closely blocked it up, that the garrison was starved to a capitulation.

Mastin defeated.

TIRED out with losses the tyrant sued for peace upon any terms the republic would grant: the conditions imposed were, that *Feltre*, *Belluna*, and *Coneda* should remain to *Charles of Bohemia*; *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, to *Visconti*; *Trevise*, with the castles and villages of the *Trevisan*, be for ever annexed to the *Venetian* dominions, together with those of *Bulde* and *Bassan*, with a free navigation on the river *Adice*; and lastly, that four cities, specified in the articles of peace, should be yielded up to the *Florentines*^o. Thus was the ambition of *Mastin* curbed, his insolence subdued, his tyranny suppressed, and those cities and territories which he had acquired by rapine, fraud, and oppression, torn from the usurper and restored to the just proprietors.

Treaty concluded.

DANDOLO, after governing the republic with great reputation at home and abroad for the space of ten years, died of a fever^p, greatly regretted and esteemed for his prudence, wisdom, and good fortune, which was in some measure the result of those qualities.

BARTOLOMEO GRADONICO, Doge LIII.

BARTOLOMEO GRADONICO was next raised to the ducal throne by the general voice of the council, on account of his moderation, piety, and virtue. In the beginning of his dogeship the great hall, where the different councils have their departments, and sit upon their respective affairs, was built. Travellers inform us, that it remains to this day without any considerable alteration, or symptoms of decay^q. Little occurs in this pacific reign besides prodigies, omens, and apparitions, a long detail of which is given us by *Blondus* and *Sabellicus*. This only they tell us, that *Edward* the third of *England* demanded the assistance of the republic against *Philip* of *France*, supported by the *Genoese*; but was refused, al-

A. D.
1338.

Bartolomeo Gradonico, doge LIII.

^o BONITEN. Comment. l. 3. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.
^q BURNET, ADDISON, DESDIER.

P SAN-

though

though he condescended to make this request in person : that a rebellion began to appear in *Candia*, which was nipt in the bud, and the ringleaders delivered up to punishment, by the force of the rewards offered to the betrayers ; and that a famine prevailed in the city ; but no particulars are we favoured with of any of these transactions.

ANDREA DANDOLO, Doge LIV.

A. D. 1343. *GRADONICO* was succeeded in his authority by *Andrea Dandolo*, a prince of a more active, vigilant, and warlike disposition ;

Andrea Dandolo, liberal, and generous, inasmuch that he was commonly called *doge LIV.* by a name expressive of those qualities^r.

IN the beginning of his dogeship the republic, in consequence of a league formed by the christian powers against the Infidels, sent sixteen gallies under *Pietro Zeno* to Greece. *Zeno* had the good fortune to meet with a number of *Turkish* vessels, which he sunk and burnt ; afterwards he took *Smyrna* by assault, put the garrison to the sword, and fortified it with some addition to the walls, leaving a strong body of forces for its defence. He afterwards, in conjunction with the fleets of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, fought several bloody and successful battles with the enemy : at last the *Venetians*, with their allies, received a signal defeat, most of them being taken, killed, or drowned ; but whether this fatal accident happened while *Zeno* commanded, we are left to conjecture.

*Venetians
defeated by
the Turks.*

IN the second year of *Dandolo's* government it was that the *Venetians* opened a commerce with the Infidels at *Alexandria* and the other ports. *Souranza* and *Justiniano*, two rich citizens, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope, were the first who traded to the *Turkish Asiatic* dominions^s.

*Zara re-
volts.*

ZARA, ever inconstant, revolted a seventh time, and sent to *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, to demand his protection, and to offer him the sovereignty of the city. *Simon Dandolo*, brother to the doge, and *Andrea Morosini*, were appointed to reduce it ; but it cost the *Venetians* dear, their troops having been often defeated. *Lewis* of *Hungary* arrived with sixty thousand men to the relief of the city ; but he was defeated, driven out of *Dalmatia*, and the city at last taken. *Sabellicus* informs us, that the slaughter of the king's troops was so great, that, by infecting the air with the putrid exhalations, it produced a pestilence. No other punishment was

^r SANSON. delle v. di p.

Hist. b. 2. c. 4. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.

^s DESD. p. 2. AMELOT's

inflicted

inflicted upon the rebellious city besides the perpetual banishment of the promoters of this revolt.

VENICE was now so much encreased, and her causes of litigation so great, that the government erected a court of six auditors, or judges. This was the original of the council of the savii, according to some historians. By order of the doge and senate, their first business was to digest and abridge the laws, which, it seems, were swelled to an enormous bulk: all the decrees of the senate were likewise compiled in one volume, and divided, for the sake of perspicuity, into chapters, books, and sections, with a general index, and table of contents. The prince added to this a volume of judicial acts and decrees of the great council, which he had compiled and digested with his own hand while he was procurator of *St. Mark's*. Thus *Dandolo* was no less attentive to the domestic and civil than to the foreign and military policy of the republic.

ABOUT this time *Venice* was afflicted with a series of unavoidable calamities; a terrible storm destroyed great part of their fleet and merchant ships; an earthquake and high tide threw down and damaged a prodigious number of houses and bridges in the city; and a plague swept off incredible numbers of the inhabitants. In consequence, a decree of the great council passed to naturalize all foreigners who would come and reside in the city, which soon produced a happy effect, multitudes of people flocking from every quarter to enjoy the freedom and liberty of the *Venetian* constitution.

AMIDST all these misfortunes the *Istrians* revolted; but were soon subdued by the authority and spirit of *Parnatis Justiniano*. The authors of the revolt were sent to *Venice*, from whence they were enjoined not to stir under pain of death.

BEFORE the *Venetians* were well recovered from the late civil misfortunes and wars, new differences arose with the *Genoese*. These last possessed several settlements in *Greece* from the time that *Paleologus* seized upon *Constantinople*, consequently they carried on a considerable trade, with which they were apprehensive the *Venetians* would interfere; they left no means untried to deprive the republic entirely of the *Genoa*. *Levant* trade; they took, plundered, and robbed such of the *Venetian* merchants as came in their way; and committed several other violences and infractions of the law of nations.

¹ SANSON. del. v. p. 1. 7. d. 2.

² SABELL. l. 3. d. 2. BLOND.

A. D.
1344-

A. D.
1345.

The doge and senate of *Venice* sent to demand satisfaction ; and upon its being refused, equipped a fleet, and prepared for war : an embargo was laid upon all their shipping ; gallies were sent for to *Dalmatia*, *Candia*, and *Negropont* ; and *Morosini*, their admiral, recalled from *Ragusa*.

Genoese
gallies
taken and
destroyed.

Negro-
pont sur-
rendered to
the Geno-
ese.

IN a short time a squadron of thirty-five ships and gallies was ready to put to sea, under the conduct of *Marco Rufino*. He had not been long in quest of the enemy, when, by stress of weather, he was forced to put into *Cariste*, where fourteen *Genoese* gallies rode at anchor, filled with rich merchandize, ammunition, provision, and every necessary for a fort they proposed building at *Pera* *. *Rufino* attacked them, took, sunk, and burnt ten gallies ; four made their escape under cover of a dark night, but were afterwards taken by *Morosini*, admiral of the *Adriatic*, and carried into *Venice*. In the mean time, the *Genoese* fleet, commanded by *Filippo Doria*, reduced *Negropont*, the governor and officers having basely abandoned it before the attack began ; for which they were recalled, and put to death †.

THE republic had now entered into an alliance with the king of *Arragon*, who agreed to join them in person with a fleet against the *Genoese*. Some authors affirm, that *Dandolo* formed a treaty offensive and defensive with the *Greek* empire, from whom he received a considerable reinforcement †. *Pisani*, the *Venetian* admiral, soon came to an engagement with the *Genoese* stationed in the *Bosphorus* : the fight began in the evening, and continued with great fury for the whole night, without any apparent advantage or weariness on either side. All the horrors which the darkness of the night, the clashing of ships, the clattering of arms, the shouts of combatants, and shrieks of the wounded could inspire, contributed to render this action dreadful. Next day the battle ceased, rather from inability than want of inclination to pursue it, each admiral claiming the victory. *Giovanni Delfino*, who was present, says, that the *Venetians* gained a complete victory, having taken twenty-eight of the enemy's gallies, with the loss only of four : but the *Genoese* and other historians deny the assertion †. *Pisani* was blamed for attacking the enemy in so strong a situation, for the disposition of his attack, and for continuing it with obstinacy through the night.

FROM this time forward a council of four experienced officers were appointed to attend, direct, and advise the ad-

* BONITEN. Com. 1. 3.
d. 2. SABELL. l. 3. d. 2.

† BLOND. FLAV. Hist. 1. 7.
BONITEN. Com. 1. 3.

miral,

miral, in order to prevent any rash resolutions, which might prove destructive of the fleet, and ruinous of the republic². The command of the grand fleet was now given to *Rusino*, who had so eminently distinguished himself in the beginning of the war. He first steered his course with a Squadron of thirty gallies to *Sardinia*; there he joined the *Aragonian* fleet of forty sail, commanded by *Barnardo Casnari*; and immediately went to seek *Grimaldi*, the *Genoese* admiral, who was no less eager to engage. The two fleets met on the *Sardinian* coast: *Rusino* ordered his ships to grapple with the enemy, and then had them chained to each other in such a manner that he must conquer or die, it being impossible to escape. Thus a kind of land battle was fought upon the sea, in which there was no room for disputing the victory, the whole *Genoese* fleet having been either taken or destroyed, *Grimaldi's* ship alone escaping. When the news of this defeat arrived at *Genoa*, the whole city was in the greatest consternation, and the affliction was equal to what might be expected had *Genoa* itself fallen into the enemy's hands. In their despair the *Genoese* dispatched ambassadors to *Visconti*, duke of *Milan*, requesting his protection and acceptance of the sovereignty of the *Genoese* dominions. *Visconti* accepted the proposal; and thus we see this potent republic, in consequence of one severe stroke of fortune, surrendering up that power, wealth, reputation, and liberty, which she acquired by industry, and for a series of years maintained with courage, conduct, and her blood.

*Genoese
defeated.*

A. D.
1348.

*The Genoese put
themselves
under the
protection
of Visconti.*

THIS news soon arrived at *Venice*, and put the republic upon forming alliances able to ballance the great power of *Visconti*: treaties were made with *Massin*, the *Carrarians*, and the *Florentines*: the *Venetian* cities, forts, and towns; on the continent, were strongly fortified, garrisoned and put in a posture of defence; their fleet was increased, and their forces augmented: we are likewise told, that the *Venetians* formed an alliance with *Charles* king of *Bohemia*. In short, they omitted nothing which could enable them to cope with so powerful an enemy². *Visconti*, perceiving the vigilance and spirit of the republic, endeavoured to accommodate the difference: his proposals were such as he thought the *Venetians* would gladly embrace, when they considered the late addition of strength the *Genoese* had acquired from his alliance; but he was mistaken. They were haughtily rejected, and his ambassa-

A. D.
1340.

² DESDIER. p. 1. SABELL. l. 3. d. 2. BLOND. l. 7. d. 2.
SABELL. et BLOND. ibid. ² BLOND. FLAV. l. 8. d. 2.

dors told that it was the custom with the *Venetians* to decide by the sword, not by negotiation ^b.

Genoese
defeated.
A. D.
1352.

DURING this interval eight *Genoese* gallies entered the gulph and destroyed *Corfu*, and certain islands on the coast of *Dalmatia*. The republic dispatched *Nicholas Pisani*, with fourteen gallies, in pursuit of them, who soon drove them out of the gulph. Next *Pagano Doria* entered the gulph with a strong squadron, took a great number of *Venetian* ships, steered his course to *Istria*, destroyed *Paransa*, and laid waste the whole coast. *Pisani* being reinforced with twenty gallies, came up with him, engaged and defeated the *Genoese*, taking, sinking, and burning a great number of his ships; but not before *Doria* had thrown the city of *Venice* into great terror and confusion at his near approach ^c.

NOTHING memorable occurred the following year besides *Dandolo's* death, which happened in the beginning of the year one thousand three hundred and fifty-four. He was deservedly reputed the greatest statesman, the greatest scholar, the greatest orator, and the finest gentleman of his time: he was likewise pious, just, and generous, qualities which particularly gained him the love and esteem of the people ^d. *Marino Faliero* was now raised to the ducal chair.

MARINO FALIERO, Doge LV.

Marino
Faliero,
doge LV.

His reign was productive of foreign and domestic evils; defeats, famine, and pestilence, all conspiring to humble the pride of this towering republic. While the assembly was busied in choosing a doge, three *Genoese* gallies were taken by the *Venetians* upon the coast of *Greece*; the last instance of the republic's good fortune in the war ^e. Soon after the *Venetian* fleet, commanded by *Pisani*, was defeated by *Doria*: *Pisani* rode at anchor at the island *Sapientia*, on the coast of the *Morea*, waiting for *Doria*. Some authors affirm that the *Genoese* came some days sooner than they were expected, and took *Pisani* with the whole fleet by surprize; a circumstance hardly credible ^f. Others are equally positive, that a long and bloody battle was fought, in which at length *Pisani* with five thousand of his men were made prisoners, and above twenty gallies sunk ^g. All authors agree, that the *Venetians* sustained, upon this occasion, an almost irreparable loss; they differ only in the manner. The city

The Venetians
defeated.

^b SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. BLOND. Hist. l. 8. d. 2. Etiam de gest. Venet.
^c SABEL. ibid.
^d SANSON. del. v. di prin.
p. 238.
^e SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.
^f BLOND. Hist. l. 8.
d. 2.
^g SABEL. ibid.

would

would probably have been undone, if the victorious *Doria* had known as well how to pursue as to gain a victory. The *Venetians* were equally surprized and rejoiced when the news arrived that he was returned to *Genoa*, at a time they every hour expected him before their gates. It is probable that *Doria's* weakness from the loss he sustained in the action, prevented his laying siege to *Venice*: he knew the bravery of the *Venetians*, and what they were capable of doing in defence of their wives, children, property, and liberty, against an enemy they implacably hated: these are the probable motives which actuated *Doria's* conduct.

THE *Venetians* ever shewed an admirable constancy in adversity: they now levied troops, equipped a fleet, and, to prevent *Visconti's* sending assistance to the *Genoese*, they engaged him in a war at home, having prevailed upon *Charles* of *Bohemia*, to march with a powerful army into the duke's dominions^a: in the mean while they made a truce for four months with *Visconti*, and exchanged prisoners with the *Genoese*.

Truce with
Visconti.

FALIERO, who had been doge little more than nine months, was seized with a violent desire of governing the republic absolutely, without council, senate, or seignory, and of subverting the established constitution^b. He begun his design by acts of popularity, and forming a strong faction among the lower rank of people: he even went so far as to make entertainments for them, at which himself would preside, taking occasion to hint how improper a popular government was where vigour and unanimity were required; how unfit to retrieve the desperate affairs of the state, which only could be done by entrusting the power in the hands of one man, equally attached to his country and capable of directing it. When he perceived that the people listened to him with attention, he began to drop hints of his intention to deliver them from the tyranny of the senate, to retrieve the honour and power of the state, and to assume a greater latitude of power and authority than he now enjoyed, until he had restored their liberty; after which it should be left to their choice to continue him or not, as they found he deserved. His proposal was to murder the chief persons of the assembly, senate, and seignory, who had raised him to the dignity he possessed: this he laid before the people, after he had first provided his party with arms, and upon some pretence got a sufficient

Faliero's
conspiracy.

^a SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. Hist. l. 8. d. 2.
Comm. l. 32. SABEL. l. 3. d. 2.

^b BONITEN.

number together in the palace^k. The first day of *April* was appointed for the execution of this infamous plot; a rumour was to be propagated that the enemy were at the walls, the great bell, the usual alarm, was to be tolled as a signal to the conspirators to join and begin the massacre. On the very day fixed for the performance of this dreadful tragedy, *Beltrand*, a conspirator, either through disgust or remorse, went to the house of *Nicholao Leon*, and made an ample discovery. *Leon* was so confounded with the horror of the action, that for some time he was unable to reply; at last, ordering *Beltrand* to be confined, he dispatched messengers to the chief senators, the seignory, and officers of the city, to come instantly to him. A resolution was taken to secure the doge and heads of the conspiracy, which was happily executed^l. They were all put to death, and the doge's memory branded with particular marks of infamy: a veil was put over his picture (A), the senate having ordered that it should rank among the rest with this infamous distinction. A pension of one thousand ducats was settled upon the discoverer; and thus ended the reign of the ambitious, mad, and wicked *Marino Faliero*^m.

^k BONITEN. *ibid.* BLOND. *ibid.* SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. ^l Aut. citat. ^m SABEL. l. 3. d. 2. BONITEN. Com. l. 3. BLOND. l. 8. d. 2. SABEL. l. 4. d. 2.

(A) The inscriptions which *Sanfovino* reports to be placed upon the monuments of the doges, we are apt to think were rather put under their pictures and busts: it was customary at Venice to erect these in the great hall, in compliment to their memory. These words which he mentions to have been inscribed on *Marino's* tomb were far more probably wrote under his picture, busto, or statue.—*Temeritatis meæ pœnâs lui*.

S E C T. III.

Containing the Origin of the Inquisition of State; the Peace with Genoa; War with the King of Hungary; Revolt of Candia, and other Particulars.

State in-
quisition.

WE have reason to suppose the inquisition of state owed its origin to this attempt to subvert the established plan of government, destroy liberty, and introduce tyranny. Some authors imagine its rise to be of a later date; but as they neither specify the time, nor particularize the manner, we are at liberty to form conjectures. It is probable that so bold an

an attempt would have made the senate extremely circum-spect, jealous, and watchful of the conduct of their doges, embracing every probable method of retrenching their authority, and limiting their ambition. Certain we are, that the first intention of the inquisition was solely to guard against the encroachments of the prince, and protect the privileges of the people, although its authority has since been extended.

DURING the interregnum *Bernardo Justiniano* was sent with a squadron to scour the seas, and convoy a fleet of merchantmen from *Greece*: he was so diligent that he took a great number of *Genoese* ships, and if he had not been prevented by peace, would probably have recovered the late disgraces sustained by the republic. But this object, equally the interest and wish of both parties, was at last obtained, after the war had raged with the utmost violence for the space of five years. The prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, and nothing but rejoicings, mirth, and gladness filled the hearts of every *Venetian* and *Genoese*; not that their animosity was satiated, but their power was exhausted^a.

Peace with
Genoa.

GIOVANNI GRADONICO, Doge LVI.

GIOVANNI GRADONICO was chosen to succeed *Faliero*, after the republic had been for two months in the hands of a vice-doge. Of this prince nothing is recorded, his reign being short, and the republic blessed with profound tranquillity. Some differences arose between *Lewis* king of *Hungary* and the republic, but they did not break out into open war during the life of this doge. *Lewis* complained of injustice in the last treaty concerning *Dalmatia*, and renewed his claim to cities he had then formally ceded: he demanded that the republic would at least acknowledge by a small tribute his superiority; but the *Venetian* ambassador refused to give any answer until he had received instructions from his master and the senate; during which interval the doge died, after having reigned one year and two months, including the regency of *Cornaro*^b.

A. D.
1355.
Giovanni
Gradonico, d. LVI

War with
Lewis,
king of
Hungary.

GIOVANNI DELFINO, Doge LVII.

GIOVANNI DELFINO, his successor, positively rejected the king's proposal, preferring war to servitude. Upon which *Lewis* marched an army into *Dalmatia*, so great that he at the same time besieged *Zara*, *Scia*, *Spalatra*, *Nona*,

Giovanni
Delfino,
doge LVII.

^a BLOND. SABEL. *ibid.*

^b SANSOV. p. 236.

A. D.
1356.

and *Trabu*. The *Venetians*, amazed at his expedition, raised forces, and equipped a fleet with all possible dispatch, with which they found means to reinforce the garrisons, and supply the cities with every necessary. *Lewis*, finding that the war would be protracted by this method of proceeding, raised the sieges, and sent an army of sixty thousand men to support *Francisco Carrerio* in *Italy*, with whom he had contracted an alliance^c; knowing that the republic was not to be brought to terms while the war was carried on at so great a distance. He had besides considerable reinforcements from the duke of *Austria*, the patriarch of *Aquila*, who seized every opportunity of distressing the *Venetians*, and from the earl of *Coatla*. With this numerous army *Caniglian*, *Sacilla*, and some other places were invested, and no sooner besieged than taken^d.

Lewis re-
tires into
Hungary.

THE *Hungarians* afterwards sat down before *Treviso*, and laid close siege to the city. The *Venetians* had provided for this by supplying the garrison with large store of ammunition, provision, and every other necessary: several assaults were made, and the enemy as often repulsed; nor had the king's menaces, that he would put the whole garrison to the sword if they did not surrender, any other effect than to animate the besieged, and encrease their hatred to *Lewis*: at last, tired out with their obstinacy, he turned the siege into a blockade, and retired into *Hungary*^e. The *Venetians* were in the mean while busy levying forces in *Germany* and in the city: as these auxiliaries were incamped upon the river *Brente*, near *Vicenza*, they were surprized and cut off before the *Venetians* could come to their relief^f. Soon after a truce for five months was agreed upon, during which time peace was negotiating.

Several ci-
ties taken
from the
republic.

THE negotiations producing no effect, hostilities recommenced at the expiration of the truce. *Spalatra*, and *Trabu*, fell into the king's hands, the republic being unable to raise the sieges, as their chief strength was necessarily employed in *Italy*. *Zara* was taken by surprize; and of all the cities in *Dalmatia*, *Emona* alone remained to the *Venetians*: it had been for some months bravely and obstinately defended by *Giovanni Justiniano*, one of the best officers of his age. The king lost four times the number of the garrison before the town, and was no nearer being master of it than when he made his first approaches^g: however, the republic finding that *Dalmatia* must inevitably be lost if they did not conclude

A. D.
1356.

^c SABEL. l. 4. d. 2. BLOND. de g. V.
BLOND. Hist. l. 9. d. 2.

^e Ibid.

men. l. 3.

^g P BLOND. de g. V.

^d SABEL. ibid.

^f BONITEN. Com-

peace,

peace, sent ambassadors to *Lewis* with terms rather convenient than honourable. Their proposals were accepted, by which the *Venetian* territories, from the gulph of *Fano* to *Durazzo*, the intire claim to *Dalmatia*, and some other districts, were ceded to *Lewis*; he, on the other hand, giving up his conquests in *Istria*, *Italy*, and laying himself under an obligation to prevent the *Dalmatians* from practising piracy, their common vocation^b. Peace with Lewis.

Nor long after the conclusion of the peace *Delphino* died, from which it appears that this war continued above four years; a circumstance which shews the immense wealth and commerce of the republic, that for a series of years was engaged in continual wars. He reigned for five years, and was reputed a good, wise, and not unfortunate prince.

LORENZO CELSO, Doge LVIII.

DELFINO no sooner expired than twelve senators were dispatched to congratulate *Lorenzo Celso*, elected by the assembly, on his accession to the dogeship. *Celso* was at that time in *Germany*, on his return from an embassy to the emperor *Charles IV*. His father declined complimenting him after his arrival, to prevent his standing uncovered in his son's presence, thinking it an indignity to the paternal authority to be subjected to the ducal^c. The duke of *Austria* and king of *Cyprus* made him a visit of congratulation; for in his embassies *Lorenzo* had acquired the esteem of a great number of foreign princes. A. D. 1361. Lorenzo Celso, d. LVIII.

DURING their residence in *Venice* great commotions broke out in *Candia*. The senate, to defray the expences of the late war, taxed all the natives of *Venice*, of a certain property in the island, and imposed a still heavier tax upon the original inhabitants. The *Venetians* were the first to take up arms against their country, which so encouraged the natives, that the rebellion became general, the governor, provedatori, and all the ships of the republic being seized. Candia revolts.

THE rebels chose *Marco Gradonico*, surnamed *Bayardo*, for their general, an officer of experience and valour: they began with fortifying the most advantageous situations, laying up magazines, equipping a fleet, and keeping strict discipline among the troops: every thing was done which the duty of a good officer required, and that could secure the island in the independency it affected. The news soon ar- A. D. 1363.

^b SABEL. l. 4. d. 2. ibid.

^c BLOND. Hist. l. 9. d. 2. SABEL.

rived at *Venice*, which greatly embarrassed the doge and senate, as the authors of the insurrection were *Venetians* of distinction and family. After various debates and opinions, it was resolved to send three of the senators to sound the intentions of the rebels, offer proposals, and if possible persuade them to reason. The ambassadors used every argument which could soothe the passions, determine the judgment, or work upon the heart, but all to no purpose; they resolved to be an independent free people^k. Finding all their endeavours to no purpose, the senators went on board certain galleys that waited for them, the captains of which, just as they were getting under sail, seized about three hundred of the crowd upon the shore, and carried them prisoners to *Venice*.

WAR was now determined upon by the republic, and the *Candians* declared enemies to their country. Ambassadors were sent to the emperors of the East and West, to the kings of *France*, *Hungary*, and to other potentates, to demand aid and assistance against this rebellious colony, or at least to obtain an assurance that no protection or succour should be afforded them against their mother country. Their ambassadors were kindly received, and the most liberal and solemn assurances every where given not only of denying the *Candians* any support, but of their detestation and abhorrence of their conduct^l.

War with
the Can-
dians.

IN the mean time an army was levied, their marine put in readiness, *Dominico Michaeli*, who before was proveditor of the gulph, was appointed admiral, and the land forces committed to *Luchin Vermio*. As soon as every thing was ready for embarkation *Vermio* reviewed his army, and found it consisting of five thousand foot and two thousand horse, all veterans who had served in the late wars, and in good order. The fleet, amounting to forty galleys and ships, arrived early in the spring at *Candia*.

A. D.
1364.

BUT during these transactions several gentlemen of *Candia*, the capital of the island, hearing of the vigorous preparations carried on at *Venice* to reduce the rebels, begun to fall off, to practise with some of the chiefs of the faction, and to inspire them with a sense of their duty and danger. Hence proceeded horrid murders, massacres, and stratagems^m. The chiefs fearing they might be betrayed to the republic, left no means by poison or the poignard untried to take off the suspected persons, the traitors as they were called. Many *Venetians*, of the first distinction in the island, were suddenly

^k SABELL. l. 4. d. 2.

^l SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. Hist.

l. 9. d. 2.

^m SABELL. l. 4. d. 2. BLOND. Hist. l. 9. d. 2.

put to death by the infernal arts of one *Calergo*, a famous poisoner and assassin. In short, the native *Greeks* perceiving the success of their diabolical agent, began to distrust all the *Venetians*: they now insisted upon the management of the war; they demanded that ten natural *Greeks* should be admitted into the senate; they threatened to break open the prisons, and murder the *Venetian* prisoners confined there, if they were not voluntarily surrendered, and a solemn oath taken of their allegiance to the *Greeks*. They had even the insolence to demand the same of the *Venetian* nobility that remained. A scheme likewise was laid for seizing upon *Candace*; depriving the *Venetians* of all authority; and, if possible, of massacring every *Italian* in the island: a just punishment upon them for their perfidy to their native country.

THE *Venetian* nobility were now in a miserable dilemma; declared enemies to the republic, and dreading its power at the very time they were betrayed, poisoned, and assassinated by the *Greeks*, with whom they were associated in one common act of rebellion. To extricate themselves it was determined to deliver the island to the *Genoese*, as they doubted not but they would rejoice at so fair an opportunity of enlarging their dominions, and of shewing their hatred to the *Venetians*: but the republic of *Genoa*, either from a principle of honour, or dislike to enter upon a fresh war, rejected the offer. It was next proposed to throw themselves on the clemency of the *Venetian* republic, thinking by this means to purchase their pardon. The *Greeks* discovered and prevented this design.

THE *Venetian* army being landed, *Vermio* detached a party to reconnoitre the enemy, view the ground round *Candace*, and regulate the manner of making his approaches. The detachment fell into an ambuscade, were cut off, cruelly mangled and hacked to pieces after they were killed: so great was the aversion of the *Greeks* to the *Venetians*; or so ready are men, engaged in a wrong cause, to perpetrate every villainy. *Vermio* marched his army against the *Candians*, engaged, and routed their army, making a great number of prisoners^o. He then invested the capital on the land side, while *Michaeli* blocked it up by sea, and soon reduced it to the obedience of the republic. It seems one article of the capitulation was, that the city should not be plundered, and subjected to the ravages of the soldiers; to prevent which the gates were to be opened to the governor, and a party

The *Venetian* army
lands in
Candia.

Candians
defeated.

^a BLOND. et SABEL. *ibid.*
l. 4. d. 2.

^o BONITEN. l. 3. SABEL.

sufficient for his protection : the army to remain without the walls. The soldiers, finding themselves deprived of the booty they expected, begun to mutiny, which had nearly terminated in a thorough revolt, had not the vigour and firmness of *Vermio* quelled it, by putting the ringleaders to immediate death, and rewarding the rest of the army with double pay ^p.

CANDACE being lost, and the army defeated, the rest of the island submitted of course. The chiefs, both *Venetian* and *Greek*, were seized and put to death ; the former with the greatest rigour, their offence admitting of no extenuation.

MARCO CORNARO, Doge LIX.

A. D.
1365.
Marco
Cornaro,
doge LIX.

IN the mean time *Lorenzo Celfo* died, after he had governed the state for three years with discretion, temperance, and œconomy ^q. *Marco Cornaro* was but just elected to succeed him when the news of a new revolt of the *Candians* arrived. It was excited by *Calergo*, who had found means to escape the just punishment denounced : he now ventured to appear publicly : he declaimed against the oppression of the *Venetians*, the pusillanimity of the *Greeks*, the subjection in which the natural lords of the island were kept, insisting on the weakness of the republic, and the strength of the island, if they would exert that spirit for which their forefathers were famous. Every argument that could inflame their minds, and dispose them to rebellion, was used, and with success. *Calergo* set up the *Greek* standard, exhorting every man inspired with the love of his country, for liberty, to enlist himself in the cause of freedom. A numerous army was soon raised, the forts seized, and the nobility and *Venetian* magistrates put to death. *Nicholao Dandolo*, and his brother, were the first victims of the popular fury ^r.

A. D.
1365.
Second re-
volution of
the Can-
dians.

Candians
defeated.

NICHOLAO JUSTINIANO, the provedatori, with some others of the nobility, found means to escape, and raise a body of forces to oppose *Calergo* ; who, advancing to the citadel of *Candace*, assaulted it with great vigour, but was repulsed. The rebels, finding that they could make no impression here, retired, after setting the suburbs on fire, to *Rethimna*, which the *Venetian* garrison abandoned, not finding it tenable. *Justiniano*, having received forces from *Venice*, and indulgences from *Rome*, marched against the rebels, and defeated them in a pitched battle : but this decided nothing,

^p SABEL. Hist. ibid. BLOND. l. 9. d. 2.
v. p.

^r SABEL. l. 4. d. 2.

^q SANBOV. del.

the enemy were soon recruited. Another battle ensued, and *Justiniano* was a second time victorious, though to as little purpose as before¹.

IN this posture stood matters, when all of a sudden the inhabitants of fifteen towns and villages, which had hitherto remained quiet, joined the rebels; by which they became greatly superior to *Justiniano*. He therefore applied for speedy reinforcements to the republic, acting in the mean time on the defensive, while the rebels were committing the most barbarous excesses: he was on the point of being reduced to great necessity, when a seasonable supply of provisions, troops, and every thing wanted, arrived from *Venice*; upon which the scene was changed². The rebels were now driven into the mountains, cut off from their magazines and stores, and at length compelled to submit to the clemency of the republic. Reasonable terms were granted, on condition that *Calergo*, and some other persons specified, were delivered up to punishment; but he made his escape to *Anapolis*, which he bravely defended against all the power of the *Venetians*. At last, perceiving the place was no longer defensible, he abandoned the island in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose. *Anapolis* was surrendered, and the whole island reduced to its former obedience.

A. D.
1368.

Peace with
the Can-
dians.

SOME members of the senate were dispatched to *Candia* to enquire into the grievances which had occasioned the revolt; to settle it upon a sure footing; to abrogate some old and frame new laws; raze the holds and forts which were unnecessary to the safety of the island: in short, to establish tranquility and peace upon the best foundation which the temper and disposition of the *Greeks* would admit.

ANDREA CONTARENI, Doge LX.

MARCO CORNARO, after a troublesome sway of three years died, and was succeeded by *Andrea Contareni*, who unwillingly received a dignity, to support which he was perfectly qualified. His scruples were no sooner surmounted than the *Istrians* revolted, under pretence that the duties exacted by the republic upon all merchandize passing through the gulph of *Fana* to the *Po*, was an insupportable imposition; ruinous of their commerce, upon which depended their very existence. They destroyed the galley the *Venetians* kept on the coast to receive the duty: not satisfied with this act of defiance, they pulled down the standards of the republic, and expelled the

Andrea
Contare-
ni, d. LX.

Istrians
revolt.

¹ SABELL. *ibid.* BLOND. Hist. l. 9. d. 2.
d. 2. BLOND. Hist. l. 9. 2.

² SABELL. l. 4.

A. D.

1673.

The duke
of Austria
comes to
their as-
sistance.

The duke
defeated.

Venetian governors. The doge and senate, resolving to curb their insolence, sent against them a fleet and army, commanded by *Michaeli* and *Molino*^u. In a short time the rebels were so hard pressed, that they threw themselves upon the protection of the duke of *Austria*, and erected his standard in all the public places. The duke came to their assistance with an army of ten thousand foot and four thousand horse: he was so much superior in strength to the *Venetians*, that he invested and blocked up their camp, which was in great danger of being taken, when *Molino* arrived with a strong body of sailors, attacked the duke in the rear, and after putting the *Germans* in confusion, forced open his way into the camp: having joined *Michaeli*, a general sally was made with such impetuosity that the enemy were routed and driven from the entrenchments with great slaughter. The duke's retreat was so precipitate that he left the wounded, his baggage, and provision behind, together with three or four hundred prisoners taken in the flight^v. A truce was granted him for a day to bury the dead; after which he was defeated in another action, and his pride so mortified, that leaving the *Istrians* to the mercy of the conquerors, he retired into *Austria*. Thus the rebels losing their protector submitted to the republic, acknowledged their offence, made reparation, and agreed to pay the duty, the refusal of which had reduced them to this necessity.

War with
the Carra-
rians.

Corrario
attempts to
poison the
doge and
senate.

SCARCE was the republic rid of this troublesome affair when she resolved to enter on a fresh war. *Francisco Carrario* had usurped some of their dominions near the lakes; upon which the *Paduans* were forbid trading or carrying on any sort of commerce to *Venice*. Other neighbouring states were so affected by this prohibition, that they did all in their power to reconcile the contending parties; but not succeeding they applied for the mediation of *Lewis*, king of *Hungary* and the *Florentines*, at whose intercession it was agreed, that a truce for two months should take place, in order to negotiate a peace. Commissioners were deputed by both sides to examine the bounds and fix the limits in an amicable manner; but the negotiations were soon broke off, on certain intelligence which the republic received of a design formed by *Carrario*, of murdering the doge and senate^x. Strict search was made after the conspirators, some of whom were found, put to the torture, and on their confession hanged. Apprehensive that *Carrario's* villainous plots would

^u BLOND. de g. V.

Com. l. 3. BLOND. l. 9. d. 2.

^v SABEL. l. 4. d. 1. BONITEN.^x Aut. cit. ibid.

not terminate with a single attempt, the senate ordered a constant patrol of horse, the guards of the palace and senate to be doubled, and the senators, most obnoxious to the tyrant, to be constantly attended by two armed soldiers. Orders were likewise issued that all the wells in the city should be well guarded; butchers, bakers, and poulterers, were made responsible for all the meat they sold, and every precaution was taken to guard against poison: nor did their fears end here, strong reasons appeared for suspecting that they were betrayed by some of their own body. A scrupulous and rigid enquiry was made, which turned out to the safety of the state, and to the eternal shame of certain senators, who were proved guilty of holding a correspondence with their most insidious enemy. The most guilty met with condign punishment, others were imprisoned for life, and some still less criminal, were degraded and for ever disqualified from holding a seat in the senate.

In the mean time the republic was taking measures for carrying on a vigorous war, in order to chastise the baseness of this treacherous enemy. *Rayniero Vasco*, the best commander of his time, was invited from *Tuscany* to lead their army, *Dominico Michaeli* being appointed his lieutenant. *Michaeli* marched against the *Paduans*, entered their country, defeated them in several skirmishes, laid the country under contribution, and filled it with terror and consternation. *Rayniero* in the mean time arrived at *Venice*, and having received his commission immediately set out for the army, and was soon after dismissed, upon a quarrel with the provedatori, who had the address to make his conduct suspected. The great *Vasco* thought it beneath his character to stoop to a defence; to exculpate and palliate would lead him to an altercation with the provedatori, whom he despised equally for their corruption and ignorance. He quitted the command with a dignity of sentiment, and contempt for the weakness of the republic, incapable of distinguishing true merit, that reflects more honour on his memory than all the laurels of the greatest conquerors.

ALBERTO CARRARIO, *Pietro Fontano*, *Alberto* and *Andrea Dandolo*, were appointed to take the command of the army by turns; their success against the enemy was considerable, which diverted the public suspicion from falling upon the provedatori, though their integrity was doubted by persons of penetration. The *Venetians* were divided into two bodies,

† SABELL. et BLOND. BONITEN. Com. 1. 3. BLOND. H. l. 9. d. 2.

Venetians
receive a
slight de-
feat.

one of which was conducted by *Thaddeo Justiniano*: he was surprized by the enemy, and defeated after a vigorous resistance and great slaughter of the *Paduans*, whose victory consisted in remaining masters of the field of battle. *Justiniano* retired into the *Trevisan*, where he withstood all the attacks of the enemy until he was reinforced.

A. D.
1374.

ABOUT this time *Lewis* king of *Hungary* arrived to the assistance of *Francisco Carrario* and the *Paduans*, with a powerful army, which obliged the *Venetians* to act upon the defensive, until an opportunity of breaking and dividing the enemy should offer. On this occasion the vigilance, activity, and conduct of *Delfino* the admiral, were greatly admired: he supplied himself with a number of light boats, came round the lakes, built and garrisoned forts in such a manner as greatly distressed and annoyed the enemy. A party could not come out of the camp to forage, but it was surprized by some of those garrisons, the convoys of the enemy were cut off, and their army reduced to such extremity as compelled them to a motion which afforded the *Venetians* the opportunity they long desired. *Carrario* was obliged to march through some narrow defiles, woods, and marshy grounds, of which the *Venetians* taking advantage, attacked him in places where it was impossible to draw out his army. *Pietro Fontano* commanded the republic's forces upon this occasion, and acquired great glory by the refined strokes of generalship which he displayed. No opportunity was lost, nothing omitted which could possibly harraiss, break, or reduce the enemy. For the space of a week continual actions and skirmishes passed, all terminating to his advantage: at length, when the enemy was fatigued, broken, and dispirited, *Fontano* attacked them with all his forces, and gained a complete victory, killed two thousand upon the spot, and made three thousand prisoners^b. Divisions arose among the enemy; the *Paduans* blamed the *Carrarians*; the *Carrarians* shuffled the public odium on the *Hungarians*. *Marsi*, the brother of *Carrario*, offered his mediation to compose those civil broils, which he foresaw must ruin the common cause; but *Francisco* continuing unalterable in his resentment, he quitted the army, and sought protection against the persecuting temper of his brother at *Venice*^c.

The Venetians de-
feat the
enemy.

LEWIS of *Hungary*, tired with his losses, determined upon a peace with the republic. *Carrario*, finding himself in danger of being deprived of so powerful an ally, began likewise to reflect upon the consequences of supporting a

^a SABEL. l. 5. d. 2.
et MENTA. uti supra.

^b BLOND. l. 3. d. 1. SABEL.
^c BLOND. et SABELL. uti supra. BO-
NIXEN. Com. l. 3. BODIN. BLOAD.

war singly against so powerful and warlike a people as the *Venetians*. Accordingly he sent proposals to the *Venetian* general, which were accepted, and afterwards ratified by the doge *Peace concluded.* and senate. It was proposed that the republic should appoint five commissioners to fix the limits of the controverted territories; that the *Paduans* should immediately, as an indemnification, pay forty thousand crowns to the republic, and an annual tribute of fourteen thousand crowns more for the term of fifteen years; that *Francisco Carrario*, or his son, should acknowledge his fault in presence of the people, senate, and doge of *Venice*; that the castle of *Caranio*, with all its districts, should be ceded to the republic; that *Castellenuovo*, with all the forts round it, should be razed, and never afterwards rebuilt; that *Marsilio* should enjoy the profits of his estate, either to reside in *Venice* or elsewhere, as he thought proper; that *Carrario* should forthwith discharge his auxiliaries, and disband his army; that he should annually remit three hundred crowns to St. *Mark's* church; that the *Paduans* should not build within three miles of the mouth of any river in *Italy*: that they should not maintain forts or garrisons; and lastly, that they should surrender up all the towns, villages, and lands, taken from the *Venetians* in the course of the war^d.

A. D.
1375.

ON these conditions, so glorious to the republic and easy to *Carrario*, considering the infamous means he had practised to ruin the *Venetian* constitution, murder the doge, and poison the senate, peace was restored. His son came to *Venice* to perform the articles, and ask pardon for his father's offence: he was carried to St. *Mark's*, where he solemnly swore to his father's acceptance of the conditions, expressed his contrition for the unprovoked injury offered the republic, and his firm resolution to keep the peace sacred and inviolable^e.

SOON after a fire destroyed the *Monastery of Virgins*, the *Monastery* most famous nunnery in *Venice*, in which a great number of *of virgins* young ladies of distinction perished, together with a great *destroyed* quantity of valuable effects, a prodigious sum of money, and *by fire.* profusion of rich plate.

PROFOUND tranquility for the space of three years succeeded these events; at the expiration of which a fresh war recommenced with *Leopold* duke of *Austria*, who without any previous complaint or declaration entered *Italy*, laid waste the *Trevisan*, putting every thing to fire and sword as far as the gates of *Treviso*. The magistrates of the city sent imme-

^d SABEL. l. 5. d. 2. BLOND. l. i. d. 3. Etiam BONITEN. uti supra.

^e SANSOV. del. v. d. Contar.

A. D.
1377.
Leopold
of Austria
invades the
Trevisan.

diate notice to *Venice* of their danger; but the republic having in the late repose laid up her fleet, and disbanded her army, was forced to solicit the neighbouring powers to succour the *Trevisans*. Their request was rejected, and the *Venetians* found themselves under the necessity of relying upon their own vigour and strength †.

Austrians
defeated.

AN army and squadron were got ready with all possible dispatch, and assurances of speedy assistance sent to the *Trevisans*. All the *German* merchants in the *Venetian* ports were seized, and their ships and goods confiscated. *Jacomo Caballa*, an old warrior, was appointed to command. As soon as the armament was complete he marched to *Treviso*, at the same time that the fleet scoured the seas: the enemy abandoned the *Trevisan* upon his approach; but, pursuing them, he obtained a complete victory on the banks of the river *Piava*. Thence marching to *Feltre* he destroyed the suburbs, and was about to invest the town, when he was informed of a strong reinforcement *Leopold* had received, and of his intention to raise the siege. Upon this *Jacomo* determined to retreat towards the *Trevisan*, sending his son with a detachment to seize upon the castle of *Baldina*, a place of some consequence: *Leopold* having notice from his spies of *Jacomo's* intention, laid an ambuscade for young *Caballa*, which succeeding, the whole detachment were made prisoners. *Leopold* dismissed them next day, on their parole they would return if an immediate peace did not ensue, proposals of which he sent by them to *Jacomo*: *Lewis* king of *Hungary* acting as mediator, the proposals were accepted, and peace confirmed ‡.

Peace with
Leopold.

War with
the Geno-
ese.

BUT *Lewis*, as if he had a mind to strengthen the republic against himself, no sooner rid her of this enemy, than he entered into an alliance with the *Genoese*, the *Carrarians*, and the bishop of *Aquileia*, against the *Venetians*. The cause of the war was this: *Andronicus* having conspired against the life of his father *Caloine*, emperor of *Greece*, was detected, convicted, blinded, and banished to *Pera*, a *Genoese* settlement. *Caloine* had conceived a strong friendship for the *Venetians*, in consequence of which he complimented the merchants of the republic with several valuable and exclusive privileges. The *Genoese*, piqued at the preference given to the *Venetians*, resolved to revenge themselves by raising *Andronicus*, who had in some measure recovered his sight, to the empire: for this purpose they sent directions to *Pera* to set him at liberty. Agents were employed over the empire to

† BLOND. de g. V. SABEL. l. 5. d. 2.
SANSOV. Venet. Cronic. BENITEN. Com. l. 3.

‡ Ibid. Etiam

form a party in his favour, and a strong squadron and body of forces sent to his immediate assistance. *Andronicus* was no sooner released than, agreeable to the inconstancy of the Eastern nations, he found himself at the head of a powerful faction, determined to dispute the empire with *Caloïne*. He sent orders to the governor of *Tenedos*, to surrender the island to the *Genoese*, proposing thereby to secure a harbour and wintering for the fleet. This the governor refused, unless the order was countersigned by the emperor. For further intelligence he sent to *Constantinople*; and was directed by *Caloïne* to put the island in the possession of the *Venetians*, whose assistance he was then soliciting^b. Thus *Tenedos* became the occasion of this, as *Candia* had been of former wars between the republics.

MARCO JUSTINIANO, admiral of the gulph of *Venice*, having orders to receive *Tenedos* from the *Greek* governor, failed thither, put the island in a posture of defence, appointed *Donato Troni* governor, and then convoyed a fleet of merchantmen to *Venice*. *Tenedos* was of the utmost consequence to the commerce of *Genoa* and *Venice*; both had long endeavoured to acquire the possession of the island, and now the success of the latter rekindled their ancient animosity, and occasioned a bloody, tedious, and destructive war^c.

BEFORE war was declared between the republics, the *Genoese* seized upon *Lemnos* in the name of *Andronicus*, and made prisoners of some *Venetian* merchants. Sailing from thence, they joined *Andronicus* with eleven gallies, and made directly for *Tenedos*; where, upon their arrival, they summoned *Troni* to surrender his trust to the lawful emperor. But this demand being answered with a shower of arrows, *Andronicus* gave the assault with great fury, which *Troni* sustained with so much bravery as defeated their efforts: then sallying out with the whole garrison, he rushed upon them with an impetuosity so irresistible, as made the *Genoese* and *Greeks* precipitately take to their ships, and relinquish the attempt. The number of slain and prisoners was great, and the booty considerable, as it included all the enemy's battering engines and camp materials^k.

WAR was now declared by the *Venetians* against the *Genoese*, *Lewis of Hungary*, the bishop of *Aquileia*, and the *Carvariens*, a powerful confederacy, against which the republic endeavoured to employ an adequate force. For this purpose

^b SABEL. l. 5. d. 2. BLOND. l. 1. d. 3. CAROSIN. apud SABEL. BONITEN. l. 3. ^c BLOND. uti supra. ^k SABEL. l. 5. d. 2.

Sea fight
between the
Venetians
and Ge-
noese.

A. D.
1378.

Genoese
defeated.

forty ships of war were equipped, and the command given to *Viſtor Piſani*, with *Barba* and *Loretani* in quality of providers. *Viſtor* lay at anchor with his fleet at *Ancia*, when he received intelligence that the *Genoeſe*, under *Lodovico Fieſca*, approached: he inſtantly gave the proper directions for drawing up the fleet, animated the ſoldiers and mariners, and, weighing anchor, crowded ſail to meet the enemy. As ſoon as the *Genoeſe* admiral appeared, the whole *Venetian* fleet gave a cheer, ominous of ſucceſs from the alacrity and ſpirit it indicated. Upon the near approach of the fleets, the ſky was in an inſtant darkened with a cloud of arrows; but this kind of fighting was ſoon laid aſide for the ſword and pike, the ſhips being driven upon each other by the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather. Here they boarded each other, and an obſtinate battle continued for two hours, when the *Genoeſe* were obliged to yield to the bravery of the *Venetians*, four of their gallies only eſcaping, the reſt being either taken, ſunk, or deſtroyed: about two thouſand priſoners were made, and a greater number of the enemy ſlain. Nor was the victory purchaſed without blood on the ſide of the *Venetians*, they having loſt about ſix hundred men, ſeveral of whom were citizens of diſtinction. However, as the *Genoeſe* admiral, and the whole fleet, fell into *Piſani*'s hands, he the leſs regretted his loſs, although his ſon was among the number of the ſlain¹.

In the mean time the allies of *Genoa* had taken the field, entered, burnt, and deſtroyed the *Treviſan*; but failed in their attempt to ſurpriſe the city of *Treviſo*. The *Genoeſe* likewiſe ſurpriſed the city of *Famagoſta*, the richeſt maritime town in *Cyprus*, the king, the ally of the *Venetians*, having made his eſcape to *Milan*, where he married *Viſconti*'s daughter, and prevailed on the duke to aſſiſt the republic. The conditions of the treaty were, that the *Venetians*, with ten gallies, ſhould transport the king to *Cyprus*, and aſſiſt him in retaking *Famagoſta* from the *Genoeſe*: that on the other ſide *Viſconti* ſhould ſupply them with nine thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, for the defence of their dominions on the continent; and the king grant them a certain ſubſidy, which we do not find ſpecified by hiſtorians^m.

ACCORDINGLY ten gallies were ſent with his majeſty, the harbour of *Famagoſta*, a number of ſhips, and ſome priſoners were taken. The town was then ſtormed, ſcaling ladders applied to the walls, and the ramparts mounted by the *Venetians*, when the *Cyprians* failing to ſupport them, and the

¹ BLOND. l. 1. d. 3. SABEL. l. 5. d. 2. CAROSIN. apud SABEL.

^m Ibid. Etiam BONITEN. Com.

Genoese attacking them vigorously in front with numbers greatly superior; they were driven headlong to the ground with great slaughter. The *Genoese*, however, not pursuing the blow, the *Venetians* gained their ships without any farther loss, and joined *Pisani*, who was steering his course to *Catharra*^a.

THIS city belonged to *Lewis*, was strongly fortified, and well supplied: *Pisani* summoned the governor, but he returned a haughty answer that only inflamed the *Venetians*. The troops being landed the city was invested, and in a few days all the outworks taken: then *Pisani* ordered a general assault, the walls were scaled, and the *Venetians* mounted the ramparts with a courage that daunted the enemy, though they still endeavoured to maintain their ground; but in a short time a flag of truce was hung out, and the governor surrendered at discretion: the booty was so considerable, that *Pisani* sent six ships loaded with rich merchandize to *Venice*.

Catharra
taken by
Pisani.

HEARING that the *Genoese* fleet were steering towards *Dalmatia*, he directed his course to meet them, or, if he failed, to attack *Zara* and the coasts. The two fleets came within view at *Tarentum*, and in appearance prepared for battle; but the *Genoese* admiral, perceiving *Pisani* to be well prepared, bore away with all the sail he could make. *Pisani* gave chase as far as the coast of *Dalmatia*, where, fearing some design of the enemy, who were superior to him, he waited for a reinforcement.

DURING these transactions at sea the war was briskly carried on by land: the *Venetians* had taken *Saligetta*, a city belonging to *Gerardo Caminensis*, who had joined in the league against the republic: *Cesalta*, and several other towns they burnt, ruined, or dismantled. *Carrario*, on the other hand, was not idle; having joined the patriarch of *Aquileia*, their forces amounted to sixteen thousand men, with which army they invested the city *Mestra*. To deprive the besieged of all succour, strong detachments were sent to block up every path by which the *Venetians* could march; but *Nicholas Galliano* and *Hico Pisani* being detached with a strong corps to attempt the relief of the besieged, they forced a passage, and so successfully harrassed the enemy's out-guards and camp, being at the same time supported by brisk and seasonable sallies from the town, that *Carrario* was compelled to raise the siege with some precipitation, leaving behind a great part of his baggage^b.

War car-
ried on by
land.

^a SABEL. l. 5. d. 2.

d. 3. l. 1. CAROSIN. apud.

^b CAROSIN. apud SABEL. BLOND.

SABEL. BONITEN. Com. l. 3.

*Sicco taken
by Pisani.*

PISANI was on his way to *Trabu* in quest of the *Genoese* fleet : coming past *Sicca*, he stopped to summon the fortress, the governor of which replied, that the *Venetians* must use more powerful arguments than menaces before they became masters of the place. This answer being reported to *Pisani* he ordered an assault, the walls were scaled, and the fortress taken in the space of a few hours, with prodigious slaughter of the garrison. Loaded with prisoners, spoil, and rich booty, *Pisani* proceeded in his course to *Trabu*, sending a galley to *Venice* with the news of the taking of *Sicca*, and the scarcity of provisions in his fleet. The *Genoese* had strongly blocked up both the channels leading to the harbour of *Trabu*, which foiled all the attempts of *Pisani* to come to an engagement : he therefore landed his troops at some distance from the city, marching them up along the coast, and attacked it with great intrepidity ; but the garrison was so numerous, and the want of provisions so great in his camp, that he was constrained to raise the siege, with the loss of seven hundred men, and retire to *Zara*. From hence he sent ten galleys to *Albania* to summon the garrison to surrender, with which they immediately complied, fearing the fate of *Sicca* and *Catbarra*.

*Famine in
Pisani's
fleet.*

IN the mean time the doge and senate, hearing of the retreat from *Trabu*, and of the famine in the fleet, sent five galleys with provisions, and orders to *Pisani* to return to *Trabu*, and either starve or force the garrison to surrender. *Pisani*, in obedience to his orders, made a second attempt, much against his inclination, which proving unsuccessful he sailed to *Istria*, and there expected orders either to winter or return with the fleet to *Venice*. The former was the resolution of the republic, and a pernicious one in effect ; for the cold was so extreme, and the dearth so great, that not half the crews survived the winter. In the spring a reinforcement of eleven galleys, and great store of provision and ammunition were sent : this supply enabled *Pisani* to put to sea early ; but he was scarce a day's sailing from the coast, when a terrible storm dispersed the fleet. The admiral, however, had the good fortune to unite the fleet on the coast of *Apulia*, where in a few days he descried the *Genoese* squadron, consisting of fifteen galleys. Orders were immediately issued to give chase, and in the evening the *Venetians* were near enough to engage the enemy, who not chusing to hazard a battle dispersed themselves and bore away. *Pisani*, however, fell in with a part of the squadron, and forced an engagement, in which the *Genoese* admiral was killed by an arrow, and several ships taken.

A. D.
1379.

THIS

THIS good fortune did not continue long; for he was defeated by the *Genoese*, with the loss of a great part of his fleet. *Pisani* fought with all imaginable courage and conduct; but he fell into an ambuscade laid by the enemy, thro' which he would have made his way, had he not basely been deserted by five of his gallies. He was recalled by the doge and senate, mulcted in a sum of money, and the captains of the gallies heavily fined and imprisoned. The people, who adored the generosity and bravery of *Pisani*, murmured greatly at his unmerited punishment: they had publicly declared that envy rather than the public good actuated the senators; that many attempts had been made to ruin the glory of this hero, whose character was too exalted to be regarded with candor by narrow minds.

*Pisani de-
feated.*

*Pisani im-
prisoned.*

WHILE the republic was thus divided, the *Genoese* reaped the fruits of her dissensions. *Caorli* and *Grada* fell into their hands; the *Venetian* trade, protected only by six gallies under *Zeno*, suffered considerably, several of the richest merchantmen having been taken. *Pelestrina* the *Genoese* took by assault, and they were now besieging *Chioggia*, after having already destroyed the suburbs, and seized upon *Little Chioggia*. The garrison made so many vigorous sallies, and disputed every inch of ground with such obstinacy, that the enemy were obliged to quit the siege. They soon after returned, and took the city by surprize, putting the whole garrison to the sword, except *Hamo* the governor, and about fifty officers, who retiring into the palace, defended it so bravely, that the *Genoese* were glad to grant them an honourable capitulation. The slaughter here was prodigious, no less than seven thousand citizens and soldiers were slain during the siege, and near an equal number made prisoners^p. *Carrario*, we are told, assisted at the taking of this important city, and behaved with all the cruelty and insolence of a tyrant unused to conquest: some of the prisoners of the first distinction he ordered to be whipt almost to death, and afterwards hanged; others were barbarously maimed and confined to dungeons upon bread and water. In every instance he gratified his natural disposition, and satiated his revenge by the most wanton, savage, and inhuman cruelty.

*Chioggia
taken.*

WHEN the news of this loss, and the massacre of the prisoners, arrived at *Venice*, the people rose up in the most tumultuous manner, threatened the doge and senate, and refused to enlist themselves for the defence of a city in which they said they were slaves to caprice, ignorance, and cow-

^p DOMITEN. uti supra. SABEL. et BLOND. ibid.

A. D.
1380.

*Pisani re-
stored to
his former
employ-
ments.*

ardice : they were not to be appeased by any authority, until *Pisani* was set at liberty, whom they looked upon as the bulwark of the republic, and the only prop able to stay the falling state¹. This report being carried to the palace soon produced a resolution to release him : an order was accordingly sent to prison to make him free, and restore him to his former employments. The joy of the people was extreme ; nothing but shouting, bonfires, and demonstrations of gladness was to be seen or heard : the tide of passion run so strong, that the influence of *Pisani* was equally necessary to moderate their joy, as his liberty had been to appease their resentment. When he came forth from his prison, the tumult, noise, and disturbance redoubled ; the whole city flocked together to behold the suffering hero ; every one pressed with an eagerness to touch him, inasmuch that *Pisani*, who had just been delivered from the hatred of the senate, was near falling a sacrifice to the love of the people : at length, getting possession of a little eminence, he addressed the crowd with a dignity so commanding, and an eloquence so persuasive, that upon his promise to accept of their services, which they so earnestly pressed, they separated and retired². *Pisani* then returned to his prison, where he spent the night with his confessor : on the morning he went to the palace to mass, and to receive the sacrament ; then he waited upon the senate, and threw himself at the doge's feet, who raising him up addressed him thus : " You were imprisoned, *Victor*, by our orders, " for the loss sustained by the republic at *Pola*, under your " conduct ; you are released that you may repair the dis- " grace. Restrain your fire, exert your judgment, and use " caution, without which the greatest virtues in a general " are but splendid vices, which often terminate in his own " shame, and the ruin of his country. Go ! and may " you prove equally the terror of her enemies, as you are the " darling of the republic³." *Pisani* answered with modesty, took his leave, and then retired to his own house, where he was crowded by the citizens, entreating him to enter their names for the service, to accept of their fortunes to equip the fleet, and their lives to fight for him and their country. In the space of three days six gallees were rigged, manned, and ready to put to sea. *Pisani* then held a conference with the principal officers, in which it was determined that a strong brick wall should be run cross the mouth of the haven, each end fortified with a tower, well garrisoned, to prevent

*Zeal of the
people.*

¹ BONITEN. Comment. l. 3.
² BEL. BLOND. FLAV. l. 1. d. 3.

³ CHINAT. Hist. apud SA-
⁴ SABEL. l. 5. d. 2.

the entrance of the *Genoese*, whom they every day expected. Several other works were raised round the city by *Pisani's* advice, and the charge of the whole committed to *Caballa*, an eminent soldier * (A).

DURING these preparations a number of adventurers, in small boats, made incursions up the channels leading to *Chioggia*, surprized a number of *Genoese* traders, and intirely blocked the city up on that quarter. The garrison, apprehending that a scarcity of provisions would ensue, if a stop was not put to these proceedings, sent notice of their situation to *Doria*, the *Genoese* admiral; upon which he came with a strong squadron to *Malamoc*, built a fort there, and landed his troops on the opposite side to besiege *Poveggia*. As soon as the *Venetians* were acquainted with the enemy's approach, they shut up the channels towards *Chioggia*, by sinking large ships in the narrowest passages: here daily skirmishes passed between the light boats of each side, while *Justiniano*, who commanded five gallies, so annoyed the workmen at *Malamoc*, that they were unable to proceed in building the fort. Brisk encounters happened almost every day upon shore, in which *Caballa* had always the advantage over the enemy, both from his military abilities, and from the courage of his troops: however, the people were dissatisfied, they complained of being pent up by an enemy they had often conquered in the field and upon the ocean; an enemy, who but a little before was not in possession even of a retreat to sculk in from their victorious arms; they demanded a general action, which might at once bring either death or liberty; they were equally sanguine in their hopes, and ignorant of the means of obtaining victory. The doge and senate were pleased to see this forward humour in the people, and, to indulge them, ordered a fleet of forty gallies to be got ready. Some authors affirm, that so great was the alacrity with which the people enrolled themselves, and the artificers worked, that thirty-four sail were complete for action, and well manned, in the space of a week". Prince *Contareni* took upon himself the command, appointed the officers, saw the troops disciplined, and the rowers instructed in their duty: by this means he hoped not only to appease the people until the arrival of *Zeno*, who was soon expected with twenty sail, but

New
works
raised to
oppose the
Genoese.

Venice
blocked up
by the Ge-
noese.

* SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. *ibid.* Etiam BONITEN. *uti supra.*

" BLOND. *deg.* V.

(A) *Sabellicus* informs us, that | time; and *Sanfrovino* speaks as
those works remained in his | if he had seen them.

by

by that time to breed up soldiers and mariners fit to dispute victory with the enemy.

DURING these transactions at *Venice*, *Charles*, son of *Lewis* of *Hungary*, sat down before *Trevifo* with an army of fourteen thousand men: here commissioners were sent by the republic to treat of a peace, it being reported that *Charles* had full powers from his father to negotiate one upon any terms he thought fit: *Carrario* prince of *Padua*, and the *Genoesse* ambassadors came likewise to the camp. When the *Venetian* commissioners had their audience, the terms proposed were so hard, unreasonable, and servile, that they determined to hazard all rather than comply with them. Breaking off the conference abruptly, they returned home and acquainted the republic with the extravagant conditions proposed, which excited a spirit of resentment in every breast, from the doge down to the meanest plebeian: this, and the scarcity of provisions which began to prevail, made the people so eager to engage, that the doge thought it dangerous longer to restrain their impetuosity*. A decree was now published, entitling thirty of those who should best supply the fleet with money and provisions, to the privileges of senators, and the rank of nobility, which honour should descend to their posterity: five thousand crowns was farther decreed to be yearly distributed to those who by smaller services should distinguish their liberality and affection for the republic.

The siege
of the city
raised.

THE *Genoesse* having notice of the great preparations in the city thought fit to raise the siege, and retire to *Chioggia*, from whence they could deprive it of all succour by sea or land, and thus starve the *Venetians* into submission. Intelligence being received in *Venice* of their intention, *Victor Pisani* proposed to molest them in their retreat: for this purpose he lay concealed in the night, with three hundred small boats, in a bay near the enemy, with intention to attack them next morning while they were busied in destroying *Malamoc*, and breaking up their camp; but his design being discovered, a great number of galleys bore down upon him, which produced a sharp action, to the disadvantage of *Pisani*, who was quite exposed to the enemy's arrows: he retreated in the best manner he was able, leaving the victory undisputed to the enemy†.

ALL this time *Carolo Zeno* was laying waste the *Genoesse* dominions to the very gates of the city, taking their ships, and ruining their trade, without a thought of the dis-

* Ibid. vid. CAROSIN. add. SABEL. et BONITEX. uti supra.

† BLOND. l. 2. d. 3. Etiam de gest. Venet.

treks to which his country was reduced in his absence. On advice of the siege he immediately crowded sail; but before his arrival *Venice* was so much distressed, that the doge resolved to run all hazards for its relief. Sailing with twenty gallies, he beat off the ships posted for the defence of the harbour of *Chioggia*, and then sunk some large ships to prevent the enemy from coming out to cut off the convoys. When the *Venetian* troops were landed an action ensued with the enemy, who advanced from *Chioggia* to give them battle; but the latter was so strongly supported by fresh troops, that the *Venetians* were forced to quit the field with precipitation and take to their ships: the doge, undaunted with this defeat, sent *Cornaro* to block up the passages to *Chioggia* by *Brondelli*, which was effected without the loss of a man, although the enemy endeavoured to prevent it: thus the *Genoese* in *Chioggia* were as closely beset as the *Venetians* lately had been. Several battles were fought in the haven, in most of which the *Venetians* were victorious.

A party of
the Venetians de-
feated.

NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, the troops, pinched with cold and hunger, began to murmur, to appease which the authority of the doge and credit of *Pisani* were scarce sufficient, when *Zeno* unexpectedly arrived, to the great joy of the fleet. The senate had no sooner descried him from the shore, than they sent him orders to join the prince at *Chioggia* without slackening sail. The public satisfaction was greatly increased when it was known he had sunk about sixty, and taken near three hundred of the enemy's ships, some of them richly laden.

Now the *Genoese* were closely invested, and their sole endeavour was to contrive the means of escape; for this purpose several feints were made, and at length a sally, which terminated in a general engagement, where both sides fought with extreme bravery and conduct. At last the *Genoese* were totally defeated and driven back within their walls, with the loss of three thousand men killed and taken, among which was *Doria* the admiral, and several of their best officers. Next day *Pisani* took, burnt, or sunk ten gallies, which were placed for the defence of the pass of *Brondelli*, which the besieged had recovered a little before the late action. The enemy were now so closely invested, that no hopes of escaping or relief remained but from *Genoa*.

The Genoese de-
feated.

THEY had made some overtures to surrender the town, which were rejected by the doge, when they received intelli-

† SABEL. 1. 6. d. 2. BONITEN. 1. 3.
BLOND. 1. 2. d. 3.

* Aut. citat.

* SABEL. ibid,

gence of a powerful fleet's being under sail for their relief: this gave the besieged fresh courage, and several sallies were made with doubtful success. Famine, however, pinched so severely that, quite spent with fatigue, and worn out with hunger, they sent ambassadors to the doge to solicit that they might be allowed the common privileges of prisoners of war. Their request was granted, and articles signed; upon which the *Venetians* took possession of *Chioggia*, after it had been in the hands of the *Genoese* for above a year^b.

THUS *Venice* was delivered from a siege in which it had suffered all the miseries of want, civil discord, and defeats for the space of nine months. It was remarkable that both cities were in a manner blocked up at the same time. The *Genoese* cut off all communication with the continent from *Venice*, and reduced it to great straits, at the very time when themselves were blocked up and brought to the utmost extremity in *Chioggia*.

A. D.
1380.
Bebia
taken.

THE doge, willing to pursue his good fortune, sent a detachment to besiege *Bebia*, thereby to open a communication for the merchants of the republic to trade into *Lombardy*. It was taken after a tedious siege, and the garrison made prisoners.

Istrians
revolt.

In the mean time the *Istrians* revolted, at the solicitation of the *Forlians*, and put themselves under the protection of the *Genoese*. The capital having first taken arms seized on the palace, on the person of the governor, and on all the *Venetians* residing in the city, whom they plundered and imprisoned. The doge had just returned to *Venice*, after settling the affairs of *Chioggia*, when intelligence of this rebellion was received: the same day came the news of the *Istrians* having delivered up the forts to be garrisoned by *Genoese* arrived, which encreased the people's uneasiness. The enemy's strength immediately suggested to the *Venetians* the difficulty of recovering so valuable a province: however, the doge and senate were not discouraged, but began to make all possible preparations for recovering their loss. In the mean time farther advice was received, that the *Genoese* had restored it to the patriarch of *Aquileia*, after they were defeated in their attempt to reduce the strong fortress of *Piana*, and the little town of *Parenta*: they were likewise informed of the success of the enemy at *Pola*, which city they had taken, plundered, and laid in ashes^c. This intelligence quickened the prepa-

^b BONITEN. l. 3. BLOND. de. g. V. SANSON. delle v. di Cont. p. 226. ^c BLOND. l. 3. d. 3. SABEL. l. 7. d. 2. BONITEN, Com. l. 4.

rations at *Venice*, and made the army pass sooner into *Istria* than at first was intended. Upon the arrival of the *Venetians* at *Pola* the enemy retired to *Zara*, whither *Pisani* did not think proper to pursue them at that time: he sent *Delfino* and *Maripietro*, with two galleys, to examine the condition of *Cap-Istria*, the first city which had revolted. Under favour of the night they broke down a bridge, which the patriarch of *Aquileia* had built between the city and the continent, by which means it was cut off from all succours. In the morning the two galleys were joined by a squadron the admiral had sent to reinforce them, upon which the attack began upon the town: it was conducted with so much resolution that the garrison sued for quarter, submitting themselves at discretion: four hundred prisoners were made, the houses of the *Forlians* plundered and destroyed, and the city committed to the care of the original inhabitants, supported by some companies of *Venetians* ^a.

Cap-Istria taken by the Venetians

THE *Genoese* were not idle in the mean time; they failed to *Scardona*, and, after a tedious siege, forced the city *Arbo* to surrender. *Chinatius* tells us, that so strong was the fidelity of the inhabitants to the *Venetians*, that they supported all the hardships of a cruel famine, living for a great while on the most nauseous animals: their bravery was generously rewarded with liberty by the *Genoese*, upon their promise not to molest the garrison.

ABOUT this time the *Paduans* laid siege to *Trevise*, which was soon reduced to great extremities, all the passages by which the garrison could receive succour having been closely blocked up by *Carrario*. Two days were employed by the *Venetians* in attempting to force the enemy's works, during which there passed continual engagements: at last the enterprize was dropt, and the fleet returned with the loss of a great number of men, although it was thought it did not equal the number of slain among the enemy. The scarcity of provisions was now so great within the town, that a measure of wheat sold for five crowns, and every other article of food at a proportionable price; yet the garrison was resolved to hold out to the last, although they were deserted by numbers of the townsmen, who escaped to *Venice* ^c. The republic finding it impossible to succour the besieged, and fearing that it must shortly fall into the enemy's hands, thought of delivering it up to the duke of *Austria*, who might perhaps be induced by so valuable an acquisition to make war in

Paduans besiege Trevise.

^a MONT. apud SABEL.
l. 4. d. 3.

^c CAROSIN. Hist. p. 83. BLOND.

favour of the *Venetians*. Commissioners for this purpose were sent to treat with him, which coming to the knowledge of the garrison the foldiers began to mutiny : long arrears were due to them on account of the low state of the *Venetian* exchequer ; they demanded that either the governor, or one of the proveditors should go to *Venice*, and represent their grievances to the doge and senate, assuring him that they might be implicitly relied on during his absence. *Dandolo* was forced to comply, and the senate found means to raise their pay, which was remitted by the governor, and the mutineers appeased ^f.

LEOPOLD of *Austria* accepted the proposals made to him, and accordingly sent a detachment to take possession of *Treviso*, imagining the *Paduans* and *Carraris* would raise the siege when they were informed it belonged to a neutral prince : but being disappointed in this expectation, he marched into *Italy* with a body of ten thousand foot and three thousand horse to its relief. *Buccenairo*, *Carraris*'s brother, who commanded the siege, hearing of his approach, sent ambassadors to treat with him. These the duke refused to see, contenting himself with acquainting them by a servant, that he would next day talk to their master. This haughty message being reported to *Buccenairo*, he instantly broke up his camp, and retired from *Treviso*, not being in a condition to stand an engagement. Thus was *Treviso* delivered from a siege, and the *Venetians* deprived of their best city and province upon the continent ^g.

Siege raised.

Death of Pisani.

DURING this siege *Pisani* died as he lay with the fleet at *Mamfredonia*. This great man was lamented as the protector and father of the people : he was so much beloved, that had not his moderation and prudence been equal to his other virtues, he might have been taken from prison to be seated upon a throne, with absolute power in *Venice*. *Pisani* was no less diligent in avoiding honours than others in acquiring them : he served his country, gained the love of the people, and the esteem of all men, from a principle of duty, and a natural sweetness of disposition. His bravery, his generosity, and his popularity, had incurred the jealousy of the senate ; but his modesty, his zeal for the republic, and his patriot spirit, soon made converts of those who were most desirous of his ruin. At his death he was equally beloved, esteemed, and regretted by the doge, the senate, and the people. His body was carried to *Venice*, and interred with great pomp at the public expence, attended by the doge in

^f SABEL. l. 7. d. 2. BLOND. l. 4. d. 3. BONITEN. Comment. l. 3. SANSOV. del. v. p. ^g Aut. cit.

person, all the nobility in mourning, and crowds of common people : an honour never before conferred upon a private citizen. Hardly an eye in *Venice*, says *Sabellicus*, but wept, or a breast but heaved with sighs ; never were funeral obsequies performed with grief more sincere, more deserving, or more general, *Pisani* being at the same time the child, the friend, and the patron of his country^h.

LODOVICO LORETANO, as the next in rank in the fleet, taking upon him the command, immediately steered for the coast of *Livornia*. Here by assault he took and destroyed the towns of *Senia* and *Brescia*, carrying off some rich booty. At the report of his approach, the *Goretani* submitted to the republic, and sent their bishop on board the admiral, to request that their city might be saved from the ravages of the soldiers ; with which *Loretano* complied. Upon his arrival at *Pola*, he was acquainted, by letters from the senate, that *Carolo Zeno* was appointed to the command ; which inspired the fleet with the utmost joy, *Zeno*, next to *Pisani*, being the most popular, as well as the most deserving general of the republic.

The Venetian fleet takes several towns.

Zeno made admiral.

THE finances of the republic were now entirely exhausted, several garrisons had mutinied, and some revolted for want of their pay. This induced the doge and senate to think of a peace ; for this purpose *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*, was solicited to become mediator between the *Carrarians* and the republic. A negotiation ensued ; but hostilities were still carried on by both parties. *Zeno*, upon the coast of *Dalmatia*, met a fleet of twelve *Genoese* ships, which he took, sunk, and destroyed. Soon after he fell in with a rich merchant-man near the *Morea* ; this he sent into *Candia*. Next day he got sight of the *Genoese* grand fleet, to which he gave chase for the whole day : at night he lost the enemy, and put in next morning to *Ancona*, where he left ten gallies for the defence of the city : with the rest he resolved to ravage the *Genoese* dominions, where he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade. Coasting along the shore two gallies were sent to water, who discovering twenty-four *Genoese* gallies lying upon their oars, in a creek covered by a woody mountain, returned with immediate intelligence to *Zeno*. The admiral put his fleet in order of battle, expecting the enemy ; but as their intention was to attack him unprepared, they made the best of their way towards *Livornia*, *Zeno* pursuing for two days, until he lost sight of themⁱ.

^h SABEL. BLOND. *ibid.*
1. 7. d. 2.

ⁱ CHINAT. Hist. SABEL.

Cap-Is-
tria taken
by the Ge-
noese.

Peace con-
cluded.

Conditions.

IN Zeno's absence another *Genoese* fleet attacked *Cap-Is-
tria* and in the space of two days compelled the garrison to sur-
render at discretion.

AT last, by the good offices of *Amadeus* a general peace was concluded six years and four months after hostilities had first commenced, and four years after the declaration of war : the conditions were, that the prisoners should mutually be released; that *Carraris* should restore all the cities, towns, and forts taken from the *Venetians* during the war; that the dispute between the *Paduans* and the republic about their boundaries should be left to the arbitration of *Alberto D'Este*; that the *Venetians* should withdraw their garrison from *Tenedos*, and put the island for two years into the hands of *Amadeus*, to be supported at the reciprocal expence of the two republics; that at the expiration of that term the fort should be razed, the island restored to the empire, both parties for ever renouncing their claims; that neither republic should trade to the river *Tanais*; that the *Venetians* should pay to *Lewis* a subsidy of one thousand crowns for ten years, as an equivalent for his suppressing pirates in *Dalmatia*, and preventing the manufacture of salt among the *Sclavonians* and *Dalmatians*. These conditions being signed by all parties, *Amadeus* and the *Florentines* taking upon them to be guarantees of the treaty, peace was proclaimed in the dominions of each state, and notified to all the other potentates of *Europe*. The prisoners on both sides were in a deplorable situation, above two thirds having perished from the filth and stench of the jails; the remainder were sickly, half starved, and quite naked. The *Venetian* matrons made a collection, to a considerable amount, to cloath the *Genoese* prisoners, and defray their expences home; an act of generosity which, we are told by the *Venetian* writers, was by no means imitated at *Genoa* *. There the prisoners were turned out, loaded with disease, famished, and naked, suffered to beg their way home, and, what was still more barbarous, reviled, buffeted, and abused through the streets.

A. D.
1381.

THIS year, according to *Sanfovino*, died *Contareni* the doge, after he had governed the state for fifteen years and four months. *Sabellicus*, and the other historians we consult, place his death the year after the conclusion of the peace; but *Sanfovino's* account best accords with the chronology of the doges. *Andrea Contareni* was a man of strong natural talents, rough, and unpolished; of a saturnine, severe, and morose temper; which disposition, the misfortune of being in-

* MOROSINI. p. 8. SABEL. l. 7. d. 2.

volved in a tedious and dangerous war increased: he was, however, a good prince, who commanded the esteem without ever gaining or even affecting the love of his subjects¹.

¹ SANSOV. delle v. p. SABEL. l. 6, 7. d. 2.

S E C T. IV.

Containing the Rebellion of Tenedos; the Renewal of the War with Carrario and the Genoese; Transactions with the Duke of Milan; the Siege of Padua; and other Particulars.

MICHELI MOROSINI, Doge LXI.

CONTARENI was succeeded by Micheli, or Michael Morosini, a prince well qualified for promoting the arts of peace, filling the exhausted exchequer, and reviving industry and commerce, which had long languished almost to extinction, under the last administration; but the republic was robbed by death of this valuable governor, after a short sway of four months. We are told, that in this time several excellent laws were framed, and regulations established, under the auspices of Morosini; but history does not descend to particulars².

ANTONIO VENIERO, Doge LXII.

ANTONIO VENIERO, much esteemed for his integrity, lenity, and gentle disposition, was the next person promoted, to fill the ducal chair. At this time he was governor of *Candia*, from whence he was recalled, to the great grief of the inhabitants, who enjoyed under him the most peaceable, flourishing, and happy government they had ever experienced^b.

THE preceding year, as soon as peace was proclaimed, the republic sent *Pantaleon Barba* to *Tenedos*, with orders to *Mutatio* the governor to surrender the forts to *Bonifacio*, the commissioner from *Savoy*. The *Genoese* agent was gone there to see the performance of this article of the treaty, and to pay the *Genoese* quota of arrears due to the garrison. *Mutatio* having received the money from *Barba* and the *Genoese*,

^a SANSOV. *ibid.*

^b SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. l. 4. d. 3.

Tenedos
revolts.

for the payment of the troops, told *Bonifacio* and the other commissioners, "That the inhabitants were incensed at that article of the peace which stipulated that their fort should be razed at the expiration of two years, a circumstance which would be the ruin of the island: that finding their interest neglected by the *Venetians*, and themselves sacrificed to political principles, it was their determination to take care of what concerned them so nearly, and to put it out of the power of *Venice*, *Genoa*, or any other state, to transfer them at pleasure: that for this purpose the inhabitants had appointed him for the protector of their liberties, which he and they were determined to defend with the last drop of their blood. He, therefore, charged *Bonifacio* and the commissioners instantly to depart the island, as they valued their lives, and not offer to dispute what was already resolved". *Bonifacio* was thunderstruck at this discourse; but the *Genoese* commissioner attributed the whole to the contrivance of the *Venetians*, who had taken this method to equivocate and frustrate the intention of the late treaty. The resolutions of the senate soon convinced the *Genoese* of the falsity of their agent's suggestions, *Zeno* being sent to *Tenedos* to use arguments, menaces, and even force, to compel the islanders to the performance of an article which affected the honour and public faith of the republic. *Zeno's* arguments were ineffectual, and his strength too inconsiderable: *Fontano Georgio* was therefore dispatched to *Tenedos* with a fleet and army. On his arrival he immediately invested and battered the fort: frequent sallies were made from within, scarcely a day passing without some bloody action. It was observed, that both sides fought with more bitterness and enmity than common enemies: the prisoners were instantly hanged, or thrown instead of stones out of the *balistæ* and other military engines^d. In short, the natural animosity between the *Greeks* and *Italians*, as well as that rancour peculiar to civil wars, were here exerted in their full force. After the siege had continued without interruption for seven months, famine prevailing within the fort, a flag of truce was waved from the garrison, and the following articles agreed to, and signed: that neither *Muratio* nor the inhabitants should be punished for the detention of the island; that they should be suffered to depart with their jewels, gold, and effects; that those who chose it should have land assigned to them in *Candia* of equal value with what they possessed in *Tenedos*; and

The senate
resolves to
reduce
Tenedos.

^c SABEL. l. 8. d. 2.
ibid.

^d BLOND. l. 5. d. 3. SABEL.

lastly

lastly, that such as preferred residing at *Constantinople* or elsewhere, should receive the just value of their lands and immoveable effects. The *Venetians* had no sooner taken possession than they razed the fort, and executed every article of the treaty^c.

THE first act of *Veniero's* government was exerted against his own son, who had carried on an intrigue for some time with a senator's wife. The lovers at last quarrelling, *Lodovico*, (so he was called) to revenge himself on his mistress, procured a pair of horns to be hung over the senator's door, a reproach not to be forgiven in *Venice*. Inquiry being made, *Lodovico* was found guilty of affronting a senator, and imprisoned by his father, where he died. Some blamed the inflexibility of the parent, while others commended the impartiality of the doge; in this they were unanimous, that the rigidity of the sentence strongly characterized the judge.

GALEAS VISCONTI and *Francisco Carrario* came about this time to an open rupture. *Visconti* laid close siege to *Padua*, in which he was assisted by the *Venetians*: the republic, besides fitting out four hundred light boats, seized upon all the forts, castles, and towns belonging to *Carrario*, upon the lakes and great rivers. *Visconti* having forced *Padua* to surrender, took all the other cities and forts within the jurisdiction of the city, and then invested *Treviso*, which after a bloody siege surrendered upon honourable conditions. Of these conquests *Visconti* claimed to himself *Padua*, *Feltre*, and *Belluna*; the *Trevisan*, and city of *Treviso*, with all the forts, towns, and castles, they had seized upon the lakes, were assigned to the *Venetians*.^d

A. D.
1383.

SOON after the close of this war a plague broke out in *Venice*, and raged with so much fury as to sweep off the inhabitants by hundreds in a day. The contagion was supposed to arise from infected jails, crowded with diseased prisoners, or from the atmosphere's being impregnated with putrid exhalations from the lagunes and trenches made for the defence of the city; or lastly, from the unwholesome food which composed the diet of the poorer people in the late scarcity of provisions: whatever were the causes, the effects were dreadful; neither lazarettos, masses, or physicians, could impede the fury of the disease: the cold season and goodness of Providence, however, brought that relief which art of man could not afford^e.

Plague in
Venice.

^c BLOND. de g. V. idem in Hist. l. 5. 3. SABELL. l. 8. d. 2.
^d SABELL. l. 8. d. 2. ^e SANSON. del. v. di princip. BONITEN. Comment. l. 4.

A. D.
1386.

ALL this time the war with *Carrario* was pursued with the same vigour as before, until at last his forces were totally broken and discomfited. *Visconti* was so puffed up with pride, and his natural insolence so elated, that nothing less than the dominion of *Italy* would satisfy his ambition. It is true he did not venture to acknowledge designs so vast and dangerous, although his conduct afforded strong presumptions of such an intention. Quitting *Padua*, he marched with great diligence to *Mantua*, and, without any provocation, laid close siege to the city. This produced a league between the *Florentines*, *Bolognese*, *Francisco Gonzaga*, and *Novello*, son to *Carrario*, in order to stop the rapid progress of this proud conqueror. The *Venetians* likewise broke off from his alliance, and, though not included in the league, were the first to succour *Mantua*. The republic could not behold a confederate city thus wantonly oppressed without opposing her influence. Intreaties were first used; but these producing no alteration in *Visconti's* conduct, the *Venetians* had recourse to force: a great number of boats were got ready, to which were joined twenty gallies, filled with archers, slingers, and light armed troops, with which they attacked *Visconti*, and after a sharp encounter compelled him to raise the siege. Soon after the duke was met by *Maltesta*, general of the confederate army, who engaged and defeated his army, obliging him to quit the *Mantuan* territories. *Visconti* sent ambassadors to *Venice* with proposals for an accommodation, which were readily accepted^b. They had taken arms to preserve the just ballance of power in *Italy*; the duke's designs being defeated, they laid them down readily, and concluded peace for ten years.

Peace with
Visconti.

DURING this happy period of repose, the doge applied himself diligently to the civil affairs of the state: granaries were formed to provide against a dearth; magazines for arms and all sorts of warlike necessaries were erected; new docks for the shipping contrived; hospitals for the poor, and those who had suffered in the service of the republic, founded; workmen in all arts and professions encouraged; industry and commerce cherished; and laws tending to the regulation and order of society framed and rigidly executed. Afterwards, *Antonio Veniero* died, much lamented by a people whom he had governed for eighteen years, with inflexible justice, incorruptible integrity, unwearied application and vigilance, and

^b SABEL. l. 8. d. 2.

lastly,

lastly, with a lenity, sweetness, and moderation, that falsified the first judgment formed of his character (A).

MICHELÌ STENO, Doge LXIII.

MICHELÌ STENO was substituted in the room of the Steno, deceased doge : he had been procurator of St. Mark's for d. LXIII. some years, which trust he discharged with such fidelity, that the senate and council were induced to raise him to the highest office of the republic. At the time of his election Steno was confined to his bed with an illness, which kept the ducal chair vacant for near two months, at the expiration of which he came to the palace and took the usual oaths. Unprecedented honours were bestowed upon him, though we are not informed for what particular reason : probable it is, that the flourishing state of commerce and manufactures began to produce the usual effects, luxury, which is ever the consequence of prosperity and affluence. Sanfovino relates, that Steno's lady was conducted to the palace, attended by the senate and chief magistrates, with all possible pomp and magnificence¹.

A. D.
1400.

THE two first years of Steno's government passed in peace, quietness, and tranquility at home and abroad, when suddenly a new cause of rupture with the *Genoese* arose. Intelligence was received that great preparations for war were carrying on at *Genoa*, and these the republic doubted not were destined against *Venice*, although the pretext was a quarrel with the *Cyprians* : *Carolo Zeno* was therefore sent with a squadron of eleven gallies narrowly to watch the motions of the *Genoese* fleet, and prevent their surprising any place belonging to the republic. The fleets were several days in company, each admiral dissembling his intention : the *Genoese* were commanded by *Boucicault*, a *Frenchman*, (for at that time they were under the protection of *France*) all the ships were well manned, each galley having, besides her complement, forty *French* men at arms. At last the two admirals came to blows near *Modon*, *Zeno* apprehending that the *Genoese* were only watching their opportunity to give him the slip, and attack some part of

¹ FAVOL.

(A) Sanfovino mentions the reduction of *Corfu* in the last year of *Venice*, of which we find not a syllable in any other historian. He likewise speaks of another plague which ap-

peared in the summer 1388, and raged with a violence little inferior to the former ; neither is this assertion confirmed by other authorities.

Genoese
defeated
by Zeno.
A. D.
1403.

the *Venetian* territories. An obstinate battle was continued for the whole day, and *Zeno* in danger of being oppressed by numbers, when he was seasonably reinforced by two galleys : now the engagement was renewed with fresh vigour until night interposed, and gave the combatants respite : as soon as dawn appeared, both admirals returned to the charge with redoubled animosity. Heaps of slain were thrown over-board on both sides, and the battle seemed equal, until *Zeno*, crowding sail, and taking a sweep, run full upon the opposite ship, and sunk her with the impetuosity and rapidity of his course. Several of his officers followed his example with equal success, which immediately turned the scale of fortune, and gained a complete victory. The *Genoese* lost near three thousand men, four ships were sunk, and three taken. Certain *Venetian* captains were broke, upon *Zeno's* report of their conduct, which he attributed either to treachery or cowardice ; others were rewarded for their remarkable bravery *.

In the mean time the republic found herself in danger of a war on the continent with *Novello Carraria* of *Padua*. Unmindful of his obligations to the *Venetians*, and that he owed his present greatness to their good offices, he was constantly contriving and intriguing to the prejudice of the republic. The doge and senate were not ignorant how he stood affected to them, and their suspicions were confirmed by the report of several *Genoese* prisoners of distinction, who scrupled not to declare, that the preparations at *Genoa* were made in consequence of his advice and instigation. However, they still would have preserved appearances with *Novello*, if they had not been induced to enter upon a war with him upon other motives than his dislike to the republic.

War with
Carrario.

CARRARIO had laid siege to *Vicenza*, the inhabitants of which, detesting the dominion of his family, resolved to suffer the greatest extremities rather than submit. Finding themselves hard pressed, they sent to solicit assistance from *Katharine* dowager of *Milan*, and widow of *Galeas Visconti* their natural superior : but the duchess was involved in other affairs, which deprived her of the power of relieving them ; she, therefore, with the advice of her council, thought it more advisable to put *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Beluna*, *Bassan*, *Cologna*, *Feltre*, and their dependencies, into the hands of the *Venetian* republic, than to have them exposed to the ambition of *Carrario*. With this proposal, and the keys of *Vicenza*, commissioners were sent by the besieged to the doge and senate : they were entertained with all possible respect, and dismissed

* SABELL. BLOND. *ibid.* SANSOV. FAVOL. BONITEN. l. 4.

with presents and assurances of speedy protection. An ambassador was accordingly sent to prevail on *Carrario* to relinquish the siege, or to denounce war; but instead of regarding their intreaties or menaces, he ordered the nose and ears of the ambassador to be cut off, charging him to tell his masters that he was not to have laws prescribed to him by citizens and merchants. The republic, incensed at the insolence of the tyrant, and this violation of the laws of nations, levied forces with all expedition, appointed *Carolo Malatesta* of *Arimini* their general, and entered into an alliance with *Francisco Gonzaga*. In the mean while the doge received the homage of *Belluna*, *Bassan*, and *Feltre*¹. As soon as the levies were complete *Malatesta* took the field, fought several battles with various success, and at the end of the campaign returned to *Venice* to resign his commission: we are not told upon what occasion. *Paolo Sabello*, a native of *Rome*, was appointed to succeed, whose valour and experience were so universally acknowledged, that no *Venetian* envied his promotion, or disputed his superior merit. *Sabello* entered upon action early in the season, and gave proofs of what consequence to the best disciplined army the vigilance, prudence, and bravery of a general may prove. *Blondus* and *Sabellus* relate prodigies of him; every motion shewing the close, the artful, and the penetrating politician and commander, equally irresistible by stratagem and intrepidity. Under his conduct several important places were taken in sight of a superior army; the enemy were as often defeated as they engaged, and the whole country of *Padua*, and territories of *Carrario*, laid under contribution; yet his insolence and cruelty remained invincible^m.

HE was now joined by *Albert D'Este*, won by the large promises of *Carrario* to declare war against the republic. A new army, under the command of *Gonzaga*, was sent against him, which soon compelled *Albert* to sue for peace, and give hostages that he would not join the enemy during this war; likewise that he would destroy the salt-works at *Commachio*, which, it would seem, interfered with that branch of the *Venetian* commerce.

TO return to the affairs of *Padua*: *Sabello's* camp was unexpectedly attacked in the night by *Tertius*, the second son of *Francisco Carrario*, at the head of a strong body of chosen troops. The onset was so sudden and vigorous, that the

¹ SABEL. l. 8. d. 2. BLOND. l. 4. d. 3. BONITEN. l. 3. MONTANO apud SABEL.

^m SABEL. et BLOND. ibid. BONITEN. l. 3. Etiam Aut. cit.

whole camp was in the utmost consternation and confusion, the soldiers running up and down terrified and half asleep: *Sabello* alone was calm and undaunted: with an unparalleled presence of mind he disposed the troops into their proper ranks, harangued, and led them to the charge. *Tertius*, unable to resist his impetuosity, and finding that his attempt of taking *Sabello* unprepared was frustrated, retreated with great precipitation, and considerable loss. *Sabello* then marched against the enemy with a resolution to bring them to a general action, which he effected by the force of stratagem and superior capacity: he so hemmed *Carrario* up that he was under the necessity of fighting, or surrendering at discretion. The first was his choice; he was defeated with prodigious slaughter, and very narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Sundry other advantages *Sabello* gained over the enemy, when, in the full career of glory, he was seized with a fever, of which he died suddenly.

Verona
taken by
the Vene-
tians.

THE army was now given in charge to *Galeas Grumello* of *Mantua*, who neglected nothing that became a good officer. The *Veronese*, of which *Carrario* had made himself master in the first campaign, was desolated with all the horrors of war. The city of *Verona*, where *Jacomo Carrario* commanded, was invested and carried after a brisk siege: a day before the surrender of the city *Jacomo* made his escape, but was overtaken on the banks of the *Po*.

Padua be-
sieged by
the Vene-
tians.

GRUMELLO next invested *Padua*, and encamping his army on the *Terra Nigra*, he kept the *Paduans* under continual alarms. *Carrario* in the mean time exerted himself with great diligence and capacity, omitting nothing that could tend to the defence of the city, or annoyance of the besiegers. Day and night he was continually in action, repairing breaches, relieving guards, and sallying out upon the besiegers: he had likewise found means to corrupt several officers in the *Venetian* camp, and by their means received intelligence of every thing transacted or intended; but a stop was soon put to this treachery, *Massolerio* having been detected tying a letter to the head of an arrow. Some others were arrested on suspicion of holding a correspondence, and sent to *Venice* to be tried, where they were condemned to the most excruciating tortures. *Carrario* being cut off from all communication with the camp, by the death of his correspondents, fell upon another stratagem to penetrate into the designs and situation of the *Venetians*: he sent for a safe-conduct to the camp, as if he intended to make proposals. It appeared on his arrival in the camp, from the extravagant propositions he made, that peace

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peace was not his view : however, the following conditions were offered him by the *Venetian* general ; that *Padua* should be surrendered, and *Carrario* permitted to carry off his money, jewels, plate, furniture, and rich moveables ; that he should remove to the distance of an hundred miles from the *Paduan* districts with his whole family, renouncing for ever all claim to the city and its dependencies ; and that in consideration the republic would present him with the sum of sixty thousand crowns. These terms *Carrario* rejected with disdain, and returned under an escort to the city. Now the siege was pushed with extraordinary vigour, and the city battered in several places : the first wall (for *Padua* was secured by three walls) was taken by escalade, and several breaches made in the second. Upon this *Carrario* entreated the *Venetians* to receive himself and family into their protection ; but he was referred to the senate, and told that possibly his tears and penitence might procure more favour than he could expect. He then desired a passport to *Venice*, but was answered that the republic would send commissioners to treat with him at *Mestre*. The parties having met, the conditions were debated for two days ; at last they parted without coming to any conclusion, and *Carrario* returned to the city, where he was received with great coldness by the inhabitants, who were tired of his tyranny, and attributed to his pride the breach of the conferences, from which they at least expected to be delivered from the miseries of a siege. *Carrario* perceiving that no hopes of security remained, sent to the *Venetian* general, requesting protection for himself and family. Insolence in prosperity is ever the sure mark of meanness in adversity. *Carrario* now cringed, supplicated with tears, and implored the protection of those very persons he had so haughtily treated in the beginning of the war. Himself and family were brought to *Venice*, and treated with a lenity and respect his conduct but little merited. *Padua* was surrendered upon no other conditions than that it should be exempted from the ravages of the soldiers. Thus ended that bloody war in which the republic had been engaged on the continent ; and the sway of a tyrant, ambitious of power only to abuse it by insolence.

Padua surrendered.

THE republic now began to taste the sweets of peace, *Peace* which was soon poisoned by the intriguing restless spirit of *stored* *Carrario*, who thereby accelerated his own ruin, and occasioned the extinction of his family. He had projected the means of his escape by setting fire to the city in several places.

^a BONITEN. BLOND. et SABL. uti supra.
in locis citatis.

^c Ant. cit. et

Carrario
and his
family
strangled.

a number of villains were employed for this purpose, and induced to the undertaking by that very money which the public allowed him for the support of his dignity. The plot being discovered, *Carrario* and his family were removed into different prisons, all his adherents banished the city, and a strict guard maintained; but this proving insufficient against his ingratitude and treachery, he and his children were by order of the doge and senate strangled, and the security of the republic established ^P.

THE expences of this war with *Carrario* exceeded two millions of money; but the republic received a valuable consideration by the acquisition of *Padua*, *Verona*, *Belluna*, *Vicenza*, *Cologna*, and *Feltre*, with their appendages¹. Hence the *Venetians* became more powerful on the continent, and their armies respectable as well as their fleets.

AT the close of the war a magnificent ambassay came to *Venice* from *Verona*, consisting of forty persons of the first distinction in the city. The senate ordered a fine theatre to be erected, richly adorned, for their public reception: here the doge, attended by his whole family in their richest apparel, by the senate and magistrates in their robes, gave them audience. The ambassadors walking in procession to the throne, laid the keys of the city at the feet of the doge, requesting his acceptance, and praying that the event might be prosperous to his highness, to the republic, and to the city of *Verona*. They intreated the protection of the republic, and that his highness would, with his accustomed goodness, preserve to them their liberty, their religion, and property, against the attacks of all tyrants, assuring him of their perpetual duty, affection, and fidelity. To this the doge replied, "That it was his and
" the senate's greatest happiness to be able to protect the
" weak, comfort the afflicted, and reward the deserving:
" that while the city of *Verona* preserved her present sentiments she might confidently rely on the friendship of the
" republic, and enjoy all the blessings which liberty and a
" free constitution can afford to those who have just escaped
" from tyranny and bondage." Then recommending justice, equity, and moderation, the ambassadors were dismissed.

THE *Paduans* came soon after in the same manner, were treated with equal kindness, and dismissed with similar assurances. Thus did the republic enjoy a profound tranquility for the term of three years, during which her assiduous application to commerce, the marine, and army, prodigiously augmented her strength and consequence.

¹ P. SABEL. l. 8. d. 3. MONTAN. apud BLOND. et SABEL.
* Ibid.

THE first breach of the public quiet was occasioned by a tumult at *Sabenica*, the nobility acknowledging the authority of the republic, the people that of the *Hungarian* monarch: the latter having taken arms drove the nobles out of the city, seized upon all the public offices, and assumed those prerogatives, which by the constitution belonged only to the nobility. The patricians thus excluded, sought the protection of the *Venetians*, on whose account they suffered. Four galleys and a body of land forces were ordered by the senate to pass into *Dalmatia*, and lay siege to *Sabenica*, which was accordingly done, but with little success; for the inhabitants defended themselves so bravely, that the besiegers were repulsed, and forced to relinquish the enterprize. A more formidable armament was next sent, but the obstinacy of the plebeians rendered it necessary to have recourse to *Ladislaus*, to whom commissioners were dispatched. After various debates the whole affair was referred to the decision of the pope, the parties not being able to come to any conclusion: we are no where informed of the determination of his holiness.

THIS little disturbance was soon followed by one of more consequence and hazard: the *Forlians*, like the *Sabenicans*, were divided among themselves; the nobles were desirous that the city should be under the protection and laws of *Venice*, while the commons preferred the jurisdiction of *Ladislaus*, or the bishop of *Aquileia*. How the emperor *Sigismund* came to concern himself in this quarrel, we know not; all we are told is, that *Pipus*, a *Florentine*, had the emperor's instructions to lead an army into *Italy*. Upon his arrival, *Frederico Savagnani* and his faction retired to *Venice*, and *Udina* was put into the hands of *Pipus*. From thence he marched with ten thousand horse into the *Trevisan*, and took from the republic the cities *Feltre*, *Belluna*, *Sarraval*, and *La Mothe*. Afterwards indeed he abandoned his conquests, 'tis supposed, by the force of *Venetian* gold, and retired into *Hungary*, where he suffered the just punishment of his corruption.

ALL the particulars of this important war, in which the republic would seem to be so deeply concerned, are imperfectly related; it is even difficult to know what share the *Venetian* armies took in the quarrel. *Sabellicus* says, that after a variety of battles between *Sigismund* and the republic, with various success, peace was at last concluded, and the emperor withdrew his army to *Bohemia*. As to the conditions of the peace, which might have reflected some light on the origin of the war, there is a profound silence,

War with
Sigis-
mund,

Peace with
Sigis-
mund,

* BONITEN. COM. l. 4. SABEL. l. 8. d. 2.
Hist. d. 3. l. 5.

† SABEL, l. 8. d. 2.

• Ibid. BLOND.

Soon after peace was proclaimed *Steno* died, having conducted the republic with applause through two dangerous wars, and flourishing intervals of public tranquility".

TOMASO MOCENIGO, Doge LXIV.

A. D. 1413. **TOMASO MOCENIGO**, at the time of his election on an embassy at *Cremona*, was recalled to take upon him the supreme magistracy. The beginning of his administration was fertile in the blessings of peace: he gave strict attention to commercial affairs, on which he was sensible depended the strength and prosperity of the republic. A board of trade was appointed, consisting of the principal merchants, presided by a senator. Originally this business was in the hands of one man; afterwards two more, with a subordinate authority, were added; and now trade, a subject of vast extent and importance, submitted to the direction of a number properly qualified by nature and experience to regulate, improve, and promote this chief object of *Venetian* policy (A).

A dispute between the republic and bishop of *Aquileia* furnished the *Venetians* with a pretext for recovering the towns lost in the late war: they accordingly laid siege to *Feltre*, *Belluna*, and other places, which they took after a short resistance. *Filippo Arcia*, one of the best officers of the age, commanded the *Venetian* army: having garrisoned the above cities, he attacked and ruined *Prata*, and by his influence prevailed on the whole province of *Friuli* to acknowledge the dominion of the republic. Early in the spring the bishop returned with a numerous army of *Hungarians*; he took the castle of *Clusino*, and some other places; but *Arcia* marching with expedition against him, the *Hungarians* returned to their own country, leaving the prelate to fight his own battles".

DURING these transactions abroad, a terrible fire broke out in the palace, which almost intirely consumed it, and communicating with *St. Mark's* church, quite demolished the roof of that magnificent fabric. The great diligence of the people prevented the fire from spreading; and the palace and

" SANSOV. del. v. p. SABEL. ibid.
BLOND. de g. V. BONITEN. l. 4.

" SABEL. ibid.

(A) Upon this occasion other the public granaries; and a appointments likewise were board of treasury, which they made: the council of ten was called *magistrati della grascia*; established; commissioners of *della dogana*, Sansovino, l. 13.

church were repaired by a decree of the senate, the doge having liberally contributed towards the expence : however, before the palace was habitable, he died, after a reign of ten years, in which the republic enjoyed a current of prosperity, uninterrupted by any adverse accident, except the fire we have mentioned *. *Mocenigo's* death was preceded by that of the illustrious *Carolo Zeno*, one of the best sea-officers *Venice* ever produced, and whose other excellent qualities kept pace with his valour and military abilities.

FRANCISCO FOSCARI, Doge LXV.

FRANCISCO FOSCARI was elected to succeed *Mocenigo*, by the universal voice of the senate and people. In the first year of his reign *Salonica*, a city of *Albania*, voluntarily submitted to the *Venetians*, the inhabitants requesting that a magistrate might be sent to govern them with the same polity established at *Venice* : accordingly, *Marino Bandomario* was dispatched in quality of governor, and with the title of count. In the second year of *Foscari's* administration the war with *Philip Visconti* duke of *Milan*, and son of *Galeas Visconti*, commenced. As this war proved tedious, bloody, and important in its consequences, it may not be improper to trace it to its original source : *Philip* was a minor at his father's death, and, like most other children in their pupilage, robbed, plundered, and oppressed by those very guardians who were bound in honour, conscience, and by the laws of nature, to protect his infancy : his dominions were made a prey to the neighbouring petty princes and states, and in the course of a few years passed into the hands of a variety of masters. *Philip* was no sooner of age to take upon him the government of the little dominion left, than he attempted to recover those cities and provinces of which he was plundered in his minority. By his own valour, and the great abilities of *Francisco Carmagnola*, he not only won back what lawfully belonged to him, but greatly extended his territories beyond what the family ever possessed. In the career of victory he invested *Genoa*, reduced it to great extremities, and compelled the *Genoese* to purchase peace with a prodigious sum of money, for the payment of which the *Florentines* were bound sureties, the strong city *Leghorn*, at the mouth of the river *Arno*, being pledged to them for their security and indemnification. The *Florentines* interfering in this affair produced a coldness between *Philip* and that republic, which he soon improved into an open rupture. Under the pretext of assisting pope *Martin*,

A. D.
1423.
Foscari
4. LXV.

War with
Visconti
of Milan.

* SANSON. del. v. p. Etiam FAVOR. 4.

he attacked and defeated the *Florentine* army near *Zagonere*: this was the gloss *Philip* gave this transaction at foreign courts, in order to conceal his ambition. Other battles were fought afterwards, until the *Florentines*, finding themselves unequal to *Philip's* power, had recourse for assistance to the *Venetians*. The republic had refrained from taking part in the quarrel, as long as there was hope that the *Florentines* could stand their ground, and with their own strength check the progress of this conqueror; but finding the balance greatly preponderate in favour of *Philip*, the *Venetians* were induced to throw themselves in the opposite scale, from that constant maxim of their government, to pay a strict attention to the just political poise. First they endeavoured, by repeated ambassies, to reconcile *Philip* to the *Florentines*, all of which, like a true politician, he received graciously, and dismissed with strong promises and assurances of what he never intended to perform. The republic was no less artful than *Philip*; under pretence of placing an intire confidence in what he said, they were making all the necessary preparations to oblige him to make good his assurances. At last, when every thing was in readiness for declaring war, *Paolo Cornaro* was sent to demand a categorical answer. *Cornaro* addressed the prince in substance to the following effect: "That of all the princes on earth
 " his highness had the greatest reason to acknowledge the
 " goodness of Providence by a just and equitable conduct,
 " since, under the protection of the Almighty, he had not
 " only recovered, but greatly extended his lawful dominions:
 " that he was quietly in possession of a fine country,
 " exceeded by no other in the fertility of soil, the beauty of
 " its cities, the temperature of its climate, and the ingenuity
 " of its inhabitants. His youth, his activity, his valour,
 " and prudence, he acknowledged, deserved, and were able
 " to procure greater territories, but this could not be effected
 " consistently with that first principle of christianity, 'do
 " as you would be done by.' It was with the utmost grief, he
 " said, that his masters found themselves under the necessity
 " of remonstrating to him on this head, and of assuring him
 " that justice to their neighbours, to their allies, to themselves,
 " and to the precepts of their religion, obliged them
 " to leave no means untried to prevent the oppression of the
 " weak, and stem the ambition and avarice of the more
 " powerful: that if he did not immediately recal his army
 " from *Tuscany*; if he did not cease to molest the *Florentines*

† SABEL. l. 9. d. 2. BONITEN. l. 4. BLOND. l. 5. d. 3. SANCOR. del. v. p. 232.

“ in particular, and could not confine himself within the
“ large circle of the fine dominions it had pleased God to
“ bestow on him, they would, without farther notice, break
“ off their alliance, join themselves to the *Florentines*, and
“ with all the force of their republic, by sea and land,
“ wage incessant war, until his ambition was humbled, and
“ his power reduced within proper limits.” *Philip* was
stung with the spirited remonstrance of *Cornaro*; but, always
subjecting his passions to his interest, he replied, that out of
respect to the *Venetian* republic he would submit the dispute
with *Florence* to the arbitration of *Nicholas D’Este*, whose
integrity could not be called in question. Satisfied with this
answer *Cornaro* returned to *Venice*, and was soon followed by
two ambassadors from *Visconti*. *Philip* had heard that the
Florentines were preparing an embassy to the republic; he
therefore dispatched *Giovanni Aretini* and *Bertrand Lampug-
niani* to frustrate the effects, and prevent violent resolutions.
The first audience was given to the *Tuscan* ministers, who
pathetically represented all the miseries of a free state, in
danger of being overwhelmed by the merciless and inexorable
ambition of a tyrant; the duty incumbent on free constitu-
tions to oppose, with all their might, the encroachments of
ambitious princes and monarchs; an attack upon *Florence*,
they said, was an attack upon liberty, and the prelude to an
attempt on the freedom of *Venice*. Some little difference there
was in the natural dispositions of tyrants, some were less, some
more cruel; but the invariable and fixt object of their policy
in general, was the destruction of liberty, and establishment
of bondage. They enumerated instances of *Philip’s* cun-
ning, speciousness, vigilance, activity, intrepidity, and pow-
er; and from each drew arguments for the necessity of curb-
ing his ambition. They concluded with a warm and pathetic
exhortation, which excited violent emotions in the breast of
every senator. On the one side the power and ambition of
Philip was formidable to liberty; on the other, the expence
of the war was great, and the issue hazardous: here the voice
of liberty and compassion called, there fear and the dread of
shame restrained. To disengage themselves from this per-
plexity, before any reply was made to the *Florentines*, the
duke’s ambassadors were called in, when *Aretini*, the most
artful and eloquent speaker of his country, addressed the doge
and senate in a speech suitable to his character. He began
with engaging the affections of his audience, soothing their
passions, and explaining the nature of his instructions: he

* SABEE. *ibid.*

proceeded to some severe strictures upon the *Florentines*, to refute their assertions, and vindicate the measures and character of his master. "They instance, says he, *Philip of Macedon*, *Mithridates*, and *Antiochus*, as implacable foes to the liberties of *Greece* and *Rome*; but why do they omit *Perseus*, who at one blow had almost crushed in its infancy the greatest republic on earth? for this reason only, that they would not recal to your memory that *Tuscany* had ever produced a tyrant. But if the *Florentines* are fond of their erudition, why did they not likewise mention *Hieron*, *Massinissa*, the *Ptolemies* and *Attalus*, the most staunch and faithful allies *Rome* ever had? King *Lewis*, they say, was a capital enemy to your republic, so was *Carrario*; but then the *Visconti's*, for above an hundred years, loved, cherished, and esteemed the *Venetians*; a perpetual intercourse of friendly offices, treaties, and alliances, subsisted between them, and will continue to subsist after the slanderous, the artful, and the false *Florentines* are annihilated and forgot." In short, after running over every topic which sound policy could suggest, or the most persuasive eloquence adorn, he concluded with referring the whole dispute to the arbitration of the senate and *Nicholas D'Este*.

WHEN the ambassadors retired, great debates arose in the senate: some remained firm in their first opinion, others were drawn over by the specious oratory of *Aretini*. It was at last proposed that *Carmagnola*, who had deserted the service of *Philip*, should be called in; from him it was presumed a just judgment of the true temper, policy, and character of this prince might be collected. *Francisco Carmagnola* quitted the service of *Philip* upon some disgust, the particulars of which are not mentioned: he now offered himself to the *Venetians*, to humble that very master he had been the instrument of exalting. Every one caressed, and was desirous of engaging the esteem of a man famous for his military exploits, and capacity in the cabinet: some persons, however, dreaded placing at the head of their armies an officer whose late conduct gave room to distrust his constancy, his honour, and his fidelity: they were answered, that under the conduct of a general so experienced, so perfectly acquainted with the views, policy, strength, and most intimate secrets of *Visconti*, they could not fail of success in defeating all the attempts, and restraining the towering ambition of this proud potentate; and that *Carmagnola's* pride was a sufficient surety of his faith, since without doubt he would exert

^a SABEL. l. 9. d. 2. BLOND. de g. V.

all his faculties to convince *Visconti* how serviceable he might have rendered his merit ^b. Certain it is, that *Carmagnola* was greatly incensed against the duke: when he was called into the senate; he spoke with a rancour and virulence that could not be assumed or counterfeit: His arguments were so forcible, his oratory so persuasive, his influence so considerable, and his vehemence so earnest, that, urged by the sentiments of the doge, an alliance with *Florence* and war with *Visconti*, was unanimously resolved ^c.

In the treaty with *Florence* it was stipulated, that sixteen thousand horse and eight thousand foot should be levied at the common expence of both republics, to act as future occasions should require; that two fleets should be equipped, the *Venetian* to sail up the *Po*, to resist the forces of *Visconti*, the *Florentine* to scour the *Genoese* coast; that all the cities, towns, and forts, taken on the confines of *Flaminia* should belong to *Florence*, the rest to be at the disposal of *Venice*; and lastly, that peace should not be made with the enemy but by mutual consent and approbation. The ambassadors threw themselves at the feet of the doge, protesting, in the name of the republic, their eternal gratitude for this so great an obligation, calling God to witness the sincerity of their thanks, and resolution to conduct themselves as that this goodness should not be unmerited.

SOON after *Nicholas D'Este*, *Amadeus of Savoy*, *Francisco Gonzaga*, and other princes, acceded to this alliance. *Serrano*, one of the doge's senators, was sent to *Philip* to acquaint him with the determination of the republic. His instructions were to desire the duke, in the name of the republic, to cease hostilities against the *Florentines*; and, if he refused, immediately to declare war. The envoy was civilly received at *Milan*; but *Philip*, far from complying with his demand, sent back a defiance. War was publicly denounced, and the subjects of each commanded to quit the enemy's dominions without farther notice, on pain of being deemed traitors to their respective countries. The command of the army was given to *Carmagnola*, who was eager to signalize his zeal by some exploit worthy of the high opinion entertained of his capacity. His impatience would not wait for the new army to be levied; but taking the command of a few regiments of the standing forces, he marched into the enemy's territories. His first attempt was on *Brescia*, of which he soon became master by the force of corruption. The

Treaty
with the
Floren-
tines.

Declara-
tion of
war.

^b BONITEN. l. 4. ^c BLOND. d. 3. l. 6. BONITEN. Com. l. 4. SABEL. l. 9. d. 2. MONTAN. apud SABEL. Aut. cit.

castle, into which *Philip's* garrison retired, he took by storm, putting all the soldiers to the sword; but there was still a fort in one quarter of the town which held out, and defended itself bravely. The duke sent *Francisco Sforza* to its relief, between whom and *Carmagnola* many brisk skirmishes passed. The siege was pushed on with vigour, and the fort defended with courage, the besieged relying upon *Sforza's* army, which had in a manner enclosed *Carmagnola*; who with fatigue and watching fell sick, committed the army to *Gonzaga*, and retired to the baths at *Padua*. In the mean time, the siege went on with the same spirit, *Gonzaga* being in every respect a general equal to *Carmagnola*; but the enemy were so well provided, their sallies so frequent and vigorous, and the *Venetians* so harrassed in the rear by *Sforza*, that shame only restrained them from abandoning the enterprize. Both sides were continually reinforced, and the affair spun out to a great length: at last *Carmagnola* returned to the army, and resumed the command. Now an assault was resolved on, and, to encourage the soldiers, a reward of four hundred crowns promised to him who first mounted the walls, three hundred to the next, two hundred to the third, and a hundred to each of the ten following. Both sides fought with the most obstinate valour, and it was difficult to determine which displayed the greatest courage: at last, the *Venetians*, overpowered with numbers, were forced to retreat, by which means the siege might have been protracted to an unmeasurable time, if famine had not effected what had foiled courage, conduct, and numbers. This brave garrison was reduced to so great extremities, that they were compelled to sue for a truce upon this condition, that if *Philip* came within the space of ten days with a force sufficient to relieve them, they then should be at liberty to defend the fort, otherways they would surrender it to the *Venetians*. The truce being signed, *Carmagnola* doubled the guards, and ordered strict watch that no provision might enter the fort. *Sforza's* army could hardly be kept from mutinying; they accused their officers of cowardice and treachery, publicly declaring that this brave garrison fell a sacrifice to their baseness. Numberless attempts were made to throw in succour, but all were frustrated by the vigilance of *Carmagnola*. At last, the truce being expired, the fort was surrendered, agreeable to the articles stipulated^d.

DURING this siege, which was intirely carried on by the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, under *D'Este*, entered *Cremona*, which they desolated with fire and sword. *Philip* had no army

^d BONITEN. l. 4. BLOND. l. 6. d. 3.

able to oppose them; as yet he was but assembling his troops, and before they were united the *Florentines* retired.

SOON after the surrender of the town and fort of *Brescia*, through the mediation of the pope's nuncio, peace was concluded, but with reluctance embraced by all parties. The conditions were, that *Philip* should amicably cede to the *Venetians Commonweal*, *Brescia*, with its territories, and that part of the *Cremonese*, on the *Olio*, towards *Brescia*: and that *Amadeus* of *Savoy* should keep whatever he had taken during the war. Here we find no mention of the *Florentines*, altho' it was stipulated in the treaty of alliance between the republics, that neither should make peace without the other's consent: 'tis probable, therefore, the *Florentines* were included, though as they obtained no particular conditions, it was not necessary to specify them by name.

Peace with
Visconti.

It appears from *Philip's* conduct soon after, that he by no means was desirous of this peace, at least upon the terms of dismembering his dominions. Respect for the pope's nuncio would seem to have been the sole inducement to patch up what may rather be termed a cessation of hostilities than a pacification. Some writers alledge, that he even affronted, in the nuncio's presence, the *Venetian* commissioners who came to *Milan* to receive the towns surrendered to the republic. *Sabellicus* is of opinion that his so suddenly breaking through the peace was owing to the remonstrances of the *Milanese*, who highly resented the ignominious terms he granted. This author relates a speech * made to *Visconti* by a deputation of the chief magistrates of the city, in which, with great freedom and boldness, they upbraided their prince with cowardice and meanness, for so easily relinquishing what the chance of war would probably have recovered, and yielding his strong holds, cities, and lands, to an enemy whose strength or courage in the field he had but once experienced. The remonstrance concluded with a zealous offer of their lives and fortunes, which, they said, they were ready to sacrifice rather than his honour should be stained, or the hereditary dominions of the state alienated. *Philip* desired to know in what manner they would enable him to prosecute the war; upon which the magistrates retired to their constituents, and the subject was warmly debated in a large assembly of the citizens. The result of their deliberations was, that they would request of the duke to accept, during the war, of ten thousand horse and an equal number of foot, conditionally, that the revenues of the *Milanese* should remain in the hands of the magistrates of *Milan*.

* L. 9. d. 2.

The intention of this proposal was to prevent the abuse of public money, to the purposes of ministers and courtiers, who, under the pretence of the necessary occasions of the state and expences of the war, squeezed and impoverished the people for the support of their luxury. The duke was inclined to accept the terms; but was dissuaded by one of his ministers, who told him, that to leave the revenue in the hands of his subjects was to rear ladders for them to mount to liberty, so eagerly aspired after, especially at a time when he was to carry on a war against two free republics. *Philip*, satisfied with this reasoning, was, however, afraid absolutely to reject the proposal; he left it to time and his own cunning to extort the sums wanted upon his own conditions. In order to satisfy the people, he prohibited the surrender of those towns which were stipulated in the treaty of peace, and soon after made an incursion into the territories of *Mantua*.

Second

war with *Visconti*. THE republic, speedily informed of *Philip's* intentions, forthwith ordered new levies to be made, the troops which were not disbanded to march into *Mantua*, their former alliances to be renewed, and every other measure to be taken for vigorously prosecuting the war, and punishing *Visconti's* perfidy. *Philip* was not behind them in preparations. Undaunted at the league formed against him, he resolved upon a triple attack on the enemy: arming some vessels at *Cremona* he seized on *Turcecole*, a fortress in the *Parmesan*, situated at the mouth of the *Tarro*. Presuming on the strength of his infantry, he made incursions beyond the *Brescian* mountains, while his cavalry foraged and scoured all the champaign country: his third exploit was the most successful and important; sending an army against the fugitive *Genoese*, who greatly molested him, he by his general *Sforza* totally defeated *Fregosa* and their army.

PERGULAN, another of his officers, placed garrisons in all the forts of the *Brescian*, which stood convenient to impede or harass the enemy, at the same time that *Picinino* with a fleet besieged and took *Cassel-Major*^f. *Brisselles*, on the *Po*, was soon after taken, and *Visconti's* conquests were no less rapid than his resolution to renew the war had been sudden. All this time the *Venetians* were diligently employed; they fitted out a fleet with orders to sail up the *Po*, under *Francisco Bembo*. At *Cassel* he came up with the enemy's fleet, commanded by *Eustace* of *Pavia*, and both admirals

A. D.

1427.

^f SABEL. ubi supra. BLOND. l. 6. d. 3. BONITEN. l. 4. COROSIN. apud. SABEL.

prepared for battle (A). *Bembo* ordered eight galleons to form a line in front, these he fastened together by a strong chain. *Eustace* opposed this van with four galleons, which he ordered to bear down upon the *Venetian* line with all the force of the tide and oars. The *Venetian*, aware of his design, eluded it by a stroke of military address peculiar to the method of fighting ships at that time, attacked and sunk the four galleons. *Eustace*, perceiving by this instance, that he was unequal to the dexterity of *Bembo*, made all the dispatch he was able to *Cremona**. He was closely pursued by the *Venetian* admiral, who instantly attacked and reduced three little forts built in the river to block up the channel. The victorious *Bembo* then entering the channel, seized upon the galleons, which he burnt, *Eustace* having wholly unrigged them before his arrival. In the night the sailors, having got on shore without leave from the admiral, were plundering and destroying the suburbs, when they were suddenly attacked by a detachment from the city, and to the number of three hundred taken prisoners. *Bembo*, incensed at this accident, ordered the fleet up the river, attacked and destroyed the fort standing on the confluence of the rivers *Po* and *Adda*; then pursuing his way, came to an anchor near *Pavia*; but finding the city deserted, he returned to *Cremona*, apprehending some treachery was intended.

DURING these naval transactions, the *Venetians* were not idle on shore. An army of fourteen thousand horse and six thousand foot being ready early in the spring, *Carmagnola* marched for *Padua*, crossed the lake *Benac*, and arrived at *Brescia*. Before his coming, *Pietro Loretano*, the governor, had been successful against a detachment of the enemy, who made incursions to the very gates of the city: sallying out upon them, he took the commander prisoner, and about three hundred of the soldiers. *Carmagnola*, envious that the first military exploits were not performed by himself, departed with his army from *Brescia*, and proceeded directly to *Ortolonga*, which he invested. As soon as his battering artillery arrived, lines were formed, and his batteries began to play upon the walls with great fury. There was a body of one thousand horse, besides a strong garrison of foot, within the

Carmagnola's conduct.

Besieges Ortolonga

* SABELL. 1. 9. d. 2. BONITEN. 1. 4. BLOND. deg. V. idem in Hist. d. 3. 1. 6.

.. (A) The galleons, according to *Sabellius*, resembled that vessel which the *Greeks* call *dromon*, with flat bottoms and sharp prows. At the top of the mast they had a place from whence ten or twelve archers might commodiously shoot.

town : the governor, relying upon his strength, resolved upon a sally, which he made in the evening on that side of the camp defended by *Strossi*, and the troops of *Ferrara*. *Strossi*, with four hundred horse, bravely sustained the assault, making prodigious havock amongst the besieged. At last, overpowered with numbers, he was slain, with the greatest part of his troops ; upon which the enemy broke into the camp, where nothing but confusion reigned. The soldiers, fatigued with the heat and labour of the day, had gone securely to rest, never dreaming of an attack. They were running about in the utmost perturbation, a prey to the enemy, when *Carmagnola* arrived with a body of horse, and charged the assailants with so much vigour, that they were repulsed, and driven back into the town with great slaughter. However, this affair cost the besiegers, besides the loss of the brave *Strossi*, about one thousand six hundred men, according to *Blondus*, who is very particular ^h.

Carmagnola raises the siege, and marches to Cremona.

IN consequence *Carmagnola* raised the siege the next day, and leaving behind all the towns and forces held by the enemy, marched strait to besiege *Cremona*, not doubting but the surrender of this fine city would induce others to a voluntary submissionⁱ. On his way he was strongly reinforced, so that the army amounted to eighteen thousand horse and eight thousand foot, exclusive of six thousand auxiliaries : *Bembo* likewise with the fleet and two thousand mariners lay near *Cremona*. Struck with the greatness of this design, *Visconti* assembled the citizens of *Milan*, and met with such cheerful returns of loyalty as enabled him to take the field at the head of thirty thousand men, with whom he marched to give battle to the *Venetians*. *Carmagnola* with his army lay at *Sama*, the enemy being obliged to cross a bridge above a mile distant from the camp before they could attack him : here he was determined to receive *Philip*, without giving himself the trouble of defending the bridge, for the *Venetians* were no less eager than the enemy to engage. *Philip*, contrary to his own judgment, by the advice of *Sforza*, led his army over the bridge, which he drew up in order of battle on a plain a little way distant from the *Venetian* camp. Both sides joined battle with the utmost alacrity and vigour : they fought from noon till night, and no apparent advantage was gained. In the evening a storm of wind arising drove before it such clouds of dust, as rendered it impossible for the soldiers to distinguish each other : friends were known from enemies only by the word of

^h BLOND. l. 6. d. 3.
NITEN. l. 4.

ⁱ BLOND. SABEL. nbi supra. Bo-

battle. An advanced party of *Philip's* army thinking to retire out of this confusion towards the bridge, found themselves in the middle of the enemy's camp, where they were made prisoners. At last both generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, each claiming victory, and perhaps with equal reason. *Carmagnola* used jocosely to say, that at the battle of *Sana*, *Philip* and he took more of their own soldiers prisoners than of the enemy: however, *Philip* asserted with great gravity that the *Venetians* were defeated, esteeming it a victory that he had not lost a battle*: but he was soon recalled to the defence of the *Milanese*, the duke of *Savoy's* cavalry, having entered the duchy by the side of *Vercelli*, were making incursions to the gates of the capital. The *Venetians* too perceiving *Cremona* to be strongly garrisoned and well provided, dropt their intention of laying siege to it, and encamped at *Cassel-Major*, where *Bembo* and the fleet arrived soon after. *Sforza* had pursued the *Venetians* from *Cremona* with a choice body of horse, thinking he should be able to harass their rear; but he found them so well prepared, that he returned without making any attempt.

CARMAGNOLA entered upon the siege of *Cassel*, which *The Venetians* were for a long time defended by a brave governor and numerous garrison: at last it was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword, all besides *Pisani* the governor and a few troops, who retiring into a strong tower, capitulated upon honourable terms. He next laid a bridge over the *Adda*, by which his troops made incursions into the *Milanese*, ravaged, plundered, and destroyed every thing that came in their way.

PHILIP was taken up in reconciling disputes among his officers, each of whom claimed to himself a superiority over the others. At last he was obliged to put an end to divisions, which he apprehended might terminate in the ruin of the army, by creating a generalissimo: his choice fell upon *Carlo Malateste*, who had formerly commanded the *Venetian* forces; an officer more distinguished for his high rank, caution, and duplicity, than for his valour. *Malateste's* first business was to put a stop to the incursions of the *Venetians*, which in a short time he effectually accomplished. *Macale*, a city of the *Cremonese*, was now besieged by *Carmagnola*: this occasioned great discontent in *Philip's* army, the soldiers entertaining doubts about the courage of their general. At last their clamours became so loud, that *Malateste* called a council of the principal officers: *Sforza* and *Picinino* were

* SABEL. *ibid.* BLOND. l. 6. d. 3.

for giving the enemy battle; *Pergulan* and *Taurello* for avoiding it, and restraining the impetuosity of the troops, saying, that the *Venetians* must necessarily quit the *Gremoneſe* soon for want of ammunition and forage. The general, apprehensive of a sedition, followed the former opinion, and gave orders for the army to march. When he approached the enemy, he put the question to *Sforza* and *Picinino*, whether it were better to attack the enemy in their camp, or to draw up the army and receive them? To this those officers replied, that he was their general, and must direct those particulars as he thought proper. Orders then were issued for disposing the troops in battle-array. In the mean time *Carmagnola* had drawn up the *Venetians* to receive the enemy: *Tolletino* was ordered with two thousand horse to make a sweep round a hill on the left, and attack them in the rear as soon as both armies were engaged: then he strongly lined all the hedges and ditches through which the enemy must pass, himself taking post in a particular defile of great importance. Here the action began: *Sforza* advancing with the light horse, charged the *Venetians* in front, while *Carmagnola* ordered the first and second lines to give way to the right and left, to enclose him if he advanced; which accordingly happened: continuing, however, to press on with irresistible vigour, *Carmagnola* made a fighting retreat to the main body of his army. Here *Sforza*, seconded by *Malateſte*, pursued, and a general engagement began, in which both sides behaved with great intrepidity: but *Carmagnola's* disposition gave him many advantages; his infantry, with which all the hedges were lined, gauled and made prodigious slaughter amongst the enemy's cavalry; while a great shout in the rear of *Malateſte's* army announced their being charged in the rear by *Tolletino* with his two thousand horse. Thus being attacked in the rear by cavalry, in both flanks by infantry placed in the hedges, and in the front by the main body of the *Venetian* army under *Carmagnola*, the enemy were at last totally defeated, after many bold efforts to rally. Then began a dreadful carnage, the general not having power to restrain the rage of the *Venetian* soldiers. At last, the enemy endeavoured to appease by intreaties the resentment they could neither repel nor escape; they laid down their arms, and six thousand infantry, with three thousand horse, were made prisoners at discretion¹. Without doubt *Carmagnola* might have crushed *Philip* in consequence of this decisive victory, if he had not either from unaccountable whim, over-strained generosity, or

*Philip's
army de-
feated.*

¹ BLOND. l. 7. d. 3. SABEL. l. 1. d. 3.

treachery,

treachery, set all the prisoners at liberty without a single condition. The *Milanese* army being totally broke, nothing could prevent his becoming master of the whole dutchy, had he been as skilful, or rather had he been as willing to pursue as to gain a victory. His only exploit after this battle was the taking of *Orges* by assault, all the other cities, towns, and forts of *Brescia* paying a voluntary submission^m.

IN the mean time *Sforza* and *Picininò* were busied in collecting their scattered troops, and in making new levies: having joined these with the prisoners restored by *Carmagnola*, a formidable army was soon on foot, which immediately entered upon action. *Sforza* surprised a convoy of provisions going to the enemy's camp: *Picininò* made an attempt at night to recover the town of *Pontaglia*, but was repulsedⁿ.

BESIDES the attempts of *Philip* to stop the progress of the *Venetians* by force, he was not idle by negociation: he endeavoured, by his intrigues, to excite the emperor *Sigismund* against the republic. His art succeeded with the duke of *Savoy*, who gave him his daughter in marriage^o: however, not all his policy could prevent the necessity he was under of suing for peace, upon the loss sustained by the death of several of his best officers. A congress was accordingly appointed at *Ferrara*, the pope's legate presiding, where the conditions were long debated, and at last adjusted. The most material articles were, that *Brescia*, with all the *Brescian* and *Cremonese*, that part of the *Bergamese* stretching towards the river *Adice*, together with the castles, towns, forts, &c. which they then held upon the *Cremonese*, should in perpetuity be ceded to the *Venetians*. Little was granted to the *Florentines* besides some trifling honours, such as hoisting their own flag at sea instead of the *Pisan*.

A. D.
1429.

A Peace.

BY this peace *Italy* was restored to a breathing of tranquility of a very unsettled nature: hostilities ceased, yet still their mutual animosities, jealousies, and heart-burnings remained. The cession of the *Cremonese* was never thoroughly relished by *Philip*: his conduct at the time of signing the peace, as well as afterwards, intimated his reluctance to part with a district so commodious, which he regarded as hereditary in his family, although in truth his right was founded in conquest. This was one grievance, and might in time have produced a war had no other reasons concurred^p. Others, however, were not wanting, and they were accordingly made

^m Ibid. ⁿ MONT. Com. l. 3. ^o BLOND. ibid. SABEL. et MONT. ibid. ^p SABEL. l. 2. d. 3. BLOND. l. 8. d. 3. MONT. l. 4.

the pretext.. *Philip* had persecuted, with implacable hatred, the families of *Fregosa* and *Fiesci*, in contempt of all the remonstrances in their behalf from the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, and even a promise that he would take them into his friendship : but the most open and avowed occasion of taking arms arose from the following incident.

PAOLO GUENESIO had by his cunning, art, and policy, acquired an ascendancy almost despotic over the republic of *Lucca* : he conducted himself with so much conduct and prudence, that amidst the broils in which all *Italy* besides were engaged, *Lucca* alone tasted the sweets of repose and tranquility ; yet could he neither gain the hearts, nor even avoid, the hatred of the principal persons in that state, which he had so skilfully steered through all the dangers and labyrinths of policy. Continual intrigues were carried on against him, and now a storm was gathering which threatened destruction both to *Paolo* and the republic. The first attempt of the disaffected was to stir up the people against him on account of his conniving at his son's desertion of the service of the state to enter into that of *Florence*. Young *Ladislaus* had solicited for leave, but being denied he made his escape, and acquired great honour in the *Florentine* alliance with the *Bolognese* against pope *Martin*. The disaffected represented the danger there was of being embroiled in a quarrel with the holy see, by the rashness of *Ladislaus* and ambition of *Paolo* : however, their intrigues were undermined by the cunning of *Paolo*, who proved too hard for them on this as on many former occasions. The malcontents, finding their endeavours to stir up the people against *Paolo* were to no purpose, grew desperate : they never considered that violent measures must be accompanied with the ruin of their country ; or rather, they were indifferent what became of *Lucca* so that *Guenesio* was destroyed : this they endeavoured to accomplish, by working on the ambition and natural fire of young *Stella*, nephew to *Brachio*, a young nobleman in the *Florentine* service. *Stella* was easily induced by their remonstrances to undertake what was perfectly agreeable to his active and enterprising spirit. Without farther reflection he made an incursion into the territories of *Lucca*, laying every thing waste to the gates of the city : he seized upon eight forts and castles belonging to *Paolo*, made the garrisons prisoners, and then encamped on the great plain near *Lucca*. His forces, which at first consisted of a few troops of *Florentine* horse, were soon increased by a great number of volunteers, who flocked from all quarters in expectation of honour or booty. When *Stella* entered upon action, he had no countenance from the republic of *Florence*,
the

Stella's enterprize.

the few troops under his conduct being prevailed upon solely by his own influence to share his fortune. The *Florentines*, however, perceiving the rapidity of his conquests, and the unexpected increase of his forces, began to harbour ambitious designs, and to scheme the project of annexing *Lucca* to the territories of the republic by means of *Stella*. Instead therefore of recalling him and their soldiers, in consequence of a solemn embassy from *Guenesio*, they encouraged *Stella* in the enterprize he had formed, which they desired might be prosecuted in the name of the republic, assuring him of ample supplies of men, money, and every other necessary.

PAOLO perceiving that nothing was to be expected but war from the *Florentines* had recourse to *Venice*; but the republic declining to interfere in a dispute in which she was not concerned, the ambassadors proceeded to the court of *Milan*. *Philip* joyfully espoused a cause in which he hoped to wreck his vengeance on the *Florentines*, ordered *Sforza* to levy a strong army, and march directly to the relief of *Lucca*. This general, whose greatest pleasure was fighting, readily obeyed the mandate, raised an army, passed the *Alps*, and soon appeared before the city. Upon his approach *Stella* retired towards the confines of *Pisa*, not chusing to give battle to the enemy, who he knew must soon be in want of provisions. By protracting the war he doubted not but *Sforza's* assistance would become useless to *Guenesio*, as the country round being intirely destroyed, the *Milanese* army would only hasten the surrender of *Lucca*, by consuming the stores laid in for a siege.

IN the mean time *Sforza* entered *Lucca* triumphantly, and was received by *Guenesio* as his deliverer and guardian angel. Here he made but a short stay, and then marched into *Pistoia*, where he took, plundered, and destroyed a number of forts and castles. In his absence the artful *Guenesio* began to ruminate upon the event; he considered how precarious was the support of auxiliaries, whose designs might have the same tendency as those of the avowed enemy; how much easier it was to treat with the *Florentines* for a peace, while his affairs were in a prosperous condition, than it would be after the departure or defeat of *Sforza*; he concluded, that now was the most adviseable time for him to enter into a treaty, and secure by a solid, though disadvantageous peace, that tranquility upon which his power and happiness depended.

COMMISSIONERS were in consequence secretly dispatched to *Stella*, and *Florence* with proposals; but *Sforza* having in-

¹ MONT. COM. l. 4.
ubi supra,

Ibid. Etiam SABEL. et BLOND.

A. D.
1430.

Stella supported by the Florentines.

Visconti resolves to assist Lucca.

telligence of the design returned suddenly with a strong corps to *Lucca*, and seizing upon *Paolo* and his family, sent them prisoners to *Milan*; after he had distributed his money and rich moveables among the soldiers *.

SCARCE had he led his troops back to *Lombardy* when *Stella* returned to the siege of *Lucca*, where he was strongly reinforced by a body of horse and foot detached from *Florence*. This determined *Philip* to send *Picininio*, in the name of the *Genoese*, who were said to have received *Lucca* under their protection, to relieve the city. The news of his march and powerful army obliged the *Florentines* to apply to *Venice* for assistance, in consequence of a treaty offensive and defensive subsisting between the republics. Perceiving the danger which threatened their allies, the *Venetians* dispatched commissioners to *Philip* to acquaint him, that the republic could easily penetrate into his designs; that the *Venetians* were sensible the *Genoese* were incapable of raising such a force as *Picininio* was leading against the *Florentines* their allies; that it was absurd to pretend that a state, which itself was under his dominion, should have taken *Lucca* under its protection; and lastly, that if he did not recal his generals and troops, who incontestably composed the greater part of *Picininio's* army, they would immediately march to the relief of their allies, and, contrary to their inclinations, break the peace subsisting between the states. *Philip* gave no determinate answer to this peremptory message, and the *Venetians* hesitated about entering upon war, until the news arrived that *Picininio* had defeated the *Florentines* before *Lucca*, which immediately produced a resolution of coming to a rupture †.

THE *Venetians*, previous to hostilities, made divers attempts to draw *Francisco Sforza* into their interest, who had resided at *Mirandola* from the time he left *Lucca*, without disbanding his army, or acknowledging any allegiance to *Philip*. The *Florentines* likewise left no means untried to secure his friendship, to which *Sforza* was greatly disposed, on account of the mutual good offices which had long subsisted between his father and the republic †. But *Philip* used the most forcible arguments to gain him, promising him his only daughter in marriage, and the reversion of his dominions if he should die without male issue, as was probable. All their endeavours being baffled, the *Venetians* entered into a league with the marquis of *Montferrat*, to whom and some other petty princes they granted subsidies. The war commenced

* PASI. p. 74.
TEN. Com. p. 176.

† BLOND. l. 8. d. 3. SABEL. ibid. BONI-
SABEL. l. 2. d. 3.

with an attempt the *Florentines* made of resuming the siege of *Lucca*, after the departure of *Picinino*; but their design was frustrated by *Bartholomeo Fornari*, the *Genoese* admiral, who lay at *Leghorn*, with a squadron of six galleys. *Fornari's* vicinity obliged the *Florentines* to garrison *Pisa*, which they apprehended would revolt: the rest of the army were forced to retire on the approach of *Picinino*, who was returning to *Lucca* after he had with wonderful rapidity over-run the country of the *Pisans*, and taken a great number of forts and castles. So apprehensive were the *Florentines* of losing the city of *Pisa*, that they passed a very extraordinary and cruel edict, to prevent their rebellion, viz. that all the inhabitants, from the age of fifteen to sixty years of age, should depart the city before a candle, lighted up for the purpose, was consumed, under penalty of their lives, and confiscation of their effects. *Picinino*, finding that *Lucca* was in no danger, marched into the country of *Volterra*, where his conquests were no less rapid than before they had been in the *Pisan* territories. Even the city of *Volterra* must have fallen into his hands, had not *Michaeli Attendulo* been seasonably sent with a strong corps by pope *Eugenius* to its relief, which obliged *Picinino* to abandon his design.

DURING these transactions, the *Venetian* army under *Carmagnola* took the field. This general had some time remained encamped near *Orges*, watching an opportunity to enter upon action with advantage: he now discovered a treasonable correspondence between the governor of *Ladis* and the enemy, in which it was concerted that the castle should be betrayed to *Philip*. *Carmagnola* having prevented the design by hanging the governor, thought of retaliating by a similar conduct. He tampered with the chief officer of *Socinna*, that the place might be delivered to him at a certain time agreed upon. The governor had no sooner touched *Carmagnola's* money, than he sent secret intelligence of the transaction to *Philip*, who gave immediate orders to *Sforza* to march with all possible secrecy to *Socinna*, seize on all the passes, and lay a strong ambuscade for the *Venetians*. The troops were dispatched to take possession of the place on the day appointed, *Carmagnola* remaining with the army at some little distance: they no sooner entered the town than they were surrounded by a body of *Milanese*, which had been admitted and concealed; *Sforza* at the same time attacking the main army under *Carmagnola* so suddenly, and with so much vigour, *seated*.

Carmagnola defeated.

▼ SABEL. l. 2. d. 3. BLOND. l. 8. d. 3.
Pap. F. 4. V. Eugen.

* Histoire des

The Venetians a second time defeated.

that he quickly defeated it, the general with difficulty making his escape^y. Thus *Carmagnola* was taken in his own snare, with the loss of a thousand horse, and the precipitate disorderly retreat of his whole army. To add to his mortification, he was upbraided by the governor as a shallow superficial plotter, a pretender to skill in the human heart, the baseness of which he estimated by the corruption of his own; falsely imagining that the love of money was the first principle and spring of human actions^z. The *Venetians* soon after received another defeat in the *Cremonese*, where they loitered about in a disorderly and irregular manner, without discipline or conduct: but concerning this transaction *Sabellicus* alone speaks, and he in so concise a manner as would make the truth of it doubtful.

In the mean time the *Florentines* were hard pushed by *Piccinino*: after this general had laid waste *Volterra* he marched into the territories of *Arezzo*, where he very nearly surprised the city. He battered forts, towns, and cities, many of which he took by force, some by stratagem, while others voluntarily submitted.

THE *Venetians*, not dispirited with their losses, levied recruits with all possible dispatch, formed magazines, forged arms, and fitted out a squadron, which they sent up the river with ten thousand men as far as *Cremona*. *Nicholao Trevisano* was made admiral, and the command of each ship given to a *Venetian* of birth. This fleet was furnished with a prodigious number of warlike engines: it was likewise to be assisted in its operations by *Carmagnola*, who lay encamped near *Cremona* with twenty-four thousand horse and foot. *Philip* made all the preparations he could to oppose so formidable an armament, though he was still inferior in number of ships, a difference more than compensated by the abilities of the admiral, and courage of the mariners and soldiers. The famous *Giovanni Grimaldi*, a *Genoese*, the greatest sea-officer of his time, commanded: he had chosen the best pilots, the best archers, and engineers that either *Philip* or *Genoa* could furnish. *Piccinino's* return from *Tuscany* had likewise greatly augmented the army; so that upon the whole *Grimaldi*, *Sforza*, and *Piccinino* were a very equal match for *Carmagnola* and *Trevisano*. Much depended on the fate of a battle; the hopes and fears of both parties were proportioned to the consequences of a defeat or victory. *Sforza* and *Piccinino* to their strength joined every thing which the policy and art of war could suggest: they made frequent attacks upon *Carmag-*

^y SABEL. l. 2. d. 3.

^z BLOND. l. 8. d. 3.

nola's trenches, as if they despised his army and the fleet that was advancing. The nearer *Trevifano* with the Squadron approached, the more frequent and fierce were their assaults, at the same time that they consulted with *Grimaldi* in what manner the *Venetian* fleet could be most advantageously attacked. *Grimaldi* proposed, that *Picinino* with all the men at arms should be embarked; that *Sforza* should at the same time make a feint attack upon *Carmagnola's* trenches, to prevent discovery of his weakness by the detachment under *Picinino*; and that the garrison of *Cremona* should assist by a vigorous sally, while he fell down with the stream to give battle to *Trevifano* *. The *Venetians*, desiring nothing more than an engagement, rowed with all the force they could to meet the enemy; but as they approached *Picinino*, who advanced before the fleet with six gallies, they discovered the enemy's intention: finding they had to fight a land army as well as a fleet, they sent repeated accounts to *Carmagnola* of their situation; but he returned an answer reflecting on the courage of the admiral. The engagement in the mean while began, which both sides sustained with great conduct and valour. Towards sun-set *Picinino* grappled with four *Venetian* gallies, who defended themselves with courage, but unequal strength or success; for they were taken after an obstinate resistance: this induced *Trevifano* to retreat and fall back to the harbour from whence he had weighed anchor. *Grimaldi* pursued, and next day renewing the engagement, the *Venetians* after an obstinate conflict were defeated, not above five gallies having escaped being either taken, sunk, or destroyed. Two thousand men were slain, and about six thousand made prisoners, in which number were included thirteen senators. Prodigious booty fell into the enemy's hands, and the victory was in all respects complete and decisive. A battles

THIS misfortune was attended with the revolt or desertion of *Palavicini*, and dismissal of *Carmagnola* from his office: indeed, he was so chagrined at this last accident, that he would voluntarily have resigned the command; but the *Venetians* were so far from being daunted by the unfortunate defeat, that they resolved to carry war into the bowels of the *Genoese* territories, as *Philip's* fleet was commanded by an admiral of that country, and chiefly manned by *Genoese*. A Squadron of eighteen gallies was immediately got ready for this purpose, completely manned, armed, and victualled. *Pietro Lauretano*, a man of experience and conduct, was ap- The Venetians retreat.

* BLEND. *ibid.* SABELL. *ibid.* apud SABELL.

Loretano
admiral.

pointed to command the expedition, and every thing done that could render his success probable^b. He soon arrived at *Leghorn*, where he was joined by five *Florentine* galleys: there too he accepted of the offered services of *Adorini* and *Fieschi*, two noblemen of *Genoa*, who for some time had lived in banishment, and whose powerful influence and connexions it was thought might induce the *Genoese* to attempt the recovery of their liberty: but such conjectures proved delusive; the *Genoese* had prepared for their defence a strong fleet of twenty-four galleys, commanded by *Francis Spinola*, a man equally distinguished by the nobility of his birth, and his personal bravery^c. The *Venetian* fleet was come within ten

The Geno-
ese prepare
to fight
Loretano.

miles of *Genoa* before intelligence was received at *Genoa*: the news no sooner arrived than *Spinola* sailed in such haste to meet *Loretano*, that some of his ships could scarce overtake him before battle was joined. About day-break the fleets descried each other, and orders were given on both sides to prepare for an engagement. *Spinola* encouraged his men by reminding them of their late success, of their superiority, and of the dejection of the enemy. On the contrary, *Loretano* exhorted his fleet to wipe off the disgrace incurred by the loss under *Trevifano*^d: the enemy, he said, was by no means contemptible, and to conquer would require an exertion of their courage; but then the honour of victory was proportionable, and they could have no hopes in flight from a fleet superior and lighter^e. *Spinola* having the advantage of the wind, ordered his ships to bear down on the enemy, which *Loretano* observing, thought it adviseable to decline battle, until the curvature of the coast should give him the weather-gage. The *Genoese* admiral attributing his retreat to fear, gave chase, and was just astern when *Loretano* put the helm round, engaged with great intrepidity, and was bravely received by *Spinola*. After an obstinate conflict, the *Venetians* having grappled with eight *Genoese* galleys, took them, together with the admiral, whose fate produced a decisive victory, the particulars of which are not specified by historians.

Loretano
gains a
complete
victory.

War in
Lombardy

DURING these transactions by sea, the war went briskly on in *Lombardy*. *Philip*, puffed up with his success on the *Po*, came to *Cremona* to compliment his generals and the army upon their conduct. The *Venetians* were encamped at *Suma*, where he resolved to attack them if they could be brought to an engagement, which he apprehended would be difficult: but in

^b BLOND, et MONTAN.
1. 8. d. 3. MONTAN. p. 201.
MONTAN. *ibid*.

^c SABEL. 1. 8. d. 3. ^d BLOND.
^e *Ibid*. BLOND. SABEL. et

this he was mistaken ; they were impatient for an opportunity of wiping off the disgrace. The *Venetian* general ordered his army to be drawn up in battalia, firmly expecting the enemy's attack, which soon began with great vigour : they fought for the whole day, every company in both armies, horse and foot, having a share in the engagement. Both sides, however, being tired out before either thought fit to yield the victory, a mutual retreat was founded, after incredible slaughter, in which the loss was very equal. *Sabellicus* says, that *Carmagnola* commanded the *Venetians* in this engagement, though he is silent concerning the occasion of his being reinstated ; but he would seem right from the following incident, which became an article of that general's impeachment. A few days after this last battle a scheme for surprising *Cremona* was proposed by the brave *Cavalcobovis*, a *Venetian* officer : it was so well concerted, and his assurance of success so strong, that *Carmagnola* could not refuse complying with his earnestness to make the experiment. In the middle of *October* this gentleman set out about midnight from the camp with a body of troops, concealing himself among the sedges and rushes which surrounded the moat at the foot of the walls. As soon as day-light appeared, and that the centinels went off guard, he applied scaling-ladders to the ramparts, which his troops mounted unobserved : another corps, that had seasonably arrived to his support, followed, leaving a strong guard on the ladders, in order that *Carmagnola* might send further reinforcements. He then marched into the city, seized upon several guards, repulsed the inhabitants who assembled to oppose him, and took possession of the nearest gate : here he maintained his ground for eight hours, in spite of all the efforts of a numerous garrison, who attacked him from every quarter. He sent repeated messengers to *Carmagnola* to acquaint him with his success, and to request that he would enter with the army at the gate he kept open for him ; but *Carmagnola*, pretending his apprehensions of some treachery, hesitated so long, that *Cavalcobovis*, unable longer to sustain the enemy, abandoned the city^s. This transaction clearly proves that *Carmagnola* commanded after the defeat on the *Po*, which happened three months before the attempt on *Cremona*. As it afterwards formed the chief article of his impeachment, it leaves no room for doubt concerning the name of the *Venetian* general, when this project of *Cavalcobovis* was put in execution.

^s SABEL. l. 8. d. 3. BLOND. FLAV. l. 2. d. 3.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XXVII.

L

IN

Fiesca and Adorini murdered. In the mean time *Fiesca* and *Adorini*, who had been left at *Reca*, when *Loretano* departed from thence, were treacherously slain in their way from *Pisa* to *Florence*. They were suddenly attacked by one *Buffettio* of *Pavia*, at the head of a troop of ruffians. Their defence was brave, and worthy of their birth and reputation; for after great slaughter made among the assassins, and several wounds received, they at length dropt down dead with fatigue and loss of blood. This *Buffettio* was supposed to have been employed by *Philip*, for no personal animosity had subsisted between him and those unfortunate noblemen^h.

ABOUT this time, and soon after the defeat of the *Genoise* by *Loretano*, *Bernardo Adorini*, brother to *Adorini*, who was assassinated, had caused all the coast of *Genoa* to revolt. He made incursions all over the country with three hundred horse given him by the marquis of *Montferrat*; but was in the end defeated by *Picinino*, and the country reduced to its former obedienceⁱ. Historians relate barbarous instances of *Picinino's* cruelty upon this occasion: instances which stain the great reputation he deservedly acquired by his extraordinary military achievements. Besides the numbers he had slain in two battles, some hundreds of prisoners were put to death by a shocking variety of tortures. Having thus glutted his inhumanity with blood, he had recourse to other methods of gratifying the natural cruelty of his disposition: he exposed to sale all the children, women, and priests, that fell into his hands, the soldiers having first indulged themselves in acts the most lascivious, wanton, and barbarous^k.

The attempt upon Chios fails.

BUT to return to the affairs of *Chios*: the intended armament, consisting of fourteen gallies, ten ships of burthen, together with a great number of small vessels, being now in readiness, the command was given to *Andrea Mocenigo*. He sailed for the island, and immediately on his arrival invested the chief city by sea and land. This place, likewise called *Chias*, was strong by nature and art: the fortifications, for those times, were not only regular, but the garrison was numerous, and stores of every kind plentiful; insomuch that, after *Mocenigo* had battered the walls with all manner of engines then known for the space of two months, little or no impression was made. Upon news of great preparations making at *Genoa* for the relief of the city, he thought it advisable to raise the siege, without hazarding farther losses.

^h PASIUS apud SABEL. *ibid.*
p. 116.

ⁱ MONTAN. *Com.* l. 4.
^k SABEL. BLOND. et MONTAN. *ibid.*

Before he embarked his troops, he laid waste the whole island, destroying the corn-fields, and tearing up the vintages : unable to perform actions worthy of a great commander, he distinguished himself by others becoming the character of a savage and barbarian.

THE following spring *Pietro Spinola* was detached thither by the *Genoese* with a fleet of fourteen gallies : hearing of this armament, the *Venetians* reinforced *Loretano*, and gave orders strictly to watch the motions of the enemy. *Loretano* sailed from *Corfu*, and with incredible dispatch arrived at *Leghorn* a few days after the departure of the *Genoese* fleet. By their coasting along *Sicily* he missed them ; so that *Spinola* arrived at *Corfu* a short time after the *Venetian* admiral quitted the island. The inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation on sight of the enemy, as their new fortifications, raised by the advice of *Loretano*, were incomplete, and the island in other respects but indifferently prepared for defence. Immediate intelligence of the destination of the *Genoese* was sent to *Loretano* by the senate : he therefore dispatched six of his best gallies double-manned, which, being joined by four more appointed by the senate, steered directly to *Corfu*.

A. D.
1432.

The Genoese arrive at Corfu.

PICININO, in the mean while, having laid waste the whole marquissate of *Montferrat*, returned to the *Cremonese*, where he soon retook *Torcello* and *Bordellan*, both well garrisoned, and within a short distance of the *Venetian* army. Every one was amazed at the conduct of *Carmagnola* ; his sloth and security while the enemy were employed in sacking, burning, and seizing on the dominions of the republic, excited suspicions of his fidelity. Some were of opinion that his reputation ought to stand unimpeached until proofs of his treachery appeared ; others again thought, and among these were the procurators of *St. Mark's*, that he should be taken into custody, and compelled either to clear his honour, or receive the just punishment of his perfidy : but all were ignorant that a decree of the senate had passed against him from the time of his defeat on the *Po* ; so secret are all the transactions of that august body. *Carmagnola* himself, though he had resided for some weeks in *Venice*, and had numerous connections among the senators, was so far from suspecting any designs against him, that he paid his compliments to the doge the very day he was taken into custody. When he returned to *Venice* from the army, he was met as he came out of his gondola by a great number of senators, who conducted him to the prince's palace, where he was received with the same respect

Carmagnola beheaded.

Picininio's success stopped by a wound.

respect as if nothing against him had been determined (A). Before the decree was made public he was taken into custody, and then the senate's reasons signified to the people; after which he was put to the torture, convicted of a treasonable correspondence by his own letters and hand-writing, which he could not deny, beheaded, and his effects confiscated to the public treasure¹. Thus ended the life of *Carmagnola*; glorious in its first career under *Philip of Milan*, but contaminated in the end by pride, avarice, and corruption. With a magnanimity becoming a hero he had a meanness unworthy of a man; his conduct plainly evinced, that when corruption once seizes the human heart, like a rank poison, it instantly destroys every principle of honour, honesty, and virtue. Before his imprisonment the prince of *Mantua*, with *Cornaro Dandolo* as proveditor, had secret orders to repair to the army, to take upon him the command².

PICININO, elated with his late success, closely pursued the course of victory: a wound he received at the siege of *Pontoglio* first put a stop to his career; he was so dangerously ill that his life was despaired of, by which means *Philip* was for a time deprived of one of his best and most active officers³. Henceforward his affairs began to decline: *Tolletino*, who had entered into the pope's service after deserting *Philip*, was now dismissed by his holiness, and retained in the *Florentine* pay. He began his services by fierce incursions into the territory of *Sienna*, with great violence laying waste all the sea-coasts of the enemy or their allies. After joining *Attendulo*, associated with him in the command, he attacked some towns belonging to the *Siennois*, and, after reducing them, retook all the

¹ *SABELL*. *ibid.* *AMELOT* *ibid.*

² *BLOND*. l. 9. d. 3.

³ *BLOND*. *ibid.*

(A) *Sabellius* relates, that *Carmagnola* was in *Venice* the very night the decree against him passed in the senate; eight months before his trial: that the doge not returning before morning from the senate he was met by *Carmagnola*, who jocosely asked whether he was to wish his highness a good night or good morning: to which the prince smilingly replied, that the senate had sat late, and often talked of him. In short, this extreme caution,

though it may give the reader a high opinion of the secrecy of the senate, will scarce prejudice him in favour of the sincerity and honour of the individuals who composed it. There is something extremely shocking, and really unnecessary, in the specious appearances of friendship from the doge and senate to this unfortunate man, at the very time, and for a continuance after, they had doomed his destruction.

enemy's

enemy's conquests in the *Pisan* territories. Soon after which he attacked *Philip's* army, commanded by *Bernardino Ubal-
dino*, defeated and took the general prisoner, with near three thousand inferior officers and private men °.

AT this time *Sigismund*, son to *Charles* of *Bohemia* and *Hun-
gary*, came with an army to *Italy*, in consequence of a treaty with *Philip*. He first marched to *Milan*, where he was crowned; after which he led his army towards *Lucca*, as had been concerted between him and *Philip*. *Tolletino* having intelligence of his design marched towards *Lucca*, to prevent his seizing upon the *Venetian* forts round the country. As both the armies lay encamped at some distance from the city, *Tolletino's* camp was surprised in the night by a strong body detached by *Sigismund*, and supported by a brisk assault upon another quarter from the city; but after a bloody dispute the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter ^p. Some of the *Hungarians* penetrated as far as *Attendulo's* tent, who, we are told, was attacked by a trooper of enormous stature. The *Hungarian* struck him a blow on the head that must infallibly have ended his life, had not the goodness of his helmet resisted; but *Attendulo* soon recovering himself made a thrust, which pierced the heart of the soldier and ended the dispute ^q. *Sigismund* undertook no other exploits against *Tolletino*; for retiring to *Sienna* he entered into some controversies with the pope, which employed the remainder of the season in negotiations. After these were amicably terminated he went to *Rome*, and there was crowned emperor.

IN *Lombardy* the *Venetians* had still better success, *Sanchio Venieri* and *Cornaro* having recovered *Bordellana*, *Ruminenga*, *Fontanelles*, and *Socinna*; after which both sides began to talk of peace. The *Venetians*, at the request of the marquis of *Montferrat*, sent commissioners to *Ferrara* to treat of the conditions, and receive proposals from the enemy: here two deputies from *Florence* and *Milan* arrived. During the congress the proveditori *Venieri* and *Cornaro* were pushing their conquests: they passed the mountains and reduced the valley of *Camona* and *Valtellina*. Then attempting to lay a bridge over the *Adda* they were frustrated in the design by the obstinate resistance of the enemy: *Cornaro*, however, kept possession of part of *Valtellina*, and with a body of three thousand horse repulsed *Picinino*, called in by the *Gibilline* fac-

*Sigif-
mund
comes with
an army
into Italy.*

*The Vene-
tians suc-
cess in
Lombar-
dy.*

° SABELL. l. 3. d. 3. MONTAN. 132.
Allem. V. t. 8. p. 226. ^q SABEL. *ibid.*
ibid.

^p BARRE Hist.
BLOND.

Venetians
defeated.

Cassel-
Major
taken by
Philip.

Peace
treated of
and con-
cluded.

The brave
Cornaro
dies in
prison.

tion (B). But that subtle general effected by cunning what he could not compass by force. The day after his defeat he returned to the charge, as if he intended to renew the engagement: skirmishing briskly with *Cornaro's* troops, he began to give ground, as if unable to sustain the power of the enemy, and maintained a fighting retreat until he had drawn them into a strong ambuscade. Here the *Venetians*, attacked on every side, were put to flight, about three hundred being made prisoners: among these were *Cornaro*, *Cæsar Martinenga*, *Thadeo D'Æste*, *Baptista Caputio*, *Hulars of Friuli*, *Antonio Martinasco*, and several other officers of distinction and great reputation. *Cassel-Major* was likewise recovered by some of *Philip's* officers, which was followed by the reduction of *Brixelles*.*

THE winter now approaching, both armies retired into winter-quarters, and peace was more seriously treated of than before: at last it was concluded towards the following spring, on these conditions, that *Philip* should restore all the towns and fortified places taken in *Brescia* and the *Bergamese*; that he made restitution to the *Florentines* of all he had taken in the *Pisan* and *Volaterran* territories; that he should exert his influence to oblige the *Siennois* to restore to *Florence* whatever they had seized from the republic; that he would surrender the estate of *Montferrat* to the marquis, making good the damage sustained by that prince from the detention of his dominions; that he would grant a full pardon to *Vermio* and others who had carried arms in the *Venetian* service. The article most disputed was the town of *Pontremola*, which at length was ceded to *Philip*, on condition that all the plunder taken from the *Florentine* inhabitants should be restored. Before the peace was ratified by the senate, an embassy was dispatched to demand *Cornaro*, who had not returned with the other prisoners, with orders to break off all that had been agreed upon, if *Philip* should refuse his release. Upon their arrival they opened their instructions, and had an audience of the duke, who gravely told them he was sorry for the resolution of the senate, since it was not possible for him to comply with their request. Upon this the ambassadors were proceeding to extremities, when he told them at length, that the body of *Cornaro* they might take back, but the soul, all that was valuable, had taken its flight two days before. It was indeed

* SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.

(B) What the *Gibelline* and | explained in the general history
Guelph factions were, has been | of *Italy*, vol. xxvi.

true, that *Cornaro* died of grief at his disgrace in being made a prisoner. His bravery, his noble spirit, and generosity, had acquired him the esteem of *Philip*, by whom he was no less lamented than by his own countrymen. The ambassadors returning with the melancholy news the peace was ratified, and the mutual articles performed with all convenient expedition[†].

It is remarkable that in every treaty between the *Venetians* and *Philip*, though each party was heartily tired of war and desirous of peace, yet something always occurred to prevent its being solid and durable. One time an article was granted unwillingly, and soon became a cause of contention: another, a peace was made only to enable the parties to resume the war with fresh vigour: in the present case, some differences between *Philip* and the pope arose immediately after the congress at *Ferrara*, disturbed the public tranquillity, and even prevented the effects of that treaty. The *Venetians* could not be idle spectators while their countryman was molested in his pontifical dignity. As *Eugenius* had ever since his promotion strongly supported them against *Philip*, gratitude obliged them now not to be indifferent to his interests. *Philip* had never acknowledged his authority; and now that he found himself disengaged from war, he could better pursue his dislike to the pope, which he did with great animosity and rancour[‡]: but for the particulars of this war the reader must consult the volume above quoted.

WHILE the war between the pope and *Visconti*, in which the *Venetians* acted only as auxiliaries, *Carrario*, who had been absent when his father was put to death at *Venice*, and ever since lived in *Germany*, was solicited by *Philip* to return to *Italy*, thinking by his means to stir up the *Paduans* against the republic. After an exile of thirty years he came back to his native country, where he remained for some months concealed, endeavouring to prevail upon the *Paduans* to throw off the *Venetian* yoke, and receive him as their lawful prince. His promises were so liberal, and the expectations so great which he had raised in many, that his restoration was eagerly desired. The inhabitants of *Verona* and *Vincenza* were particularly disposed to favour him, and just ready to declare themselves, when the senate receiving intelligence of the design, gave orders he might be seized: accordingly *Carrario*, in the habit of a *German* merchant, and several of his friends and accomplices, were brought to *Venice*, convicted, and put to death[¶].

[†] SABEL. *ibid.*
REL. l. 3. d. 3.

[‡] Hist. des Papes. Tom. iv.

[¶] SA-

A. D.
1433.

Spinola
stirs up a
rebellion.

THIS year it was that the *Genoese* resolved to throw off the dominion of *Philip*, who had governed them with a despotic sway for a great number of years, without the least regard or tenderness for their ancient customs and liberty. *Spinola*, who had been prisoner in *Venice* since the action with *Loretano*, was the great fomentor of this revolt: he had contracted strict intimacies and warm friendships with several noble *Venetians* during his confinement: by them he was often exhorted and excited to encourage his countrymen to recover the liberty they had as foolishly as basely surrendered. They reminded him of the former splendor of the city before it was enslaved and subjected to the caprice and will of a tyrant: how mean and pitiful it was to give up the freedom which their ancestors had so bravely asserted at the hazard of their lives: how unbecoming that a city, herself the mistress of many other cities and large dominions, should be the slave, the vassal of a petty prince, inferior in power and glory to herself. In short, they gave him room to hope for strong supplies of men, money, and provisions, if he could persuade his countrymen to follow what their own interests, honour, and inclinations strongly dictated. They assured him, that both they and the *Florentines* were ready to hazard their own liberty to recover the freedom of *Genoa*, not only from the just resentment they bore to *Philip*, but from the natural regard that both states must have for a sister republic. Animated with these remonstrances, *Spinola* returned to *Genoa*, and immediately set every engine at work to effect a revolution: his success in inflaming the common people was so great, that nothing less than the influence of *Sigismund* could prevail with them longer to support the *Milanese* yoke, although perhaps to throw themselves into the power of another master less powerful, but equally proud and haughty: but the politic *Sigismund* foresaw that any revolution upon this occasion, while his hands were fully employed otherways, would be a total exclusion of his imperial dominion, exerted himself so heartily in behalf of *Visconti*, that the tumults excited by *Spinola* were for the time appeased, and all thoughts of a revolution deferred to a more convenient opportunity *.

He returns
to Genoa.

IN the war between pope *Eugenius* and *Visconti*, *Sforza* commanded the troops of the holy see and the *Venetian* auxiliaries. Disputes arose between him and the republic respecting his pay: *Casino de Medicis* came purposely from *Florence* to *Venice* in order to conciliate the parties; but his media-

* *BARRA Hist. Allemagne. v. 2. SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. BLOND. l. 9. d. 3.*

tion proving abortive, *Sforza* made up his quarrel with *Philip* and returned to his service. Both the *Venetians* and *Picinino* were offended at this treaty; the latter was particularly enraged, and every where exclaimed against the ingratitude of *Philip*, as if a friendship for *Sforza* was an injury done to himself: but if his resentment to *Philip* had excited himself to a more earnest discharge of his duty, he attacked *Ostasio Polentano*, prince of *Ravenna*, with so much vigour and success, that he was at last compelled to forsake the *Venetian* alliance and embrace the party of *Philip*. Soon after this he took *Imola* and *Bolegnia* from the pope, and in every respect performed greater services to the cause of *Visconti* than he had ever done before his quarrel. It would be difficult to determine whether *Picinino's* conduct was actuated by a rivalryship of *Sforza*, by more generous motives, or by sound policy and his endeavours to shew *Philip* the importance of his friendship, and force of his merit. All we know is, that he rendered *Visconti* signal services, and did the pope, *Venetians*, and their allies irreparable damage.

MELLATO, who commanded the *Venetian* army in the mean time, was not idle: after he had recovered all the places taken in the *Bergamese* by *Picinino* in the last campaign, he entered the *Cremonese*, and every where carried with him terror and desolation. *Picinino*, hearing of *Mellato's* progress, recalled all his detachments, marched into the *Cremonese*, and encamped between the *Po* and the city *Cremona*. Passing the river, he went and besieged *Cassel-Major*, which he knew would divert *Mellato* from his other designs. The event answered his conjecture; for *Mellato* having strongly garrisoned all the places he possessed in the *Cremonese*, marched to *Cassel-Major*, and found means to throw in a reinforcement. Having fully supplied *Socinna*, a strong place of equal consequence, and placed centinels and corps du gard along the river, he encamped at *Bina*, twelve miles from *Cassel*, his army not being strong enough to raise the siege by a battle. *Picinino*, taking advantage of his superior force, which consisted of twenty thousand fine troops, almost double the number of *Mellato's* army, prosecuted the siege with unwearied diligence, and great vigour. For nineteen days successively did he batter the walls, almost without intermission, or any great success. The senate entertained hopes that he might at length be forced to abandon the siege, both from the strength of the place and the obstinacy of the garrison: but their expecta-

Mellato
commands
the *Vene-*
tians.

Picinino
besieges
Cassel-
Major.

¹ Pass. apud SABEL. MONT. Comment. l. 4.

² BLOND.

l. 9. d. 3.

tions were soon disappointed by the sudden fall of a strong tower, supposed to have been undermined by the treachery of some of the garrison, corrupted by *Picinino*. So alarmed were the besieged with this accident, that they hung out a flag of truce, and offered to capitulate upon reasonable and moderate terms. Their proposals were equivocally answered, which more strongly confirmed the governor in his suspicions. Mean time *Picinino* was scheming the destruction of the *Venetian* army: he delayed the capitulation, until the issue of an ambuscade laid for *Mellato* should appear; but the plot being discovered, a capitulation was signed, and the garrison permitted to march out with the honours of war, their arms, and ammunition.

Gonza-
ga's trea-
chery.

AFTER *Gonzaga* had resigned the command of the *Venetian* army, a report was propagated of his intention to enter into treaty with *Philip*: upon this the *Venetian* senate sent ambassadors to him to dissuade him from a design so injurious to the republic. Notwithstanding he had resigned his post of general, yet a considerable body of the *Mantuan* horse acted under *Mellato*; and though *Gonzaga* generally resided at *Mantua*, he often made excursions, upon occasions of consequence, to the army to assist *Mellato* with his advice and counsel. The ambassadors finding him at *Mantua*, received the strongest assurances of his intention to preserve the friendship of the *Venetians* inviolably, with which answer they returned fully satisfied. All this time *Gonzaga* maintained a secret correspondence with *Picinino*, in which he agreed to assist the plan he had laid down for the ruin of *Mellato*, by withdrawing his forces and joining them to *Picinino's* as soon as he began the proposed attack. For this purpose he came to the *Venetian* camp, and strongly advised *Mellato* to quit his present situation, and march into the enemy's country. He had so far gained upon the provedatori, by the speciousness of his manners and the force of his arguments, that they concurred with his opinion. *Picinino* arrived by a secret march upon the banks of the *Oglio*, and encamped at a ford about four miles distant from *Mellato's* camp, where he disposed every thing for an attack. The *Venetian* general suspected those motions were only a feint to cover some other design, kept close within his entrenchments, and took every necessary precaution. The frequent motions of the enemy still more confirmed him in his opinion, that *Picinino* had some other design than to attack a camp strongly fortified by nature and art. At last the courier between the treacherous *Gonzaga* and *Picinino* was taken, and the whole design disclosed to *Mellato*, who thinking it best to avoid coming to an explanation at that time, took his measures

measures for deceiving *Gonzaga* and turning the tables: For this purpose he detached the *Mantuan* horse under *Giovanni Tolentino*, with orders to cross the river some miles above the enemy's camp, and to attack them in the rear, upon a signal given that the armies were engaged. Having thus disengaged himself from the *Mantuans*, he gave orders for the army to decamp with the utmost silence, in the middle of the night, and marched with such expedition that by break of day he was twelve miles distant before the enemy were apprized of his motions. In this manner did he proceed unmolested to *Bagnolo*, where he encamped and fortified himself in a situation almost inaccessible^b. *Gonzaga's* schemes being known at *Venice*, the senate resolved to punish his perfidy. With this intention, a prodigious fleet, consisting of sixty-five galleys, eight galliots, and a number of small vessels, was equipped *A fleet equipped against Gonzaga.* with all possible dispatch, and the command given to *Pietro Loretano*, the old and faithful favourite of the republic. He had orders to sail up the *Po*, and desolate the enemy's country. During the preparations at *Venice*, *Mellato* proposed sending part of his army to *Brescia*, both to refresh the troops, and provide for the security of the town; he was strongly opposed by the inhabitants, who insisted upon its being left to their own defence. *Mellato* suspected their fidelity, until, by the influence of *Francisco Barbaro*, a leading person in the city, the inhabitants were persuaded to comply with his request, and the gates were put into the hands of the *Venetians*. *Barbaro*, at the same time, performed another signal service to the republic, reconciling, by his prudent conduct, the heads of a faction, whose animosity endangered the loss of the city^c.

PICININO, in the mean time, was concerting measures with *Gonzaga* and *Vermio* for shutting up the lake *Bonac* and river *Mincia*, the only passes by which *Mellato* could supply his army with forage and provisions. Dividing his army into four columns, *Gonzaga* and *Vermio*, with two separate corps, entered the *Veronese*; and having, by the force of money, made themselves masters of *Valezza*, they soon over-run all the country lying between the rivers *Adice* and *Mincia*. Here it was that *Giovanni Melavotte*, going from *Brescia* to *Verona*, with three hundred horse, fell into their hands, after a brave resistance. They soon afterwards subdued the inhabitants of the lake *Benac*; and *Gonzaga* reduced *Pelcara*, situated at the rise of the *Mincia*, and *Lonata*, upon the *Brescian* mountains; forts which had formerly belonged

^b BLOND, l. 9. d. 3.

^c SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.

to him, but were now garrisoned by *Venetians*. *Mellato*, having received reinforcements from *Brescia*, volunteers raised by *Barbaro*, and multitudes of mountaineers, his army was augmented to the number of twenty thousand strong; but finding that *Picinino*, by *Gonzaga's* junction, was still superior, and suspecting the fidelity of several of his own officers, he waved his intention, and cantoned the army in the neighbouring towns and fortresses. *Picinino*, being thus at liberty to act as he pleased, led his army to besiege *Sales*; which, after some time lost, he was forced to relinquish, on account of the brave and obstinate defence of the garrison^d. After this he drew near *Feliciano* and *Manubia*, by the terror of his arms compelling the *Forlani* and the inhabitants of *Montecclao* to embrace the cause of *Visconti*. Hence he marched to *Pontoglio*, which, with several other towns, he reduced before the end of the campaign.

A. D.
1434.

PHILIP's arms were no less successful in another quarter. In the valley of *Camona* he carried all before him, *Antonio Bechari* his general there, having by force or persuasion, reduced all the inhabitants to his obedience: however, he did not long retain his conquests; for the diligent and faithful *Barbara* of *Brescia* raised great bodies of mountaineers, whom he sent under the conduct of *Leonardo Martinenga* against *Bechari*. *Martinenga* soon drove the enemy out of the country with great slaughter; after which he over-run the whole territory, destroying every thing with a barbarous fury, and severely punishing the cowardice and perfidy of the miserable inhabitants of the valley^e.

DURING these exploits *Picinino* defeated *Gritti*, who was dispatched by *Mellato*, with a body of three hundred foot and two hundred horse, to reinforce *Chiava*, at that time besieged by the *Milanese* general; after which he invested *Rhoad*, but not before he had completed the reduction of *Chiava*. *Mellato* apprehending the danger of the town from the weakness of the garrison, detached a body of troops, all volunteers, from the mountains of *Valbopia* and *Scrotiana*, to raise the siege, or at least to reinforce the garrison^f. An ambuscade was laid for them by *Picinino*; but the *Venetian* general conducted his affairs so prudently that the enemy's scheme was baffled, a general engagement brought on between both armies, and the *Milanese* general forced to relinquish his enterprize. After an obstinate conflict a retreat was sounded by mutual consent, and the armies separated without victory's

^d MONT. Com. l. 4. PASS. apud SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. BLOND. l. 9. d. 2.

^e BLOND. l. 9. d. 3.

^f MONT. ibid.

declaring

declaring for either: *Mellato* returned to *Brescia*, and *Picinino* to *Coloignes* *. Policy and zeal, however, made *Barbaro* proclaim a complete victory, all over *Brescia*; that *Picinino* was broken and repulsed with great slaughter, and that the night only had prevented the total destruction of his army. Nor was this report confined to *Brescia* only; it diffused itself to *Venice*, which excited so general a joy, that the people flocked to the market-place to congratulate each other upon the narrow escape of their army, and complete defeat of the enemy. The city at this time swarmed with sailors, raised for manning the fleet intended against *Gonzaga*: they soon became riotous in their mirth; they began with pulling down stalls and shops, to make fuel for their bonfires. At last the tumult became so great as to require the intervention of the magisterial authority; but this was likewise despised, and the mob continually encreasing, the whole city was in danger of being plundered and burnt, through the unruly and unbridled licentiousness of the tumultuous sailors, when *Lore-tano* interposed: he was held in such great veneration among them that their passions soon yielded to his arguments. The tumult was quelled, the mob dispersed, and public tranquility established by this admiral, whose reputation and popularity effected what the senate and doge found too difficult for their authority. He had for the space of twenty years been the constant and faithful servant of the republic: his mildness, modesty, liberality, and affability, had gained him the general esteem: he was not more respected by the people for his bravery and generosity, than by the doge and senate for the sweetness of his manners, and zeal for the public service. Notwithstanding his great age he was now appointed to conduct one of the most formidable armaments ever equipped by the republic, and to execute a commission of equal delicacy and importance.

PICININO, during the preparations at *Venice*, carried all before him by his vigilance, activity, and the superiority of his army. Marching from *Coloignes* to *Rhoad* with all his forces, he prosecuted the siege so vigorously that the garrison was soon forced to surrender at discretion. He then reduced *Bomedi*, *Paternia*, and *Passorini*. In the space of one week he forced the *Monticulans*, *Fulians*, *Ornians*, and *Brienses*, together with the forts of *Isea* and *Valbopia* to submit to *Philip*. A few days after he possessed himself of all the *Brescian* plains, a great part of the mountains, and the whole territory, the new *Orges* excepted. His design was to shut

* SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. BLOND. *ibid*.

Mellato up in *Brescia*, where, in a little time, for want of provisions, he must surrender^b. The *Venetian*, suspecting his intention, and aware of the consequence of being pent up in that corner, left a strong garrison in the city, and, with the residue of the army, began his march about the middle of the night towards *Verona*. *Blondus* says, *Mellato* had with him five thousand horse and foot; but *Montano* and *Pasius* of *Arimini*, who were both present in the whole war, affirm that his army did not exceed three thousand. He first marched to the banks of the river *Mincia*, which he attempted to ford before *Valezia*; but was disappointed on account of the depth of the water, and the opposition from the enemy. Upon this he returned to *Brescia*, and was closely pursued by *Picinino*, who might probably have surrounded the *Venetians*, had he taken the precaution of sending a body of troops to intercept their return, upon the presumption that they would be unable to advance. *Mellato*, finding it would be impossible to subsist longer in *Brescia*, determined to hazard every thing to avoid surrendering by famineⁱ. He projected the scheme of leading his troops to *Verona*, over mountains, and through forests which had always been deemed impassable. Nothing in history exceeds the difficulty of this march, which was equal to *Hannibal's* over the *Alps*. The army set out from *Brescia* about midnight, passed through the vale of *Suabia* to the mountains, every soldier being furnished with as much provision as he could conveniently carry. They continued their march through rocks, bogs, forests, and deserts for the whole night and all the succeeding day without halting. The inhabitants of the valley of *Suabia*, subjected to the bishop of *Trent*, knowing their master's dislike to the *Venetians*, took arms, and grievously harassed the rear of the army. *Mellato's* orders were, that the soldiers should keep close to their colours; but that was impossible in the difficulty of the roads, where frequently only one man could pass, while the horses came tumbling down with their riders from precipices. This, and the fatigue of the foot, occasioned the loitering of numbers behind, who were constantly knocked on the head by the *Suabians*. For the defence of the wearied infantry, *Mellato* ordered a troop of horse to lead up the rear, and often to dismount, in order to accommodate soldiers unable to proceed. He was foremost in every danger, difficulty, and hardship. The troops were animated by his example, and so affected with the goodness of their general, that they

Mellato
proposes
crossing the
mountains.

^b BLOND. l. 9. d. 3: MONT. p. 27.
SABEL. et BLOND. ubi supra.

ⁱ MONTAN. ibid.

cheerfully performed exploits beyond their natural strength. After having travelled two days, the army halted to refresh on the top of a mountain; and as soon as the wearied soldiers had with food and sleep recruited their exhausted spirits, *Mellato* gave orders to proceed on their march by break of day. He knew the necessity of expedition, as the bishop of *Trent* would not fail to take advantage of their desperate situation. On this day's march he was joined by *Pario Lodron*, who followed him with a considerable body of mountaineers from *Brescia*, and had, in spite of fatigue and danger, resolved to share the fortune of *Mellato* and the Venetian army.

In the mean time the bishop of *Trent*, having notice that *Mellato* was passing through his dominions, raised all the forces he could to block up the passes, and hem him in on every side. This prelate ordered a strong body of troops to seize upon the declivity of a steep and strong mountain, over which *Mellato* must necessarily march by an exceeding narrow path. Without an enemy the place was horrible; two men could scarce pass a-breast, and the mountain was almost perpendicular: above appeared nothing but stones and rocks; nor was the prospect below less dreadful; the brain turned giddy, and the most resolute courage was dismayed: the least slip of the foot, or the slightest accident would have sent the passengers tumbling into eternity; how horrible then must it have been to encounter an enemy from above, and the immense stones they sent rolling down with prodigious force! *Mellato* perceiving the troops quite disheartened with the danger, advanced with a detachment against the enemy: he made a sweep round the hill, and scrambled up with a spirit and resolution that amazed his own troops, and confounded the enemy, who were soon broke and defeated. Having happily effected this he returned to the army, who impatiently waited the event of the expedition. To add to the misery of this day's march, every little rivulet was swelled with the deluges of rain, and rendered scarce fordable. Nothing but necessity and an invincible courage could surmount the numberless difficulties that concurred: an enemy barbarous to a degree, famine, fatigue, mountains, rocks, tempestuous weather, and almost impassable deserts: these, together with sickness which now prevailed, made up the horrid catalogue. At length, after three days march, they descended to the plain, on the banks of the river *Sarca*, which runs from the mountains of *Trent* to the lake *Benac*: here the army was obliged to stop, the fords being found too deep for the passage of the infantry. Next morning the opposite shore of the river was covered with *Ver-*
mie's

The terrible distress of the army.

Attacked
by the ene-
my.

mio's troops, dispatched by *Picinino* along the lake to oppose the passage of the *Venetians*: they were likewise pursued and attacked in the rear by the bishop of *Trent*, who by this time had collected an army greatly superior to *Mellato's*. In this extremity the *Venetians* were relieved by the courage and conduct of a subaltern officer, who proposed that in the night torches should be tied to their lances, and the army march as if determined to attempt the passage of the river rather than perish in their present situation. The enemy, who defended the pass by which it was designed to escape, observed the *Venetians* make towards the river, and they doubted not but their intention was to open themselves a way through it by the sword. Without hesitation they poured down from the mountains to attack *Mellato* in the rear; but no sooner moved than *Pilosus* seized upon their post with a small party he had with him, and made a signal for the rest of the forces that he was in possession. Immediately a shout of joy was heard all over the army, and the enemy perceiving their mistake endeavoured to regain the pass; but they were received by *Pilosus* with a courage equal to his conduct, and repulsed with great slaughter. Then did *Mellato* pursue his march, crossing the river without opposition, by which the army found themselves next day in a plentiful country, after having long sustained the utmost pressure of fatigue and hunger in barren mountains. The change was a paradise to them, and *Pilosus* regarded as a tutelary angel both by the general and soldiers. *Mellato* was so sensible of his services, that he immediately preferred him to the post of centurion, and recommended him to the senate as the preserver of the *Venetian* army.

Pilosus
saves the
army.

Loretano
enters the
Po.

DURING these transactions in the mountains of *Trent*, *Loretano* with the *Venetian* fleet entered the *Po*; but found his passage obstructed by *Gonzaga*, who had caused great piles to be driven in the river, upon which he laid strong planks, building forts at every twenty paces distance, and filling up the spaces with strong iron chains in such a manner as made them impassable*. He likewise strongly garrisoned *Sermena*, a strong town upon the *Po*, and took his measures so well as effectually stopped *Loretano*. This admiral waited for three weeks, every day in expectation of the land forces: at last wearied out he resolved to besiege *Sermena*, but found the place too well prepared to entertain hopes of succeeding without a greater force of infantry. Chagrined with disappointment *Loretano* fell sick, and died universally regretted.

* SABEL. *ibid*.

WHILE *Mellato* was crossing the mountains *Picinino* laid siege to *New Orges*, and carried it through the treachery and corruption of *Pietro Luca*, whom *Mellato* had dispatched with three hundred horse to reinforce the garrison, and take upon him the command. After this he received orders from *Philip*, though late in the season, to besiege *Brescia*, which had long been the object of his ambition. *Picinino* immediately led his army, consisting of twenty thousand fighting men, and a great number of battering pieces against this city, and without delay opened the trenches. Before this siege few historians take notice of cannon used by the *Italians*, though it is imagined the invention was known to the *Venetians* at the time when *Chioggia* was taken by the *Genoese*. *Baronius* expressly mentions, that by means of them the siege of *Venice* was raised, and the *Genoese* blocked up in *Chioggia*. Upon the present occasion we are told, that *Picinino* had pieces of cannon sent him from *Milan*, which carried bullets of three hundred weight. His batteries played so furiously against the tower of *Mombellane*, and other parts of the city, that several breaches were made in the walls, and the garrison began to talk of capitulation¹: however, *Barbaro* the governor, and some of the chief officers, still determined to defend it to the last extremity. By agreement among them it was resolved, that *Christophoro Donato*, the chief civil magistrate, should keep open table, and generously entertain all degrees of men, that they might the better support the fatigues of the siege, and more securely be fixed in their allegiance to the republic: that *Barbaro*, who was the highest military magistrate, equally zealous for the public good, generous and brave, should by the same means animate and support the garrison. *Barbaro* omitted nothing which could prompt them to their duty: he even feigned letters and messages of speedy succour promised him, by which and his own example there was not an individual in the garrison who had not rather perish than submit. Thus inspirited he made several successful sallies, whereby the enemy were often repulsed with great slaughter, and their batteries destroyed. All the breaches made in the day were repaired at night, and the besiegers surprized with finding complete walls next morning as they were preparing to storm the city: even the women laboured with indefatigable industry, danger and the example of *Barbaro* inspiring them with unusual magnanimity and courage. At last disease and famine were near producing what neither the power or skill of the enemy could effect. To obviate this

*Picinino
lays siege
to Brescia.*

¹ SABEL. *ibid.*

insupportable evil, proclamation was made for all those unable or unwilling to bear arms to retire from the city. In consequence of this, one half of the inhabitants removed, with their wives and families^m. The city appeared in a manner desolate; but the courage of those who remained was unappalled. Although the assaults of the enemy were more frequent, and their hopes augmented in proportion as the number of the besieged was diminished, yet they were always warmly received, and repulsed. At last the walls round the tower *Mombellane* being levelled to the ground, it was resolved to storm the garrison: *Picinino*, at the head of his best troops, began the assault, and continued it for the whole day without intermission; when, towards the evening, his soldiers, unable longer to withstand the fury of the besieged, were broken and defeated. The attack was renewed for three days successively; but always unsuccessfully: the besieged were not to be overcome either with fatigue, danger, or any kind of hardshipⁿ. *Picinino*, perceiving they were resolved to buy death with the destruction of his army, resolved to break up the siege, and save the remainder of his broken forces. Thus, after spinning out the campaign to the middle of the winter, after enduring all the extremities of cold and fatigue, after the loss of near three thousand of his troops, besides a great number of nobility and gentlemen of the first rank in *Italy*, after having exhausted his whole stock of military skill and cunning, he was compelled to retire from the walls of a city defended by a handful of brave militia.

Siege
raised.

DURING the siege of *Brescia Mellato* was not idle: as soon as he had recovered the fatigue of his late march he entered upon action. His first care was to try every method to succour *Brescia*; but they all proving fruitless he reduced *Bargo* and *Corvario*: here the brave *Pilosus* received a contusion, of which he died before the arrival of the physicians and surgeons sent to his assistance by the senate. The grief was general for the loss of this hero, though of private rank^o: his body was brought to *Venice*, and interred at the public expence. Such were the many examples of public honours bestowed upon private subjects, of valour and merit, by that wise and politic state. Upon this occasion too the senate conferred the title and authority of general on *Mellato*, in acknowledgment of his late good conduct, and in reward of his former exploits: nor was *Barbaro* forgot; his zeal, spirit, and indefatigable industry met with a recompence and ho-

^m B. OMD. l. 9. d. 3.

ibid.

^o MONTAN. l. 5.

ⁿ SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. BLOKD.

nours adequate to the high degree of his merit, and the sense the republic had of his unwearied loyalty and fidelity ^P. *Avogadre*, a native of *Brescia*, was soliciting the senate for the relief of his brave countrymen, and the doge earnestly exhorting them to send immediate supplies, when a messenger arrived from *Barbaro* with the joyful intelligence that the siege was raised. Neither *Foscari*, the senate, or *Avogadre*, could credit the messenger before they had read *Barbaro's* dispatches: they were then equally struck with amazement and admiration at the obstinate valour of the garrison. The whole city was in a blaze with bonfires, and a joy appeared every where, equal to what might be expected had *Venice* been relieved from a siege. A reward was sent to every individual in the garrison; the wives of the dead were ordered to be supported at the public charge, and particular honours decreed to *Barbaro* and the other officers.

AFTER the disgrace before *Brescia*, *Picinino* besieged and reduced *Lodron*, assembled his troops, and proceeded to *Romana*, which he invested; but this place, strong by art and nature, and well provided and garrisoned, baffled all his attempts. Finding he could make no impression, he retired, with his troops, into their former winter-quarters ^Q.

DURING these transactions in the depth of winter, the senate, by the advice of *Nicholao D'Este*, were taking measures to regain the friendship of *Sforza*, whom they now found to be of more consequence than they imagined ^r. They likewise laboured with all their might to engage the *Florentines* in their quarrel, this republic having, since the dismissal of *Sforza*, been entirely neutral and inactive. *Sforza* was disgusted with *Philip's* prevarication about the promise of giving him his daughter in marriage. That prince had detached him from the alliance of *Venice* in such a manner, that he thought no resentment could induce him to enter again into a service in which he had been so grossly affronted. Some sarcastical strokes from his rival *Picinino*, added greatly to *Sforza's* indignation. At the siege of *Brescia*, *Picinino* being asked, to what purpose he lavished his own and the soldiers blood to procure a city which would soon come by inheritance to his rival? he replied, "Do you finish the business, and we shall be time enough at *La Marca* to disappoint this delicate bridegroom, and turn the mirth to our own advantage." In short, the duplicity of *Visconti*, and his animosity to *Picinino*, determined this ge-

^P SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.
supra.

^Q SABEL. *ibid.*

^r Aut. *ci.* ubi

heral to listen to the *Venetians*, who were even profuse in their offers of service. *Montano* tells us, that a pension of two hundred and twenty thousand ducats, an incredible sum in those days, was assigned him *.

A. D.
1436.

League be-
tween the
Vene-
tians,
Floren-
tines,
Sforza,
and
D'Este.

THE *Florentines* withstood all the exhortations, remonstrances, and solicitations of the *Venetian* envoy, until they had certain assurance that *Sforza* was reconciled and engaged. Though they perfectly well knew that if *Philip* had once conquered the *Venetians* his next attempt would be against themselves, yet neither this nor any other arguments could rouse or stimulate them to their own defence. The elevation of *Visconti* must prove their fall; the ballance of power in *Italy* would be lost by the depression of their sister republic; but all arguments of reason and policy were ineffectual until *Sforza* had actually signed the alliance with *Venice*. Whether their conduct proceeded from some secret connivance with *Sforza*, or arose from the confidence they had in his valour, history is silent; certain it is that they now first acceded to the treaty. The triple alliance was concluded about the middle of *February*: among other articles it was expressly stipulated, that the two republics should immediately remit to *Sforza* the pay of three thousand foot and two thousand horse; that all the towns, forts, and cities, with their dependencies, conquered in course of the war, should be given to *Sforza*, *Cremona* alone excepted, which was to revert to the *Venetians*; that if *Cremona* only should be taken, it should in this case become the property of *Sforza*, the general and commander in chief of the combined army; that any number of forces he should think necessary, should be levied at the joint expence of both states; that *Sforza* should directly march into *Lombardy* to relieve the *Venetians*, who were hard pushed in that quarter: *Nicholao D'Este* was likewise included in this treaty; and it was stipulated to support, at the expence of the republics, *Guido Favalino* with fifteen hundred horse and three hundred foot, together with his son *Borsia* with one thousand horse, as auxiliaries, to act by the direction of *Sforza* †.

PHILIP, finding that he was mistaken in his conjectures concerning *Sforza*, left no stone unturned to regain his friendship, but he was too far engaged to retract with honour; besides, he paid little regard to promises, which had already so often been falsified. At *Venice*, although this league was eagerly desired, it was suspected; jealousies were entertained

* L. 5. PASSIVUS apud SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.
BLOND. l. 9. d. 3.

† SABEL. ibid.

of *Sforza's* sincerity : however, their present distress and the event justified the wisdom of the senate's conduct (A).

PICININO, understanding that the league was formed, took every precaution to withstand the powerful army which he doubted not would be levied by the allies : he held consultations with *Gonzaga* concerning the operations of the ensuing campaign : he thought if the war could be transferred into the *Paduan* or *Vincenzan* territories, that it would prove an advantage to *Philip*, and greatly distress the enemy. This seemed a plan easily executed, if a fortress or two in which to form magazines could be seized. The whole plan was afterwards found to be *Gonzaga's*, who intended nothing more by it than to remove the seat of war at a distance from himself : he farther proposed, that the fleet upon the *Po* might be brought either by land or water to the river *Adice*, by means of which he could greatly distress and harass the enemy^u. But secretly as this project was concerted *Mellato* obtained some intelligence of it, which he immediately transmitted to *Venice* ; but his accounts were disregarded. Thus *Gonzaga*, having built eight galleys at *Hofilia*, sent them with infinite

A. D.
1437.

^u MONTAN. ubi supra.

(A) While the league was in agitation, a very extraordinary proposal was made to the senate by a native of *Candia*, one *Sorbolla*, of carrying a fleet over land to the lake *Benac*, for the relief of *Brescia*, at that time closely besieged by *Picinino*. *Sorbolla* was a mechanic of a busy, enterprising, and projecting disposition ; but withal ingenious and sensible. The scheme was first received as an impracticable and wild whim of the imagination, suggested by folly and madness : but after the senate had perused and weighed *Sorbolla's* memorial, they began to entertain some notion of the proposal, and an high opinion of the projector. At length the experiment was resolved upon, and the conduct of the whole committed to the artist, who

was to be supplied with every thing necessary for the execution. *Sorbolla* immediately set to work : he first had the fleet, consisting, according to *Blondus*, of two galleys, three galliots, and twenty-five small vessels, towed up against the stream of the river *Adice* to *Verona*, and from thence to *Mora*. By land the ships were moved by engines upon rollers of a smooth hard wood for the space of six miles from *Mora* to the lake of St. *Andrew's*. At length, three months after he left *Venice*, he arrived at *Torbolles* with his fleet, to the infinite fatigue of himself, and amazement of all who beheld him. Before his arrival the siege of *Brescia* was raised, and *Sorbolla's* expedition was attended with advantage only to himself, who was well rewarded for his ingenuity.

expence and labour to the river *Adice*. *Marino Contarini* and *Lodovico Molino* were dispatched by *Mellato* with a few ships, to stop their progress, if possible. Their first attempt began at *Castagnaria*: here vigorous skirmishes daily happened; but the *Venetian* forces being inconsiderable, the enemy at length gained their point, and appeared on the *Adice*.

A sea fight Some days after the two fleets came to an engagement, in which neither side claimed victory, though the *Venetians* retired first, for which the commanding officers were disgraced*. In consequence of the retreat of the *Venetians*, *Picininio* laid siege to *Lenaga*, and reduced the besieged to the necessity of capitulating.

In this state were affairs when an engagement happened near the lake *Benac*, which terminated more to the advantage of the *Venetians* than the last encounter. *Italus* lay at *Sales* with a considerable body of horse and foot, and was opposed by a corps greatly inferior to his own under *Avogadre*. They met at *Moderna*, a town to which *Italus* proposed laying siege. The battle began with vigour, and was maintained with obstinacy and conduct for the whole day: neither side seemed to have any chance for victory, until *Zeno*, the *Venetian* admiral on the lake, bringing his ships as close as possible to the shore, landed a body of seamen, who soon turned the scale in favour of *Avogadre*. The sailors attacked *Italus* in the rear, and so galled him, that, unable longer to keep the field, he retreated in disorder, leaving behind a great number of slain, wounded, and prisoners, to the amount of one thousand five hundred soldiers. Himself escaped under favour of a dark night; but fifty of his chief officers were taken*.

The Venetians victorious.

A. D. 1438. IN the mean time *Sforza* set out for the army from *La Marca*, attended by a numerous retinue of young nobility and gentry. On his arrival at *Arimini*, the head-quarters fixed for the army, he ordered a general muster, when the troops were found complete. He had heard of *Picininio* and *Gonzaga's* intention of removing the war into *Padua* and *Vincenza*, and resolved, if possible, to anticipate their project, by pushing into *Lombardy*†. His first attempt was upon *Forlimpopoli*, which he soon reduced; thence marching to *Ravenna*, news was brought him, that the enemy had seized upon all the territories of *Verona* and *Vincenza*. The city *Verona* was closely besieged, and the burghers of both capitals had mutinied and expelled the *Venetian* garrisons: in short,

* SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.
sius apud SABEL. d. 3. l. 3.

† MONTAN. Comment. l. 5. PAS-
SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.

without

without the utmost expedition and good fortune, those cities, it was feared, must fall into the hands of the enemy. The commotions arose from the wanton oppression of the garrison, who treated the inhabitants with unbridled licentiousness and rapacity. The *Paduans* were soon persuaded to pacific measures upon the return of their governor; but the *Vincenzans* were more obstinate. They said, that they wanted no foreign defence; that their loyalty to the republic, and their own bravery were sufficient for the security of their city, and to repulse all the attacks of their enemies. The *Venetian* senate had many proofs of their fidelity and affection, which were stronger barriers against *Philip's* power than thousands of hireling troops. *Mellato*, hearing of the expulsion of the garrison, hastened thither; but finding the *Vincenzans* firmly attached to the *Venetians*, and that only a noble resentment of the insults and wrongs sustained from the troops, occasioned the present troubles, he greatly commended their spirit and zeal, assured them of the protection of the republic, and left the inhabitants to defend their own city².

THE intelligence *Sforza* had received from *Padua* and the *Sforza Veronese* made him change his measures: quitting *Ravenna* *marches* to he went to *Rancannes*, where he obliged *Guido* and *Francisco*, the *Veronese* *Picinino's* sons, to retire with a large body of cavalry to *Forli*. Hence, through the *Beloguese* he passed to *Bodina*, where, shipping his heavy baggage on the *Po*, he proceeded through *Ferrara* to *Adria*, and arrived in the *Paduan* territories, having crossed four great rivers, in half the time expected. Another muster of his army was made, and it amounted to six thousand two hundred and forty-four horse, and eight thousand six hundred foot, complete and fit for action. His first care was to effect a junction with the troops under *Mellato*, which was happily accomplished by the good conduct of both generals. *Sforza's* army now amounted to fourteen thousand horse and eight thousand foot, a force sufficient to carry on the war offensively².

DURING these transactions in the *Paduan* and *Veronese*, *Brescia* was reduced to great extremities, insomuch that nothing but the invincible zeal and courage of *Barbaro* could maintain the inhabitants in their allegiance. Although *Picinino* had raised the siege in *January*, yet during the whole winter and spring the *Brescians* were infested by perpetual incursions of parties: the passes by which they could receive provision and forage were shut up; money was scarce, as

The distress of
Brescia.

² SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.

² MONTAN. l. 5. SABEL. ibid.

the *Venetians* had remitted none for several months; so exhausted were the finances of the republic; and to crown their misery, disease and famine prevailed to a great degree. In this situation *Barbaro* was indefatigable, his spirit invincible, and his invention inexhaustible: he raised money upon his own credit for the payment of his troops; laid in great stocks of chesnuts, roots, and fruits, to supply the want of wheat and corn; he deceived his own troops and the enemy by feigned letters and correspondences; he conversed affably with all degrees of the inhabitants, and liberally spent his fortune in their support; his house was open to relieve the hungry of every degree; he procured troops of horse to enter the city in the night with bags stuffed with hay, to persuade the inhabitants into a hope of fresh supplies, and then the next day made a distribution of wheat and barley, which he had reserved for his own use; he carried his patriotic artifice so far as to have arrows, with scrolls of paper, stuck at night in some of the high towers and steeples, as if they had been shot by his friends without, to acquaint him with their intentions of affording him speedy relief.

ITALUS had by this time encamped within a few miles of the city, with a considerable body of troops; and *Barbaro*, on promise of being powerfully supported by the mountaineers, resolved to dislodge him and set fire to a part of the enemy's fleet upon the lake^b: but though the plan for both was concerted with all the foresight which human prudence could direct, yet the execution failed, through some unaccountable circumstances, and *Barbaro* was repulsed with loss^c.

Sforza
raises the
siege of
Verona,
and reduces
Longina.

BRESCIA was situated in this manner while *Sforza's* approach obliged the enemy to raise the siege of *Verona* and retire to *Savi*, a town on the confines of the *Veronesi*. *Sforza* then besieged *Longina*, and after several assaults, in which he lost two of his intimate friends, obliged it to surrender. This so incensed him that he razed the walls to the ground, but had the humanity not to put the garrison to the sword: then drawing up his army in a hollow square he marched against the enemy, who were encamped a few miles distant; but they declining battle, he turned towards *Vincenza*, and soon recovered all the towns which had been taken from the republic.

ALTHOUGH the enemy had raised the siege of *Verona*, they continued to keep it blocked up by entrenchments, which *Sforza*, without great danger and imprudence, could not force. He therefore determined to relieve the city by

^b Ibid.

^c SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.

passes over the mountains, which he effected, after a dangerous and tedious march.

IN the mean time both *Picinino* and *Sforza* exerted all their skill about *Brescia*, the one to distress, and the other to relieve *Barbaro*. The former relied chiefly on his perfect knowledge of the country, snares, ambushes, and intrigues, *Sforza's* genius and comprehension were greatly superior: his schemes were extensive, great, and worthy of a renowned commander; but then he neglected the minutiae, on which often depend the fate of the finest laid schemes. The senate of *Venice* was under the utmost concern about a city that had so long and faithfully sustained all the pressure of extreme misery: they sent the most positive orders to *Sforza* to leave no means untried to relieve the trusty *Barbaro* and his brave garrison. At last it was happily effected by the defeat of *Picinino*, and destruction of his army. Before the engagement began *Sforza* animated his troops with every argument that could inspire courage into his troops; he set before them the example of the *Brescians*, and the fair prospect of immortal glory, and booty, the strongest inducements of any to a soldier^d. His disposition was so judicious, his choice of the ground so excellent, and his courage, throughout the engagement, so conspicuous, that the success could not be attributed to the fate of war. It was the natural consequence of that astonishing display of the finest talents and capacity. He was supported by his army with all the courage he could desire; and a sort of rivalry seemed to prevail who should best execute their general's commands. *Picinino*, after his right wing gave way, made one desperate push against the *Venetian* infantry on the right, which they were unable to withstand: they were broken and put in confusion, when *Sforza* arrived with a fresh corps, who sustained the enemy while he was rallying the disordered lines. This effected, he renewed the attack with such impetuosity, as baffled all resistance, broke the enemy, and made prodigious slaughter, *Picinino* escaping with difficulty in a mean disguise. *Sforza* imagined he had been among the prisoners; but finding that he was mistaken, he offered a reward of five thousand crowns to whoever should take him alive^e. Near four thousand prisoners were made, and among them a great number of nobility and officers of the first distinction.

ZENO, with the *Venetian* fleet on the lake *Benac*, was, *Zeno* during this time, less successful: after a variety of slight

^d SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.

^e Ibid. MONTAN. l. 5. Pass. apud

SABEL.

encounters with the enemy, he was at last defeated, made prisoner, and his whole fleet taken, not one ship having escaped: *Sanseverino* commanded the enemy's fleet, and *Ittalus* a land army upon the banks of the lake. The latter made so good use of the victory, that he soon reduced the strong castle of *Moderna*.

As to *Sforza* he was called from pursuing his victory to relieve *Verona*, closely besieged by a strong detachment *Picinino* had sent for that purpose before the engagement. Before he could arrive the enemy were in possession, by means of a stratagem which succeeded, and *Gonzaga* was proclaimed prince of *Verona*. The citadel and some forts were still in the hands of the *Venetians*, and defended against all the arts and power of the enemy. *Sforza* ordered lines of circumvallation to be formed, to prevent *Gonzaga's* escape or succour, and the works were prosecuted with so great diligence, that in four days the trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play with prodigious fury upon the walls. There was something extraordinary in the situation of the enemy, who were besieging the citadel at the very time they were besieged in the city. In this condition it was not possible they could hold out long: nor in effect did they, for the third day after the batteries were opened a breach was made, and *Sforza* ordered it to be stormed^f. The troops mounted with so much resolution, and were so well supported by a sally from the citadel, that the town was soon entered, and the enemy chased with great slaughter about the streets. The inhabitants had kept themselves close in their houses, without joining with either party, until the enemy were defeated: then they began to give proofs of their courage and loyalty, by insulting the dead and wounded, and knocking in the head the few stragglers that remained: but this would not satisfy *Sforza*; he demanded clearer proofs of their fidelity, and examined every circumstance concerning the stratagem by which the enemy gained possession. The inquiry did not turn out greatly in favour of the citizens, many of whom were convicted of treasonable practices, and punished accordingly; others were pardoned, and the whole exhorted to a more faithful discharge of their duty^g. The news of *Sforza's* success was received with great joy at *Venice*, and a solemn embassy sent to compliment him upon his conduct; and henceforward the fortune of the republic began to rise, while that of *Philip* and *Picinino* visibly declined. In consequence of *Sforza's* victories *Brescia* was re-

A. D.
1440.

^f MONTAN. l. 5. SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.
BLOND. *ibid*.

^g SABEL. *ibid*,

lieved, and an intercourse opened between all the parts of the *Venetian* dominions.

PHILIP soon recruited *Picinino's* broken army, took measures for protracting the war by a secret contract with *Cornetano* the pope's general: herein it was stipulated, that *Cornetano* should invade *La Marca*, while *Picinino*, crossing the *Po*, should enter *Tuscany*. The pope, suspecting his general's fidelity; narrowly watched his conduct, which was at last fully cleared up by some intercepted letters; in consequence of which *Cornetano* was seized and committed to the castle of St. Angelo^b. This detection disconcerted *Philip's* plan, but he was not daunted. *Picinino* entered *Flaminiæ*, and laid every place waste with fire and sword, though he could make no impression on the fortified towns, which were bravely defended.

His holiness in the mean time ordered *Lodovico*, one of his bishops, to lead the army, late *Cornetano's*, to *Tuscany*, in quality of apostolical legate, and join the *Florentines*; a proceeding which it was supposed would frustrate *Picinino's* intention^c. But this general, after he had been repulsed by *Pisani* in his attempt upon *Primotoria*, marched directly with design to cross the *Appenines*. All possible precautions were used by the *Florentines* to guard the passes, which *Picinino* found means, however, to avoid by marching over mountains almost impervious. In this manner did he get to *Politiana*, which he besieged, to the great terror of the *Florentines*, who every minute expected him at their gates. This city he took, and instead of marching to *Florence* turned his arms against the *Cassentines*, ruining and destroying every place he passed through. *Picinino's* oversight produced a fatal alteration in his affairs; for before he came from his excursion against this people, the *Florentines* had joined the pope's forces, and were in a condition to act offensively^k. Early in the spring *Sforza* marched with a prodigious army to *Tuscany*. He proposed making his way through the midst of the enemy's troops and garrisons, in order to act in conjunction with *Contareni*, who commanded the *Venetian* fleet upon the lake *Benac*. The chief strength of the enemy had always been directed against *Brescia*, which still was in great want, notwithstanding the succours received. *Sforza* determined, at all events, to relieve it; but herein he foresaw numberless difficulties: the greatest of which was, the almost impossibility of supplying his army with provision and forage. When

Picinino
enters
Tuscany.

^b Hist. des Papes, T. 4. La Vie Eugene. ^c Hist. des Papes. T. 4. SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. ^k BLOND. *ibid*.

he came to the river *Mincia*, he called a council to consult what was best to be done in this critical situation ; whether or not he ought to pass the river, the consequence of which would be a necessity of opening his way to *Brescia* by the sword ? The council were unanimously of opinion, that every thing was to be hazarded for the relief of a city which had, thro' such a series of calamities, maintained its fidelity.

BEFORE we trace *Sforza* farther, it will be necessary we mention something concerning *Contareni*, and the fleet upon the lake *Benac*. The senate having sent all the necessaries for equipping a fleet in carts to *Torbolles*, the carpenters fell to work with the utmost diligence, and, in a short time, launched six gallies. With these *Contareni* sailed against the enemy, who were near double the number, commanded by *Blasio Affereta*, a *Genoese*. *Contareni* took on board six companies of soldiers, to annoy the enemy with their arrows and small-arms. The second day he met and engaged the enemy with a spirit, intrepidity, and conduct, that soon made him victorious. The battle was very bloody while it lasted ; the very elements combined to increase the horror of the scene, it blowing a storm during the whole engagement. In the end the enemy were totally broken, routed, and dispersed, two of their gallies, with their crews, were sunk, and two more taken. *Contareni*, pursuing his victory with prudence equal to his courage, attacked and reduced *Riva*, *La Garda*, *Laciza*, and *Bardolin*, in order to open a communication with *Brescia*. The news of this victory greatly animated the *Brescians* : they now did not doubt of immediate and effectual succours, from the efforts of *Contareni* on the one side, and of *Sforza* on the other¹.

SFORZA, before he had intelligence of this victory, had crossed the *Mincia*, and reduced *Montzabena*, *Salles*, and *Rivoltella* : here, by the advice of the brave *Barbaro*, he resolved, instead of marching directly to *Brescia*, to seek the enemy's main army, and give it battle, knowing, if he was victorious, that it would be a great step not only to the relief of *Brescia*, but towards finishing the war^m. Hearing that *Sanseverino*, *Italus* and *Vermio* were entrenched near *Socinna*, he departed in the night, and furiously attacked their entrenchments. After the assault had continued for some hours he began to fall back, as if his troops were unable to stand the charge : having drawn the enemy out of their trenches, he returned fiercely to the attack, broke and entirely routed

¹ PASS. apud SABEL. BLOND. ibid.
TAN. l. 5.

^m Ibid. etiam MON-
them

them with the loss of three thousand men killed and taken prisoners. *Pasius* of *Arimini*, quoted by *Sabellicus*, says, that he entered the town of *Socinna* pell mell with the fugitives, and took it without resistanceⁿ. In consequence of this victory the *New Orges*, and all the cities, towns, forts, and castles of the *Brescian*, *Bergamese*, and valley of *Cremona*, returned to the obedience of the republic. Crossing the *Oglia*, *Sforza* reduced *Cassel-Major*, *Bregnan*, *Rinoka*, and other towns in the territories of *Ghiradadda* and the *Cremonese*^o. In a word, his conquests were so rapid, that *Philip* resolved to recal *Picinino* out of *Tuscany*, for the defence of the *Milanese*, which was greatly alarmed by the vicinity of *Sforza*. This general, knowing the importance of leaving the *Florentines* and pope's forces unopposed, and that the loss of the places he had taken would necessarily ensue, resolved to give the allies battle before his departure. With this intention he marched to *Anglare*, where they were encamped at the bottom of the *Apennines*. The *Florentines* could not stand the first shock, but were put in some confusion, when the pope's forces, pouring in upon the enemy with great vigour, retrieved the battle. *Picinino* had pursued the *Florentines* too far, he was now attacked in the flank and rear by the pope's army: these, assisted by the *Florentine* horse, fell upon him every where, during his pursuit of the *Florentine* infantry: thus, hemmed in on every side, he was broke and put in confusion, great slaughter was made, and an incredible number of prisoners were taken. His intimate friend *Asturio Faventino* was among the latter, a circumstance that affected *Picinino* more than the loss of the battle^p. We are told by *Sabellicus*, that so great was the reciprocal affection of those friends, that they were with difficulty prevented from falling on their swords when they were separated.

Picinino gives battle to the Florentines, and is defeated.

SFORZA in the mean time pursued his conquests, having taken *Cavanza* after an obstinate defence, together with *Azola* and *Caneda*, towns belonging to *Gonzaga*, which made but a slight resistance^q. From thence he proceeded and laid siege to *Pescara*, a city seated at the mouth of the river *Mincia*: *Nicholao D'Este* came to the camp, offering his mediation for a peace. *D'Este* farther assured *Sforza* that *Philip* would willingly give him his daughter in marriage, and even send her with her portion to him, if required. It was *Sforza's* answer, that peace would be equally agreeable to the *Venetians*

ⁿ PASS. apud. SABEL. MONTAN. l. 5. BLOND. l. 9. d. 3.

^o SANSOV. Cron. Ven.

^p SABEL. l. 3. d. 3. etiam BLOND.

ibid.

^q ELOND. l. 9. d. 3.

and to himself, notwithstanding their rapid course of prosperity, could it be obtained on equitable and honourable conditions^r. *D'Æste* returned to *Philip* with this answer, and during his absence *Pescara* surrendered at discretion.

Sforza
goes to
Venice.

PICININO, after his defeat, retired with his broken army into *Flaminia*; from thence he set out by long marches for *Milan*, where he was in a short time recruited and enabled to take the field. Nothing material, besides the surrender of *Ravenna* to the *Venetians*, happened during the remainder of this campaign. *Sforza*, having put his army into winter-quarters, went to *Venice*; where he was received with a profusion of honours, worthy of his great merit and services^s. He was run after, and gazed upon as a prodigy. When he came to the gates of the city, the senate, the seignory and all the nobility went out to meet and conduct him to the palace, where he was entertained by the doge with the utmost distinction and magnificence. *Barbaro*, and an hundred *Brescian* gentlemen, were likewise come to *Venice*, to compliment the republic on the late success of her arms, and do honour to the marriage of *Jacomo Foscari*, son to the doge. In short, nothing but mirth and festivity was thought of, when intelligence arrived of the sudden march of *Picinino* into the *Brescian*, where he laid waste every thing, and spread consternation and ruin all over the face of the country^t. *Sforza* immediately set out to assemble his army; but, in spite of his expedition, *Picinino* had possessed himself of all the champaign country, the *Venetian* dominions on the banks of the *Adda*, and the *Bergamese*, before a body, sufficient to oppose him, could be collected.

Sforza
marches
against
Picinino.

THE enemy, finding that *Sforza* was taking effectual measures to attack them, seized upon a strong camp near *Aglefia*, defended by the river *Seriolles* in front, the mountains in both flanks, and in the rear by the *Oglio*. In this situation did *Picinino* watch the motions of *Sforza*, who did not long hesitate about giving him battle under all disadvantages. Having viewed the ground *Sforza* ordered the bridge on the *Oglio* to be attacked, at the same time advancing with the main army on the enemy's front; he forded the *Seriolles*^u. The engagement lasted for two hours with great fury, when night coming on, separated the combatants, and probably saved *Picinino's* army (A). The carnage was considerable,

A battle.

^r Ibid. SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.
^s Ibid. l. 5. d. 3.

^t SABEL. l. 3. d. 3.
^u Ibid. BLOND. l. 9. d. 3.

^v SABEL.
nei-

(A) Historians differ greatly battle. *Montano* says, that *Picinino* did not quit his camp un-

neither side giving or receiving quarter. Immediately after this battle *Sforza* led his troops against *Martinengo*, which he invested with the most complete army the *Venetians* had ever raised: the troops amounted to thirty thousand fighting men, well clothed, paid, and attended with a fine train of artillery. Though the trenches were soon opened, and the teries began to play with execution, yet the siege was drawn out to great length: some attributed this to secret practices between *Picininio* and *Sforza*, who, they alledged, were more intent upon dividing the provinces among themselves, than on the interest of the states by whom they were employed: others said it was owing to the strength of the place, the numerous garrison within, and *Picininio's* army without, which omitted no opportunity of harrassing and incommoding the besiegers*. Certain it is that the senate entertained no distrust of *Sforza's* fidelity: but the case with *Philip* was different; he began to harbour suspicions of both, and thought it unsafe to commit [such vast armies to men whose ambition might use them to the utter extinction of both the contending powers. Impelled by these reasons, wearied with the intolerable expence of the war, and, as some affirm out of patience with the haughty demands of *Picininio*, he resolved upon peace; for which purpose he dispatched a messenger with great secrecy to *Venice*, to sound the disposition of the senate (B). At the same time he treated with *Sforza*; Treaty of and the proposals he made were so advantageous to the re-peace with public, that hostilities ceased the day after the arrival of *Philip*. *Picininio* highly resented this Philip's treatment, and openly complained of the ingratitude and infidelity of *Philip*, for having presumed to treat of peace without

* MONTAN. Comment. l. 4. SABEL. *ibid.* † BLOND. *ibid.*

until after the taking of *Portoglia*. *Paffius* affirms, on the contrary, that, unable to withstand the shock of *Sforza's* impetuosity, he decamped before the morning, and passed the *Oglio*, the bridge of which had been obstinately defended by the body he had left there. However, *Sabellicus* seems to prefer the former opinion, and by his judgment the reader may probably be determined.

(B) *Sabellicus* says, that the

peace was concluded by *Sforza* before any intimation was sent to the senate. That though the *Venetians* did not dislike the terms, they could not but wonder at the suddenness of *Philip's* resolution. We are told, that so great was the desire in both camps of a reconciliation, that the soldiers ran and mutually embraced each other, with all the tokens of esteem and affection. *Sabel. l. 5.*

his

his consent or knowledge. But, without paying any regard to his remonstrances and indignation, the following articles, after violent debates, were agreed to, or rather were determined by *Sforza*, who was appointed umpire of the differences: that the *Brescian* and *Bergamese* should unalterably remain to the republic; that *Ravenna*, *Riva*, *Torbolles*, and *Penetra*, cities of which they were possessed by right of conquest, should become a part of the *Venetian* dominions; that *Martinenga*, with all the cities, forts, and castles of *Ghiradadda*, should be ceded to *Philip*; that all the *Mantuan* confines and territories should be given up to *Gonzaga*; that *Cremona* and the *Cremonese* should be the portion of *Sforza* with *Bienca*, *Philip's* daughter (C); that *Eugenius* the pope should in two years have *Bologna* surrendered to him; that the *Genoese* should be restored to their liberty, and *Philip* exert no farther authority over that republic; that the *Florentines* should release *Faventino*, upon his restoring to them all the places he had taken during the war; and lastly, that the cities *Pescara* and *Lonnado*, the articles most disputed in the treaty, should belong to the *Venetians* ^z.

THESE terms were agreed to and signed by all parties, the pope's nuncio excepted, who retired from the congress in a rage, and set out for *Rome*, complaining that the holy see was unjustly treated and robbed of its patrimony. Thus the public tranquillity was restored, and the ruinous war with *Philip* concluded, to the mutual satisfaction of the *Venetians* and *Visconti* ^a (D). For three days public rejoicings were made at *Venice* and *Milan*, the people expressing the utmost joy at the prospect of a solid and lasting pacification between the republic and duchy of *Milan*. *Venice* never presented a more beautiful and wealthy scene than on this occasion, all the merchants from the *Rialto* to *St. Mark's* exposing their richest furniture, merchandize, and plate, to public view; and the treasure of that noble church, by order of the procurators, being laid out in the most elegant manner for the entertainment of strangers and the people ^b.

^z SABEL. l. 5. d. 3. BLOND. l. 10. d. 3. MONTAN. Com. ibid.

^a Ibid.

^b SABEL. l. 5. d. 3.

(C) This lady was sent to *Cremona* to meet the bridegroom. Here their nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence and pomp; after which *Sforza*, set out, with his bride, for *Venice*.

(D) *Sabellicus* dates this peace A. D. 1440, though, according to *Sanfovino* and others, it was not concluded before *September*, 1441.

THE remainder of this year produced nothing of consequence, the attention of the republic being employed wholly upon the civil policy. This winter it was that the procurators of *St. Mark's* were augmented in number, when, instead of six, nine of those high magistrates were appointed^c. An extraordinary overflowing of the sea, or deluge, as *Sabellicus* calls it, happened towards the vernal æquinox, which destroyed a great number of houses, shops, and warehouses, the loss of which was computed at a million of ducats. About this time a war against some piratical states was commenced. The first *Venetian* fleet was destroyed in a storm; but another soon after equipped had the good fortune to clear the seas in a short time, and secure the public commerce.

War with
pirates.

EARLY in the spring a fleet, at the expence of *Eugenius*, was equipped at *Venice*, to proceed against the *Turks*, who were rapidly pursuing their conquests in *Europe*. Of this armament we are told nothing besides its having blocked up the straits dividing *Europe* from *Asia*, which for a time checked the progress of *Amurath* the *Turkish* emperor. As to the affairs of *Italy*, they were now, as usual after every peace, disturbed with the discontent of some of the parties concerned. The pope openly declared his resentment against *Sforza*, for having kept him out of the possession of *Bologna*. *Alphonso* of *Aragon* and *Sforza* began to renew a quarrel, hereditary in their families, and the former found means to draw *Philip* into a league against his son-in-law. However, though these wars disturbed the peace of the neighbouring powers for the space of five years, the *Venetians* kept themselves quiet until the year one thousand four hundred and forty-six, at which time they found it expedient to join *Sforza* against *Philip*. Young *Picinino's* besieging *Cremona* was the immediate cause of their taking part in the quarrel: they first sent an envoy to *Philip*, to acquaint him with their intentions, if *Picinino* did not relinquish the siege. The haughty answer given to their minister occasioned the senate to issue orders to their general *Michaeli Attendulo*, to march directly to *Cremona* and give battle to *Picinino*. *Attendulo* executed his instructions with success, a battle being fought in *Ghiradadda*, in which *Picinino* was defeated with great slaughter of his troops, and the loss of four thousand prisoners, his camp, and artillery. Another battle soon passed, in which *Attendulo* was a second time victorious, and *Picinino's* defeat little less complete than the former^d. Two such signal victories excited the jealousy of *Sforza*,

A. D.
1446.

War with
Philip of
Milan.

Attendulo, the
Venetian
general,
defeats
Picinino.

^c SANSOV. delle V. Fosca.
ibid.

^d BLOND. l. 10. d. 3. SABEL.

Sforza
goes over
to Philip.

though upon the whole he was to reap the advantage: *Alphonso* and the pope was likewise envious of the success and growing greatness of the republic on the continent. They therefore left nothing untried to induce *Sforza* to break with the *Venetians* and go over to *Philip*: upon this he resolved without scruple; but the *Venetians* suspecting his design committed his envoy to prison, and revoked all the grants and decrees of the senate in his favour^e. Now it was that the republic had occasion for the full exertion of that unshaken resolution ever discovered upon all hazardous conjunctures. The senate accordingly ordered the army to be augmented, the passes to and from *Lombardy* to be strictly guarded, and every other measure for vigorously prosecuting the war intended. *Attendulo*, after the victory upon the *Adda*, carried terror and devastation wherever he marched: *Crema* and *Lodes* were the only towns left to *Philip*, the whole of the province besides he reduced under the obedience of the republic. He even over ran some part of the *Milaneze*, his cavalry making incursions to the very gates of *Milan*. Reinforced by a considerable corps under *Carolo Montone*, son to *Brachio*, the implacable enemy of *Philip* and *Sforza*, he took *Cassel-Major* and other fortified places. *Brandelino*, with a strong detachment, erected the *Venetian* standard within sight of *Milan*, inviting the inhabitants to the recovery of their liberty, which they not caring or daring to accept, he returned to the main army, laying desolate the whole country^f. *Philip*, struck with the good fortune and boldness of the *Venetians*, sent agents to treat of a peace; but after they had resided for a month in the city they were dismissed without effecting their purpose. *Attendulo* was all this while pursuing his conquests: he besieged and took *Brescia*, scoured and laid waste the country of the *Briantines*, surprised and ruined *Barri*, and in short extended the dominions of the republic from the *Adda* to *Coma*, on both sides the lake of that name.

Philip
dies.

THESE successes were soon followed by the death of *Philip* duke of *Milan*, the greatest politician and warrior the family of *Visconti* had ever produced^g. His death occasioned a variety of sentiments among his subjects and party; some were for peace, some for liberty, and others for war. The inhabitants of *Lodes* and *Plaisantia* or *Placentia*, tired of the ducal yoke, opened their gates to the *Venetians*, and received the troops of the republic; but the *Milaneze* determined to continue the war in their own name: for this purpose they augmented their troops, and appointed *Sforza* captain-general,

^e Ibid. etiam MONTAN. ubi supra.
et MONTAN. ubi supra.

^f BLOND. SABEL.
^g BARON. t. 8.

on condition that if he was fortunate enough to reduce *Brescia*, that city and its appendages should be his reward; but that if he succeeded against *Verona* likewise, the former should revert to the *Milanese*, and the latter, with the whole *Veronese*, be ceded to his family. This general quitted the *Parmesan*, and set out with four thousand horse and two thousand foot, to join the *Milanese* army under *Francisco* and *Giacomo Picinino*, sons to the late general of that name, so long the rival and enemy of *Sforza*. The *Venetian* army, greatly inferior to the enemy in number, retired towards *Lodi*, and there strongly entrenched itself. No less than three different ambassadors were sent to *Venice*, to demand, in the name of *Sforza* and the *Milanese*, restitution of all those places they had dismembered from the dominions of *Philip*. The senate adhered to their first answer, that though by the right of war those places were the just dominions of the republic, yet, to shew the world their pacific inclinations, they would restore them on being reimbursed the expences of the war. This the ambassadors refused, and accordingly returned, without having brought their business to any conclusion^b. Aware of the importance of the quarrel in which they were engaged, the senate determined to use their utmost efforts by sea and land. It was decreed to equip a fleet which should sail up the *Po*, to make a diversion in favour of *Attendulo*, who was too weak to offer the enemy battle.

A. D.

1447:

Attendulo
retires.

DURING these preparations at *Venice*, *Sforza* marched suddenly to *Placentia*, and after having beat down the walls by his batteries, stormed the city, reduced it, and gave it to his army to be plundered. *Gerardo Dandolo* and *Thadéo D'Este*, who commanded the garrison, were made prisoners, together with one thousand horse and foot. *Attendulo*, tho' his force was not sufficient to raise the siege, determined, however, not to lie idle: he entered the territories of *Pavia* while *Sforza* besieged *Placentia*, from which he returned loaded with rich booty. After this he ravaged and plundered the *Milanese*, and, according to *Montano*, took the city *Melsa* or *Melissa*. Having finished these exploits he resolved on the siege of *Cremona*, but was prevented by the surrender of *Placentia* and the rigour of the season, upon which he retired with his army into winter-quartersⁱ.

Now negotiations of peace were again renewed, and commissioners from each party met at *Bergamo*, to discuss the conditions of accommodation. Pope *Nicolas V.* used all his

^b BARON. ubi supra. FLAV. l. 10. d. 3. SABEL. l. 5. d. 3.

ⁱ MONTAN. Comment. l. 5. SABEL. et BLOND. ibid.

endeavours to promote the conferences; notwithstanding which, and the mediation of some other powers, the commissioners parted without coming to any determination, both sides unalterably adhering to certain articles which could not be ceded by the opposite party.

WHILE the congress sat at *Bergamo*, the *Venetian* fleet was employed against the pirates, who had insulted their coasts and plundered their merchant ships. The eager pursuit of the pirates drew on the republic the resentment of *Alphonso* of *Aragon*, greatly incensed at the *Venetian* fleet for presuming to attack and destroy the enemy in his harbours. In revenge the king ordered all the *Venetians* in his dominions to be imprisoned, their ships stopped, and merchandize to be seized and brought to his warehouses; but finding the senate resolved upon war, he set the prisoners at liberty, and restored their effects^k.

A. D.
1448.

EARLY in the spring both armies took the field, and *Sforza* besieged and took *Mozaniga*; after which marching into *Ghiradadda* he reduced the whole country, the city of *Caraovaggio* excepted: he then surprised *Cassan*, and thence proceeded to the *Cremonese* to stop the ravages of *Quirini* and the *Venetian* fleet. Here he got together about twenty-eight galliots, with which and his army he surrounded *Quirini*. The *Venetian* fleet fought with obstinacy, but in the end was defeated and broken. To prevent his ships falling into the enemy's hands, *Quirini* set fire to them; for which, and his misconduct in the engagement, he was recalled, delivered over to the civil power, and imprisoned for life. After this victory *Sforza* laid siege to *Caraovaggio*, to which place *Attendulo* followed him, with intention, if possible, to raise the siege. After various debates in the *Venetian* camp, it was at length resolved secretly to attack *Sforza* by crossing the marshes in the rear of his camp, which was but slightly guarded, on account of the natural strength of the situation. The scheme was planned with conduct, and executed with courage; but supported by a force unequal to the undertaking. The first onset was furious, the attack and defence being made with equal intrepidity and vigour: after the battle had continued for several hours, and the *Venetians* had forced the entrenchments, oppressed with numbers, they were forced to retreat with precipitation^l. Here it was that *Sforza's* army began the slaughter; the *Venetians* crowding upon each other to avoid the enemy's blows, met that death from each other which they thought to escape from the enemy. They no

Defeats
the Venetian
fleet.

Defeats
the land
forces.

^k SABELL. l. 6. d. 3.

^l BLOM. D. ibid. Aut. c. 11.

sooner began to give way than the two *Piccinino's*, issuing forth from another quarter, marched directly, with a strong corps, to attack the *Venetian* camp, which they easily took, the whole army being engaged in forcing *Sforza's* entrenchments: in short, *Attandulo* was entirely defeated, having lost near three thousand of his best troops, all his baggage, tents, and artillery, together with two thousand waggons of provision and forage. After this defeat he retired to *Brescia*, where, in a short time, he was pursued by *Sforza*, after he had first reduced *Caravaggio*, *Cassel-Major*, and some other places^m.

THE republic soon recruited her army, having for that purpose decreed a large bounty to all able-bodied men who should enter into the service. The pay of the troops was likewise augmented, and considerable subsidies granted to several petty princes who entered into her alliance: but her greatest security arose from some jealousies which arose among the enemy. The *Milanese* began to harbour suspicions that *Sforza* affected the sovereignty of his father-in-law's dominions, and having but just tasted the sweets of liberty they were the more willing to preserve that precious gift of Providence. *Sforza* discovering their suspicions, resolved to avenge himself, by concluding an alliance with their enemies: with this design he gave the senate to understand that he was not averse to peace; to which the republic gave a willing ear, notwithstanding the *Venetian* army was now in a condition to act offensively, by means of the number of levies and strong reinforcements from *Florence*. *Mastropietro* was in consequence privately sent to treat with *Sforza*, between whom it was agreed, that not only a peace but a strict alliance should take placeⁿ; that the senate should supply him with four thousand horse and two thousand foot, until he had reduced *Milan*; that thirty thousand crowns per month should be allowed for his table; and lastly, that all the places possessed by *Philip* beyond the *Adda* should belong to the *Venetians*. This treaty being ratified, *Sforza* set the prisoners at liberty, and crossing the *Adda*, marched into the *Milanese*. After reducing all the country between the rivers *Adda* and *Thezin*, he pitched his camp five miles from *Milan*. Before he entered upon the siege of the capital, he took, by the assistance and good conduct of *Marcello*, who commanded the *Venetian* auxiliaries, *Novara*, *Alexandria*, and *Parma*: then he laid siege to *Milan*; but, previous to his opening the trenches, intelli-

Sforza
quits the
Milanese
service,
and joins
the *Vene-*
tians.

^m Aut. citat. ibid.
l. 10. d. 3.

ⁿ SABEL. l. 6. d. 3. etiam BLOND.

gence was received that *Lewis* of *Savoy*, having entered into treaty with the *Milanese*, had sent an army under the conduct of *John Campensio* to their assistance. *Campensio* had reached *Novara*, when *Sforza* detached *Coyoni* with a strong corps to oppose him, who immediately attacking the army of *Lewis* defeated it, making *Campensio* and about four hundred horse prisoners.

WHILE *Sforza* was battering the fort *Mellignana*, the *Milanese* within the city put to death a number of persons of all ranks, whom they imagined espoused his cause; after which the inhabitants assembled to the number of sixty thousand, and marched out of the city to give battle. *Sforza* having intelligence of all their motions drew up his army, and displayed so much capacity and judgment in his disposition, that the *Milanese*, with all their superiority of troops, not caring to hazard an engagement, retired into the city. Upon this he invested *Milan* more closely; but the number of inhabitants being so great he proposed reducing the city by famine, it being absurd to pretend assaulting it with an inferior body of troops.

IN this situation lay *Sforza* when jealousies between the *Venetians* and him began to appear, which produced proposals for an accommodation between the republics of *Venice* and *Milan*. After the terms had been debated and agreed upon they were referred to the arbitration of *Sforza*, conditionally, that he accepted of seven cities, not specified, for his share of *Philip's* dominions, leaving the people in possession of all the rest. The other articles were, that the *Venetians* should maintain six thousand, the *Milanese* two thousand, and *Sforza* only one thousand troops in his service; that if he accepted of these terms he should be esteemed the friend and ally of both states; if not he should be declared an enemy, and war against him prosecuted with all the forces of both republics. These articles being presented to *Sforza*, he expressed just indignation against the *Venetians*, who, after all his important services to the republic, now made him the sacrifice of a peace with their enemies. However, the republics proceeded to the conclusion of their treaty, and *Sforza* rejecting the terms, war was denounced against him.

Treaty between Milan and Venice.

Sforza makes war on Venice and Milan.

GREAT preparations were made by both republics, and the *Venetians* put a stop to all trade and intercourse with *Florence*, on her refusal to join in the alliance against her old general. *Sigismund Malatesta* was appointed general of the republican forces; his first attempt was upon the forts which

Sforza had built to block up *Brescia*. Two of these he burnt and destroyed, and the rest would have shared the same fate had not *Sforza's* approach obliged him to retire beyond the *Adda*. All this while *Sforza* continued the blockade of *Milan*, which, in despite of the efforts of the *Venetians*, was reduced to great extremities. *Malateste* having joined the corps under *Coyoni*, did all in his power to draw *Sforza* to a battle, which that wise general avoided, knowing the fate of *Milan* depended on his drawing the war out to some length. At last the *Milanese*, conquered by famine, and starved into submission, murdered *Veneri* the *Venetian* ambassador, and saluted *Sforza* prince, opening their gates, and receiving him with the same demonstrations of joy they would the son of their lawful sovereign*. Thus, by a change as sudden as amazing, he instantly became the sovereign and protector of a people he had but the day before persecuted with all the rancour of an inveterate enemy. The *Milanese* having changed sides, the *Venetians* resolved to conclude a treaty of alliance with *Alphonso*, who desired nothing more than a war with *Milan*, and an opportunity of humbling *Sforza*. This was effected by the good conduct and address of *Pascali Mastropietro*, the *Venetian* envoy at *Naples*^p. Intelligence of the treaty being received at *Milan*, *Sforza* resolved to gain the *Venetians* by acts of generosity and kindness: for this purpose he ordered all the *Venetians*, who were imprisoned upon the late change of measures, to be set at liberty, and loaded with presents and good offices, hinting to them at the same time his desire of cultivating the friendship of the republic (E): but these over-

A⁵D.

Sforza declared duke of Milan.

* Ibid. etiam BARON. U. H. t. 8.

P SANSOV. del. v. Prin.

p. 262.

tures

(E) This year pope *Nicholas* conferred some particular honours on the doge; such as a golden sword, a crown set with diamonds, &c. Presents likewise to the state were sent by the king of *Bosnia*, and the vaivod of *Croatia*. The duke of *Austria* visited *Venice*, and was magnificently received; but the entertainment and reception given to the emperor *Frederic* exceeded every thing of that kind ever seen in *Venice*, both in grandeur and elegance.

The senate, seignory, and whole city, went in the bucentauro, gondoles, ganzares, and other vessels, richly adorned, to meet the emperor; whilst the ladies, with no less pomp, waited on *Leonora* the empress. On their arrival on shore, they found the whole city and streets hung with scarlet, purple, and the richest silks and cloths. Nothing but musical instruments and the finest human voices saluted the ear with songs of rejoicing and congratulation. They were

A. D.
1451.

tures coming to nothing, both sides prepared for a vigorous war. *Alphonso* and the *Venetians* opened the campaign by seizing on *Coyoni* and a detachment of fifteen hundred horse. Some attacks were likewise made on the *Florentines* for having assisted *Sforza* with money. For the better supporting the war a tax was laid by the senate on all persons holding places and enjoying pensions from the government: they were likewise obliged upon their dismissal to serve the government for six months at their own expence in the field. Little progress was made by either side the first year of the war; but early the following spring both armies entered upon vigorous measures. *Leonesio* the *Venetian* general, after he wasted the country about *Lodes*, and reduced several small forts, marched directly to *Milan*, upon an assurance from some of the inhabitants of being strongly supported: but finding that no insurrection was like to appear, he went and laid siege to *Socinna*. Having battered the town for several days a breach was made, which he stormed and carried after a bloody action. *Sforza* marched too late to the relief of this place: the armies being encamped for several days within a small distance of each other, frequent skirmishes and brisk encounters passed, though no general battle ensued.

Montfer-
rat defeat-
ed.

DURING these transactions on the river *Adda*, *William* of *Montferrat*, with four thousand horse, spread terror and desolation every where in the territory of *Alexandria*. From thence marching to *Tortona* and *Pavia*, he destroyed the whole country, and was in this manner proceeding in his conquests when *Sacromer Visconti*, sent by *Sforza*, suddenly attacked, defeated, and obliged him to retire to *Castlenovo*.

In the mean time *Alphonso's* general *Ferdinand* was not idle: having laid siege to *Forlano*, he took and destroyed it, after having for forty days incessantly battered the walls. During the siege he twice routed *Faventino*, with the slaughter of two thousand of his men, as he was attempting to relieve the garrison: then marching into the territory of *Sienna*

3 SABEL. l. 6. d. 3.

both presented by the senate with crowns of gold, richly set with jewels; a child's coat and cradle studded with gold, jewels, and pearls, was given by the ladies to the empress, and other presents, valued at a million of money. Their entertainment in the palace was

magnificent beyond description, the richness of *Venice* vying with the taste and elegance of *Italy*. Their Imperial majesties expressed the utmost satisfaction, and departed highly delighted with the power, wealth, splendor, and hospitality of the republic. *Sabel. ibid.*

he

he invested *Castellina*; but the fortifications being strong, and the garrison proving obstinate, he abandoned it and retired into winter-quarters. A detachment from *Leonessio's* army defeated a corps of the *Milanese* sent by *Sforza* to surprise him, and this little skirmish proved the prelude to a battle. *Alessandro* was detached by *Sforza* with four thousand horse and one thousand foot, to stop the incursions of the *Venetians* into the *Milanese*; and the *Venetian* general having intelligence of their rout sent *Carolo Montone* to attack him, which he did with such vigour that *Alessandro* was defeated, his army dispersed, and only himself with a small number of attendants escaped to *Sforza's* camp, which then lay before *Calvisiana*. The *Venetians* used every expedient for the relief of this place, without which the enemy could not winter in their dominions; but all their endeavours proved fruitless, though they afforded the officers many opportunities of displaying their valour. Among others one in particular deserves notice: *Leonessio* being apprized of a convoy of one thousand horse going to the enemy's camp, he detached *Gonzaga* and *Brandolino* to make an attempt on it: they met the enemy near *Issa* in the *Brescian*, and fell upon them with so much intrepidity, that they soon were masters of the convoy. *Sforza* receiving timely notice of the loss, detached a strong body to recover the booty. The *Venetians* sustained the enemy with great bravery, but would at length have been overpowered with numbers, had not *Leonessio* with the rest of the army come up to their relief. The scale was now turned, and the enemy would infallibly have been defeated, but that *Sforza* arrived to their support: here a general and obstinate engagement began, which continuing for several hours, was at length ended by the darkness of the night. The only mark of victory on either side that appeared was, the *Venetians* carrying off the convoy: however, it did not raise the siege; on the contrary, *Sforza* assaulted the town with redoubled vigour, and the garrison, unable to withstand his efforts, surrendered prisoners of war. Thus, by the acquisition of *Calvisiana*, did he establish winter-quarters in the enemy's territories. The *Venetian* writers affirm, that before the armies left the field, *Leonessio* frequently offered battle to *Sforza*, which he as constantly declined. Hence they take occasion to reflect on the courage of this great officer, without considering that it was *Sforza's* business to avoid a battle, since a defeat in the enemy's country must be attended with the ruin of his affairs.

Alessandro defeated by the Venetians

A battle.

* BLOND. l. 10. d. 3. PASS. apud SABEL. ibid.
TAN. l. 5. etiam. Apt. citat.

* MON-

THE winter as usual was spent in treaties, negotiations, and alliances. *Sforza* and the *Florentines* sent to the *French* king to request he would use his interest with the duke of *Savoy* to break with the *Venetians*, and likewise prevail on *Renatus* of *Anjou* to attempt the recovery of his kingdom of *Sicily*, promising him liberal supplies of money. By this means they intended to divert *Alphonso* from prosecuting the war against the *Florentines*. The king undertook their cause, and by his interest persuaded the duke of *Savoy* to lay down his arms, and *Renatus* to pass into *Italy*, pursue his claim to *Sicily*, and carry on war against *Alphonso*.

A. D.
1452.

THE *Florentines* still combined in the alliance of *Sforza*, and entering upon action early in the spring recovered *Fogliani*, which had been taken from them last campaign. *Manerba* was besieged by the *Venetians*, which they continued in spite of all the efforts of *Sforza* to relieve it, until the brave *Leonese* was killed in a sally from the town, by a random arrow in the pursuit. The command of the army devolving upon *Picinino*, he prosecuted the siege so vigorously that the garrison, finding they could expect no relief from *Sforza*, surrendered prisoners of war. This event was followed by the reduction of *Quinzano* and *Pontevico*; after which he undertook the siege of *Seniga*, but was forced to raise it on the approach of *Sforza* with an army greatly superior. A number of skirmishes daily passed, when *Renatus* with four thousand horse joined *Sforza*. The enemy being thus reinforced, *Picinino* was obliged to stand on the defensive, during which time *Sforza* soon recovered *Manerba*, and all the other places lost in the beginning of the campaign. Indeed the whole *Cremonese* and *Brescian*, except the two capitals, were reduced under his obedience, or rather voluntarily submitted. *Picinino* marched with the utmost diligence to the *Brescian*, to stop the progress of the enemy, and to defend the mountains, the inhabitants of which had as yet remained firm in their duty: here he fixed upon a strong camp, so advantageously situated as to cover the passes to the mountains, and at the same time render all approaches to him difficult and hazardous. This put a stop to the progress of both armies, until the rigour of the season obliged them to quit the field and retire into quarters^t.

Fleet

against the
Turks.

DURING the winter the *Venetians*, the pope, and *Alphonso*, were busied in preparing a fleet to oppose the Grand Seignior, who had resolved on the siege of *Constantinople* early in the spring. The senate first decreed ten galleys and two argo-

^t SABEL. l. 7. d. 3.

zais, of two thousand tons each, to be sent to Greece. Afterwards ten more were equipped, and these, joined to the pope's and *Alphonso's* fleets, made in all forty-two sail, under the command of *Jacomo Loretano*: but before his arrival, *Turks & Ottoman* had opened his trenches, and was laying siege to the city with a prodigious fleet and army. *Loretano* was obliged to fight his way through the *Turkish* fleet to enter the harbour, which he did with a conduct and resolution altogether astonishing. It would be unseasonable to enter on the particulars of this siege; sufficient it is for our present purpose, that *Loretano*, perceiving the whole dependence of the enemy was on the land forces, and that the *Turkish* fleet could be of little use, determined to sail to *Negropont*, for the defence of the island, and there wait for a reinforcement sufficient to engage the enemy^a.

A. D.
1453.

WHILE the *Venetian* fleet remained in the *Levant*, their army was upon the defensive, *Sforza* carrying all before him in *Lombardy*. He took *Rhoads*, *Romagna*, *Martinenga*, and *Brisançà*; then he reduced the *New Orge*, *Romanenga*, and *Socina*. Towards the end of the campaign he began the siege of *Ifola*; but the heavy rains falling, made it impossible for him to keep the field. *Picinino's* army was too weak to cover all those places; and indeed he was kept in awe by a strong detachment, which *Sforza* had sent to watch his motions; so that the winter came on before he was in a condition to enter upon action^v.

THE pope now laboured hard to mediate a peace, in order that the christian forces might unite in defence of *Constantine Paleologus* and the *Greek* empire: but the endeavours of his holiness proved of no effect; though the peace was concluded by means of a mediator of less consequence^x. *Simon Camertes*, a hermit, was so indefatigable and eloquent, that he brought all parties to accede to the following terms: That *Sforza* should restore to the *Venetians* whatever he had taken from them in the war, the territory of *Ghiradadda* excepted: that the marquis of *Mantua* should reinstate his brother *Caroli* in all his dominions: that *Alphonso* should restore his conquests to the *Florentines*; with other articles of less importance. For the further security of the public tranquillity it was expressly mentioned, that if any future differences among the parties should arise, the pope should have ample and full powers to determine them, his holiness tak-

Peace with
Sforza.^a BARON. l. 8. A. 1453.
des Papes, t. 8.^v SABELL. l. 7. d. 3.^x L. Vie

A. D.
1454.

ing upon him to be guarantee of the treaty¹. The city of Venice received with great joy the news that a war was terminated in which they had been hard pressed by the vigour, conduct, and intrepidity of *Sforza*. Public thanksgivings were offered, and processions made, attended by the doge, senate, and all the clergy, with images and relics of saints. *Marcello* was likewise sent to *Constantinople*, to execute a treaty with *Mahomet*; and he returned, loaded with presents and expressions of the friendship of that great monarch for the republic.

Foscari
deposed.

FROM this time to the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-seven the republic enjoyed profound peace, when *Foscari*, after a glorious administration of thirty-four years, was, at the age of ninety, laid aside as superannuated and unfit for the discharge of his important office: an instance of ingratitude consistent, perhaps, with the measures of sound policy, but very contradictory to the dictates of humanity. He was a prince of a noble and pleasing aspect, possessed a prodigious memory, flowing eloquence, ready wit, and sound judgment, according to *Baronius* and the *Italian* writers. At this remarkable age he enjoyed good health, the perfect use of his limbs and faculties, remembered every incident from his childhood, had a sweetness, and at the same time a majesty and authority in his manner that equally commanded love and respect. He had greatly extended the power and dominions of the republic, and was no less loved by his subjects than esteemed and feared by strangers and his neighbours; yet was this valuable and venerable prince sacrificed to the politics of an ungrateful multitude: happy fruits, says *Baronius*, of a republican constitution! The cardinal informs us, that his deposition, as well as his accession to the supreme magistracy, had been predicted; the latter by a gypsy in his father's life time, the former by an astrologer at *Venice*, some months before it was thought of by the senate. He was no sooner divested of the supreme authority, than leaving the palace with indignation he retired to a private house, where falling ill with grief, he died, universally lamented and esteemed² (F).

¹ MONTAN. l. 5. SABEL. l. 7. d. 3. PASS. Arim. ibid.
² SABEL. l. 7. d. 3. SANSON. del. v. p. 263. BARON. SABEL.
An. præsent.

PASQUAL

(F) *Jacomo Foscari*, his son, was cited by the council of ten to answer to some accusations lodged against him of conspiring to subvert the government. *Jacomo* was then absent, and not appearing on the day appointed, orders were issued for seizing

PASQUAL MALIPIERO, Doge LXVI.

FOSCARI was succeeded in his dogeship by *Pasqual Malipiero*, then aged seventy-two. This prince attended the obsequies of his predecessor, which were performed with the utmost magnificence and funeral pomp. Nothing memorable happened during the four years and seven months of his administration. *Malipiero* maintained with great care the tranquillity handed down by *Foscari*, executed the laws with justice and moderation, tempered the severity of old age with the innocent mirth and dissipation of youth, and blended the dignity of the prince with the ease and freedom of the companion: in short, he was a prince of great and shining virtues; of a penetrating judgment; open, sincere, and candid; a lover of peace, but profoundly skilled in the art of war*. In a word, all we have transmitted of this prince is a panegyric on his wisdom, prudence, bravery, and clemency, without facts to illustrate or confirm these virtues. Historians relate that he patronized men of letters and ingenuity, an instance of which they give in the kindness he shewed to *Nicola Jenson Tedesco*, who first introduced the art of printing in Venice^b. The doge made him very handsome and liberal presents; had the satisfaction of perusing some splendid editions of the classics and other books issued from the *Venetian* presses. Thus, amidst employments useful to the public and glorious to himself *Malipiero* died, to the great affliction of the whole republic. In his room the senate substituted *Christoforo Moro*, a procurator of *St. Mark*, equally beloved for his disposition and admired for his capacity.

A. D.

1457.

Pasqual
Malipiero, doge
LXVI.

A. D.

1462.

* SANSON. del. vit. de princip.

^b SABEL. l. 7. d. 3.

seizing him. He was then put to the torture; but still continuing to deny the allegations, he was condemned to perpetual banishment; in which, in spite of all the remonstrances of his father, he ended a miserable life. *Baron.* p. 520. tit. 13.

S E C T. V.

Containing the Origin and Progress of the Turkish War; the Rise of the War with the Triestines; Death of Moro; and the Transactions which occurred during the Administration of Nicolo Throno, and others of his Successors.

CHRISTOFORO MORO, Doge LXVII.

Christo-
phoro
Moro,

d. LXVII.

A. D.
1463.

War in the
Morea.

THE first year of *Moro's* administration was spent in acts of civil discipline. *Sanfovino*, indeed, tells us of a kind of war with the *Triestines*, which was soon made up at the pope's intercession^a; but of this we find no mention in any other historian. The winter was taken up in preparations to oppose the *Turks*, who, after the surrender of *Constantinople*, and ruin of the *Grecian* empire, were desirous of seizing on the *Morea* as a dependency on their conquests. *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, the princes of this province, had three years before offered the *Venetians* to put the *Morea* into their hands, for an equivalent in *Italy*^b; but *Demetrius* giving his daughter in marriage to *Mahomet*, and going over to the *Turks*, frustrated that design. *Thomas* made some resistance near the streights, to the incursions of *Othoman*; but finding himself unequal to the power of that monarch he fled into *Italy*. The *Grecian* dominion being extinct in the *Morea*, the *Venetians* still held the towns they long possessed in that province: however, the encroachments of *Othoman* obliged them at length to take arms in defence of the trade and subjects of the republic in that quarter. It was with great caution the *Venetians* entered upon this important war: *Victor Capello*, their admiral, refused to succour *Lesbos* and *Mitylene*, though both islands offered to put themselves under the protection of the republic. The senate even passed over *Othoman's* infractions of the late treaty, by crossing the streights of *Gallipolis*, lest thereby they should draw on a war with this potent monarch. They proceeded so far in their pacific measures as to be taxed with indifference and coolness for the Christian religion; but they wisely withstood all attempts to engage themselves in war, until the defence of their own rights and property rendered it unavoidable. Now a strong fleet under *Lorezano* was equipped, and an army of fifteen thousand land-forces sent to

^a Cron. Venet.
apud SABEL.

^b SABEL. l. 8. d. 3. etiam Cæpio Com.

besiege

besiege *Argers* (A), lately taken by the *Turks*. *Bertoldo D'Æste*, who commanded the army, soon made himself master of this city, defended by a small garrison, and gave it to be plundered by the soldiers. *Basilica* (B) was next reduced, after which he marched through the territory of *Corinth*, and encamped on the sea-coast, where *Loretano* rode at anchor with the fleet. Here *D'Æste* and *Loretano* began a very laborious and useful work, which they completed in fifteen days: they fortified with a wall and double moat the whole length of the streights, from the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* sea, about four thousand paces. Thirty thousand men, we are told, were employed in this work, finished with no less strength than expedition^d. Six thousand *Turks* who lay before *Corinth* endeavoured all in their power to obstruct the workmen, but they were constantly repulsed with great slaughter. In the mean time *D'Æste* sent *Coyoni* with a detachment to seize upon *Misistrata*, where after having reduced the country round, and taken the town, he was killed in an assault upon the citadel. The city of *Londaria* was likewise seized by another detachment, after which *D'Æste* marched with the whole army to besiege *Corinth*: the attack was made on the west, north, and east sides; that on the latter succeeded, for *Attelano* having broke down the walls with his cannon, stormed the breach and effected a lodgment. *D'Æste* in viewing of the batteries was killed the next day by a cannon shot, which with a furious fall of the enemy, and the approach of the *Turkish* army, determined the *Venetians* to abandon the siege and retire to *Napoli* (C), where they were soon followed by an army of fifty thousand horse and thirty thousand foot^e. The *Turks* immediately undertook the siege, and cut off a party of the garrison that had with more bravery than conduct sallied out upon them; but *Bertino*, who succeeded *D'Æste* in the command, exerted himself so vigorously, that with his small ar-

Turks
defeated.

The Turks
besiege
Napoli.

^d SABEL. *ibid.* Cæpio apud SABEL. MONTAN. l. 5. ^e Aut. cit. *ibid.*

(A) *Argers*, or *Argo*, a city a few miles South of *Corinth*.

of the river on which the town is situated.

(B) *Basilica*, or *Basilico*, a fortified town North of *Corinth*, situated upon the coast of the gulph of *Lepanto*. It would seem from *D'Æste's* first attacking *Argers*, that the fleet sailed up the gulph of *Napoli*, the army marching along the banks

(C) We are left at a loss by historians whether this city was *Napoli di Romagna*, situated at the head of the gulph, or *Napoli de Makvasia*, a city further South, at the extremity of the *Morea*; probably it was the former.

my

my he forced the *Turks* to abandon the siege. *D'Este* was deservedly blamed for abandoning the line he drew cross the *Istmus*; though in fact this misconduct ought to be attributed to *Bertino*, *D'Este* being killed before the siege of *Corinth* was relinquished.

Raise the
siege.

THE *Turks* having raised the siege of *Napoli* ravaged the territory of *Modon*, and closely invested *Zancho*, an enterprize which the bravery of *Giovanni Crasso* the governor frustrated. Upon this they retired out of the *Morea*, and left the *Venetians* at liberty to sack and destroy the towns garrisoned by *Turks*†.

War with
the Tri-
estines.

To keep the republic in full employment, a war with the *Triestines* arose. The *German* merchants trading to *Istria* used to bring their goods to *Cap-Istria*, and other towns of the province, passing over *Trieſte*, on account of a particular imposition on all foreign commodities. This was perceived by the *Triestines*, and that their trade declined: instead of taking off the tax they had recourse to the emperor *Frederic*, beseeching that he would oblige the *German* merchants to frequent their markets, and prohibit the commodities of the empire to be carried to any other town within the province. The emperor paying no great attention to their request, they determined to use force; upon which the inhabitants of *Cap-Istria* sent ambassadors to beg the protection of the doge and senate of *Venice*. An envoy was immediately sent to the *Triestines*, to desire they would abstain from molesting the inhabitants of *Cap-Istria*; at the same time a squadron was ordered to anchor in the gulph of *Trieſte*, to keep the city in awe and give weight to the embassy. The *Triestines*, however, continued their measures, which made the senate resolve upon sending a land army to lay siege to the city: for this purpose three thousand horse, four thousand foot, and a train of artillery, were shipped under the conduct of four *Venetian* nobility. The city was immediately invested, and the siege carried on with great vigour for the greater part of the autumn: several sharp sallies were made from the town; and the *Venetians*, on the other hand, having made a breach in the walls, repeated their assaults: at last, the pope interfering, at his mediation the siege was raised, on condition that his holiness would abstain from prosecuting *Sigismund Malatesta*, whom he at that time blocked up in *Arimini*. Thus did the *Triestine* war end with the operations of one campaign, after the garrison had been reduced to great extremities‡.

A. D.
1464.

† SABELL. *ibid.* Cæpio. *ibid.* BARRE. *Hist. Allemagn.* v. 5.
‡ SABELL. l. 8. d. 3.

THE *Venetian* fleet and army having wintered in the *Morea*, were ready early in the spring to take the field; but orders were sent that they should wait for the arrival of *Urso Justiniano*, appointed to take the command of the fleet and army from *Loretano* and *Bertino*. Before his arrival an encounter happened, in which the *Venetians* lost fifteen hundred of their men, with *Attendulo* who commanded, near *Modon*. *Urso* arrived at *Modon* a few days after, and taking upon him the command of the fleet left part of the forces in the *Morea* with *Bertino*, and sailed with the rest directly to *Mitylene*, which he attacked with great vigour. This was the capital of the island of that name in the *Archipelago*, taken a few years before by the *Turks*. A breach being made in the walls *Urso* ordered it to be stormed, where, after a bloody action for some hours, he was at last repulsed with great loss, and forced to abandon the enterprize^h. Quitting *Mitylene* he went to *Nigrepont*, where, reflecting on his miscarriage, he died of a lowness and oppression of spirits. *Giacomo Loretano* was sent to take the command of the fleet, which sailed upon the death of *Urso* to the *Morea*. *Sigismund Malatesta* was appointed general of the army, and both the commanders immediately set out with a small squadron and a reinforcement of one thousand horse to join the forces. *Malatesta* found the army in a miserable condition after the death of *Attendulo*; he complained loudly of the injury done his reputation in appointing him general of a handful of diseased broken troops, opposed to a numerous and powerful enemy: however, resolved to make the most of his condition, he marched and laid siege to *Sparta*; but, after continuing two months before the walls, he was forced to abandon the enterprizeⁱ. During the siege of *Sparta*, *Loretano* with the fleet made a descent on *Rhodes*, returning after he had wasted the island to *Nigrepont*. Thus ended the campaign without any memorable action performed since the arrival of *Malatesta* and *Loretano*.

The Venetians lay siege to Mitylene.

Sparta besieged.

EARLY in the spring *Loretano* resolved to pass the streights of *Gallipoli*, but was frustrated in the attempt by the strength of the *Turkish* forts on each coast. The whole summer was spent in expectation of the event of pope *Pius's* endeavours to excite the other christian powers against the *Turks*; but his holiness dying at *Ancona*, where he arrived to meet the ambassadors of different potentates, the whole enterprize ended in sending a slender remittance of money to *Matthias* of *Hungary*^k. The plague raging in *Napoli di Romagna*, *Malatesta*

A. D.
1465.

^h SABEL. *ibid*.

ⁱ AMELOT. *Hist. Venet.* vol. 2. p. 2.

^k *Hist. des Papes. la vie de Pio.* BARON. t. 8. Ha. *pref*.

A. D.
1466.

Venetians
defeated
before Pa-
tras.

retired with the army to *Laconia*, where he wintered, having attempted nothing during the whole season. *Victor Capello* was sent the next year to succeed *Loretano*; but no reinforcement was given to *Malateste*. *Capello* failed to *Aulida*, which, with *Larisa*, he took, after a vigorous resistance. He afterwards passed into the gulph of *Corinth*, upon the promise of the inhabitants to destroy the garrison, and put the town of *Patras* into his hands. Here *Barbadico*, the proveditor, landed, and entering *Patras*, the soldiers immediately fell a pillaging, during which they were attacked by a body of *Turkish* horse, and defeated; not above a thousand, out of four times that number, escaping. *Barbadico* was killed in the tumult, and being afterwards known by his armour, his body was impaled¹. *Capello*, not discouraged with this loss, landed all the forces, and briskly attacked the city; but was repulsed by a vigorous sally, and forced, after great slaughter of his men, to seek refuge on board the fleet. He was so much affected with this loss, that he fell sick and died a few days after^m (D).

A. D.
1467.

THE republic, in the mean time, was involved in a war in *Italy* in support of *Bartholomeo* of *Bergamo*, who came to a rupture with *Ferdinand* of *Naples*. However, before their troops joined him, a battle was fought, which brought on a peace. The next year was memorable for the loss of *Nigropont*, which the *Turks* took in despite of all the attempts of the *Venetian* fleet, and obstinate defence of the garrison. All the garrison was put to the sword, and not even the sick, the decrepid, women, or children sparedⁿ. This loss greatly affected the republic: the barrier of *Italy* was now in the hands of the enemy; and nothing remained but to lament the indolence, inactivity, and avarice, which had produced the ca-

¹ SABEL. l. 8. d. 3.

^m Ibid. etiam. SANSOV. Cron. Venet.

ⁿ SABEL. ibid. CARCOL. l. 3. apud. BARON.

(D) This year died the brave *Francisco Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, in the sixty-fifth year of his age: Historians are profuse in his praises; and indeed his actions bespeak him one of the greatest men ever *Italy* produced. *Sabellicus* equals him with *Julius Cæsar*; and perhaps not unjustly, had his situation admitted of actions so glaringly striking

as those of the dictator. *Baronius* (1) says, he never lost a battle, and calls him eloquent, just, chaste, and pious. How far he might deserve some of these epithets, the reader must judge from what we have related. Certain it is, that ambition and pride were strong ingredients in his character.

(1) Baron. 594. t. 8. tit. 6.

lamity: The senate, when it was too late, augmented the fleet with forty-five additional sail; a force more than sufficient to have protected this important place, though unable to recover it. *Nicolao Canalis*, who commanded the fleet, determining, if possible, to regain the public esteem, which he had undeservedly forfeited for not covering *Nigropont*, to which his strength was inadequate, failed immediately in quest of the *Turkish* fleet, which had quitted *Nigropont* a few days before he was joined by *Venieri*, and the fleet from *Venice*. He got sight of the enemy at *Chios*; but the *Turkish* admiral found means to elude an engagement. He then steered his course back to *Nigropont*, in hopes to surprise it; but the attempt miscarried, with the loss of two hundred men, and *Giovanni Trono*, one of the bravest officers of the fleet. Here he was superseded by *Pietro Mocenigo*, to whom *Canalis* said, that had he remained longer in his office, he doubted not of recovering *Nigropont*. *Mocenigo* replied, that if his hopes were well founded, he would willingly suspend his authority for the good of the public; and at the same time offered him all the assistance he could in a subaltern capacity: an instance of public spirit rarely compatible with private ambition°. *Canalis*, upon this, declined continuing in a station of which he was deprived by the republic, and returned to *Venice*; from whence, immediately on his arrival, he was banished for life. Thus did this unfortunate officer fall a victim to popular discontent, and the misconduct of the administration^p.

MOCENIGO no sooner assumed the command than he returned with the fleet to the *Morea*, there to winter, deferring to enter upon action until the spring. *Othoman* spent the winter endeavouring to conclude a peace with the *Venetians*; for this politic prince apprehended, lest his having possession of *Nigropont* might excite other christian powers against him: he was therefore desirous of taking off the chief maritime state by a peace, or, if nothing was concluded, to amuse the republic by negotiations from paying all the attention to their armaments they otherwise might. How long this treaty which *Othoman* set on foot might have lasted we know not: from this time to the death of the doge nothing is related by historians besides an alliance formed with the sophi of *Persia*†, which was concluded a few months before *Moro* died, and three years after the loss of *Nigropont*. *Moro's* reign was unfortunate, owing chiefly to his indolence and want of vigour.

° SABEL. l. 9. d. 3. AMELOT. Hist. Venet. t. 2. p. 2. † Ibid.

‡ BARON. t. 8; SABEL.

A. D. 1470. A sort of slow cautious prudence seemed to characterize him, and produce the measures which had nearly terminated in the ruin of the republic: had *Othoman* been less employed in *Hungary*, he would undoubtedly have made his advantage of the important acquisition of *Nigropont*.

NICOLAO TRONO, Doge LXVIII.

Nicolao
Trono,
doge
LXVIII.

A. D. 1471. *NICOLAO TRONO* was elected by the unanimous consent of the senate and people to the supreme magistracy: his reign, though not very long, was prosperous, the event confirming the judicious choice of the senate. Upon his accession, with the consent and approbation of the republic, he sent ambassadors to the pope and *Ferdinand*, to exhort them to arm against the common enemy of *Christendom*: he likewise dispatched an envoy to the king of *Cyprus*, with similar instructions, all of whom received the strongest assurances of powerful succours.

A. D.
1472.

LITTLE was performed this year by the fleet under *Mocenigo*, besides the surprisal of some unimportant places in *Ionis*; and protecting *Lemnos*, upon which the *Turks* meditated a descent. Early in the spring he set sail for *Asia Minor*, where he wasted, destroyed, and spread terror all over the coasts; defeating the enemy in several encounters and skirmishes. On his return to the *Morea* he was joined by *Ferdinand's* admiral: having victualled the fleet at *Modon*, without waiting for the pope's auxiliaries, he sailed directly for *Rhodes*, where he defeated a *Turkish* squadron that lay before the chief city, and blocked up the christian inhabitants: having likewise destroyed all the enemy's forts and works in the island; he set sail for *Capraria*, and joined the pope's fleet under the conduct of a legate*. Mutual compliments and congratulations having passed, *Mocenigo* sailed with his whole fleet, consisting of forty-six *Venetian* gallies, thirty-seven auxiliary vessels, and two gallies from *Rhodes*, in all eighty-five gallies, for *Satalia*, which city he resolved to attack. The troops being landed the trenches were opened, and the city taken in a few days: all the rich merchandize of the East, cinnamon, cloves, and spices, with great quantities of rich silks, were burnt and plundered by the soldiers, after which the citadel was stormed. The first wall was taken after a bloody encounter; but the scaling ladders proving too short for the interior wall, *Mocenigo* was forced to raise the siege, which he did with great reluctance*. Thence he sailed to *Rhodes*,

Venetians
attack and
destroy
Satalia.

* Vie des Papes, t. 4.

* SABEL. l. 9. d. 3.

where

where he met with the *Persian* ambassador, who came to solicit fire-arms and a train of artillery for his master to begin the war with the *Turks*, which *Mocenigo* promising, dismissed him highly satisfied with the success of his embassy, and the power of the republic.

THE *Turks* in the mean time were not idle; for a large corps entering *Italy* crossed the river *Sancino*, and spread terror and desolation over the whole country of *Friuli*, but advanced no farther. *Paul* the second seeing the danger to which *Italy* and the church were exposed summoned a council, at which the ambassadors of a great number of princes and states attended. *Paolo Morosini* was sent by the republic: this minister represented, in an elegant and pathetic oration, the share the republic had for a series of years taken in opposing the *Turks*, and defending the christian religion: he affirmed, that *Venice* alone had sustained the whole weight of the *Othoman* power in *Thrace*, *Illyrium*, and the islands of the *Archipelago*; but that the enemy was now, through the indolence of the christian princes, arrived at such a pitch of power, as not only threatened the extinction of the republic but of *Italy*, and even of all *Europe*. *Frederic* the third was present; to him *Morosini* chiefly addressed himself, affirming there was now a possibility of crushing the proud *Othoman*, if his imperial majesty would undertake the christian cause with cheerfulness equal to his great power. *Baronius* relates, that the emperor slept while the security of the church was debated, so soundly that not the noise of the *Turkish* cannon could have waked him. Indeed, says *Campanus*, nothing could have withstood *Frederic* had he fought half so vigorously as he snored: such was the result of the council from which so much was expected.

Turks enter Italy.

MOCENIGO was in the mean time ravaging the coasts of *Asia* towards *Chios* and the promontary of *Thermena*: here *Ferdinand's* fleet parted with him and retired for the winter, notwithstanding which *Mocenigo* resolved to lay siege to *Smyrna*. Sailing from *Nesso* the fleet arrived in three days before the city, to the no less astonishment than confusion of the inhabitants: willing to make the most of their consternation *Mocenigo* landed the troops, and instantly assaulted the walls with irresistible vigour. The soldiers no sooner entered the town than a horrible slaughter began without distinction of age or sex: all were put to the sword, in despite of *Mocenigo's* endeavours to prevent this massacre; the city was laid waste, and immense sums of gold and silver coin,

Mocenigo takes Smyrna.

* *BARON.* ubi supra.

Defeat: the
Turks.

plate, jewels, and other rich booty taken. The governor of the province having collected a considerable army marched against the *Venetians*, who firmly renewing the attack gave him so warm a reception, that the *Turks* were utterly defeated and broke, though the action was not of sufficient duration to make the number of slain considerable. After this the *Venetians* returned to the city, and in revenge laid it in ashes^u. Thence the fleet steered to *Clazomene*, which having plundered, *Mocenigo* returned to *Napoli* in the *Morea* to winter (E). The pope's legate returned with his fleet to *Italy*, after paying the highest compliments to the *Venetian* admiral upon his conduct and success. *Mocenigo* dispatched the *Persian* ambassador in a galley to *Venice*: upon which the senate not only granted his demand, of a large train of artillery and stores; but likewise sent great quantities of gold and silver curiously wrought plate, a sum of gold ducats, and several pieces of fine *Verona* scarlet cloth to *Uffan Cassan*.

Takes Se-
chin, Co-
ria, and
Selucia.

AFTERWARDS *Mocenigo* steered his course towards *Cilicia*, and entering the harbour of *Theodora*, near *Selusia*, he met ambassadors from *Cassambet*, the *Caramanian*, brother to *Piraneet*, king of *Cilicia*, to request his assistance in the reduction of *Sechin*, *Coria*, and *Selucia*. *Cassambet* doubted not but the surrender of those three cities would re-establish his family in the regal dignity, from which they were expelled by *Othoman*. The plan of the operations of the fleet and army being settled, *Sechin* was attacked with great fury, and carried through the vigour and conduct of *Mocenigo*. *Coria* and *Selucia* shared the same fate soon after, though the *Turks* exerted all the skill, courage, and power they were possessed of in their defence^v. Thus the *Caraman* brothers were reinstated in the kingdom of *Cilicia*, and *Othoman* deprived of one of his richest provinces by the vigour, address,

^u SABEL. l. 9. d. 3. La Vie des Pap. t. 4.
l. 9. d. 3. BARON. t. 8. fol. An. hoc.

^v SABEL.

(E) While *Mocenigo* lay at *Napoli*, a young *Sicilian*, who had been taken by the *Turks* and carried to *Gallipoli*, having made his escape, came to him and undertook to set fire to the *Turkish* fleet and magazines, if he would give his consent. The admiral commending his courage he departed, and had ac-

tually set fire to both. The flames were soon extinguished, and the *Sicilian* taken and carried before *Othoman*, where he behaved with incredible magnanimity. Being put to death, the senate settled a pension on his family in reward of his bravery. *Sabel*. l. 9. d. 3. *Baron*. A. 1472. *Coriolan*. l. 2.

and

and intrepidity of the *Venetian* admiral. From hence he sailed to *Cyprus*, where he found *James*, the old ally and friend of the republic, on his death-bed. The king, who was married to *Catherine Zeno*, a *Venetian* lady of quality, recommended his queen to the protection of *Mocenigo* and the republic, in opposition to his sister *Charlotta*, who claimed the kingdom, in the most pathetic and moving terms; and *Charlotte*, upon the death of her brother, sent an embassy to *Mocenigo*, acquainting him with her claim, and requesting his assistance. *Mocenigo* answered the ambassadors with great respect, informed them of the king's will and his own promise, as well as the duty of the republic, to protect *Catherine*. During his stay at *Cyprus* the queen was delivered of a son, of whom she was pregnant at the death of the king; and a few days afterwards advice arrived of the death of the doge*, who, during a short administration of two years, had displayed every quality which could gain the hearts of the people, and the esteem and respect of foreign states: his reign was remarkably successful, owing to his own wise conduct and judicious choice of admirals.

NICOLAO MARCELLO, Doge LXIX.

THE senate elected *Nicolao Marcello*, a nobleman of great prudence, to the ducal chair, with no less applause than they had done his predecessor. *Marcello* pursued the plan laid down by *Trona*, and was too wise to change men and measures, which were attended with all imaginable success.

AFTER the doge's death *Mocenigo* departed towards the end of autumn to the *Morea*, and wintered at *Modon*, leaving a squadron at *Cyprus* under *Cornaro* for the defence and security of the island. In the beginning of the summer he received advice of commotions and factions excited in *Cyprus*, which endangered the safety of the queen and kingdom. The juncture was too critical to admit of delay; he hastened thither, but before his arrival, *Cornaro*, with his nephew *Bembo*, were murdered in a conspiracy formed by the bishops, the queen's physician, and other persons of distinction: the queen herself was likewise closely besieged in the citadel. *Souranza*, the proveditor, who was dispatched with eight galleys, arrived some days before the fleet; but finding his force too slender to compel the conspirators, he had recourse to negotiations, which, however, terminated in nothing. *Mocenigo* at last arriving struck such terror into the rebels, that

* SAREL. l. 10. d. 3. CAMPAN. apud. BARON. ibid.

they quitted the siege, and many left the island; but the diligence of the admiral was so great, that he seized upon the ring-leaders of the rebellion and murderers of *Cornaro*, all of whom he instantly put to death. Soon after he received a commission from the doge and senate, appointing him governor of *Cyprus*⁷. After he had restored tranquility in the island, thinking it more for the advantage of the republic that he should enter upon action, he departed to relieve *Scutari*, then besieged by a powerful *Turkish* fleet and army, leaving *Souzanza* with a sufficient force, deputy-governor, for the protection of the queen and kingdom (F).

Turks
besiege
Scutari.

OTHOMAN, who thought the possession of *Scutari* a necessary step towards acquiring the dominion of *Italy*, to which he aspired, sent *Soliman* with ten thousand janissaries and seventy thousand other troops, with a prodigious train of artillery, and a strong fleet, to invest this city. The trenches were opened, a bridge thrown over the river *Bojana*, and the batteries played furiously against the walls. At this time *Mocenigo*², sailing up the *Bojana*, as far as it was navigable, landed the troops, and encamped within five miles of the city, giving notice by rockets of his approach. The *Turks* endeavouring to block up the fleet brought on an action, in which they were totally defeated, leaving *Mocenigo* master of the river. *Cornovich* of *Sclavania* being slow in his operations, and the city hard pressed, the admiral resolved to succour it at all events, which he effected with a conduct and resolution hardly to be paralleled in history². Seizing on the bridge *Soliman* had thrown over the river, which was defended by strong batteries and a large body of troops, he forced two thousand men, with a considerable quantity of provision and ammunition, into the city, amidst the enemy's fire, and thro' a quarter of their camp commanded by *Ali Beg*. This reinforcement enabled *Loretano* the governor to sustain the general assault the next day. *Soliman* thinking the breach considerable enough ordered it to be stormed by ten thousand ja-

⁷ SABEL. l. 10. d. 3.
del. v. p. SABEL. l. 10. d. 3.

² BARON. t. 8. ² SANSON.

(F) *Scutari*, the ancient *Scadra*, stands on the river *Bojana*, issuing from the lake *Scutari*, on the east side of the gulph of *Venice*, almost opposite to the gulph of *Mamredonia*, on the *Italian* coast. The country where it

stands was the ancient *Epirus*, now part of *Dalmatia*, commonly distinguished by the name *Albania*. The city stands on the declivity of a hill of difficult ascent, and is strong both by art and nature.—*Atlas Universelle*.

nissaries,

nissaries, supported by the rest of the army. The action was dreadful for near two hours, when at length the *Turks* were driven from the walls with great slaughter: the garrison falling out after them slew the confused *Turks* in heaps, leaving about four thousand dead upon the field, after which they returned into the city laden with rich booty and glory. In a word, *Soliman*, tired out with the obstinacy of the besieged, broke up his camp and retired to *Macedonia*, after he had spent three months and lost twenty thousand of his best troops before *Scutari*^b (G). A. D. 1474. *Turks defeated.*

MOCENIGO on account of his health returned to *Venice*, as soon as he had accomplished his business at *Scutari*; and *Marepietro*, who was left with the fleet, retired to a wholesomer air, the crews being sickly, owing to the moist air of the river, and the unwholesome vapours exhaled from the marshes. Great rejoicings were made at *Venice* on advice that *Scutari* was relieved: presents were sent to the governor *Loretano*, and the whole garrison was rewarded according to their merit. As to *Mocenigo* he was received with the most extraordinary honours; presents were heaped upon him, and a few days after his arrival he received the just reward of his fidelity, intrepidity, and prudence; for *Marcello* dying he was unanimously appointed his successor. *Marcello's* reign was short, not exceeding a year and two months: he died much regretted and esteemed, but his loss was the less observed on account of the shining qualities and extraordinary virtues of *Mocenigo*. He was buried with great solemnity and pomp before the senate proceeded to the election of a new doge, the sovereign authority remaining in them during this short interregnum^d.

PIETRO MOCENIGO, Doge LXX.

MOCENIGO, on his accession to the ducal throne, resolved to take vigorous measures for prosecuting the *Turkish* war: his first act of authority was appointing *Loretano*, who Pietro Mocenigo, doge LXX.

^b SABEL. l. 10. d. 3. CEPIC apud SABEL. ibid.
sov. del. v. p.

^d SANSON. ibid.

^c SAN-

(G) The greatest distress the garrison felt was from the want of water, which must have compelled them to surrender had *Soliman* persisted a few days longer. So eager were they for

this element, that the *Turks* were no sooner retired than the soldiers crowded in heaps to the river, where they drank to such excess that many of them perished.

had

A. D.
1475-

had so bravely defended *Scutari* to be captain of the gallies. In the spring *Soliman* undertook the siege of *Lepanto*, with an army of thirty thousand men, of which *Loretano* receiving intelligence sailed from *Pola*, where he wintered, to the relief of the city. On his way thither he took and sunk a large *Genoese* argosy, laden with *Turkish* merchandize of immense value; then sailing to *Lepanto* he entered the harbour, and supplied the town so plentifully, that *Soliman's* attempts were baffled, after he had spent four months in the siege, and lost near five thousand men^o. The *Turkish* fleet steered for *Lemnos*, and laying siege to *Coccina* furiously battered the walls: the enemy were preparing to storm the town, when *Loretano* seasonably arrived, and constrained the infidels to raise the siege and abandon the island^f (H): after this nothing was done for the remainder of the season. Before the succeeding

A. D.
1476.

spring *Mocenigo* died, with the reputation of the bravest captain and wisest politician *Venice* had produced for a great number of years. There was a modesty and moderation in his carriage and conduct peculiar to real merit; nor did his virtues appear until they were drawn forth into action, his diffidence and reserve throwing a cloud over his great abilities: it was said of him that chance only gained him reputation; for had not the occasions of the state furnished an opportunity of displaying his capacity and courage, he would have died as low in the esteem of mankind as now he was deservedly exalted. His extreme bashfulness gave him an air of timidity and weakness, which only his extraordinary actions could prevent men's construing to his prejudice. In short, no man ever more faithfully served his country, and no state ever returned his services with more gratitude and esteem^g.

Andrea
Vendramino, doge
LXXI.

ANDREA VENDRAMINO, Doge LXXI.

THE funeral obsequies of this valuable prince having been duly celebrated, the senate met for the election of a succes-

^o SABEL. l. 10. d. 3.
SANSOV. del. v. p.

^f Ibid.

^g BARON. t. 8.

(H) *Sabellicus* relates an extraordinary instance of filial duty and courage in a young lady on this occasion: her father being wounded in an attack, she took his sword and target, and fought with an intrepidity that amazed every one, drove the *Turks* from

the walls, and saved the city. Hence the historian concludes, that however the customs of the island may be altered, the disposition of the women is still the same, the *Lemnian* ladies having always been distinguished for their courage. L. 10. d. 3.

for,

for. Their choice fell upon *Andrea Vendramino*, more remarkable for his age than any qualities of his mind, he being at this time in his eighty-fourth year. He was not long established in his authority when the *Turks* laid siege to *Croia*, a city of *Albania*. The army of the besiegers consisted of ten thousand horse and foot, with a numerous train of artillery: *Croia*, they had battered the walls for two months before the garrison had any prospect of relief. At last *Antoniate Doria* and *Lodovico Tefermato* assembled a corps of two thousand *Venetians* and other *Italians*, with which small force they determined to hazard a battle^h. On approaching the enemy they drew up in a square, the foot being intermixed with the horse: in this manner they advanced against the infidels, who came out of their lines to meet them. The battle began, and courage and address were opposed to multitudes: the *Turks* at last began to give way; their ranks once broke, they found it impossible to rally, the *Venetians* pressed them so close. In this manner were they driven to their intrenchments, where they were pursued and entirely defeated with the loss of one half of their army: their camp was taken, and in it an incredible rich booty, which was wholly divided among the soldiers in reward of their bravery, the commanders generously resigning their share to the private menⁱ.

NEXT day the *Turks*, having joined their detachments, returned and assailed the *Venetians* with great fury: they were, notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, received with bravery, and would have been defeated a second time had the cavalry done their duty; but the horse being put in disorder abandoned the field, leaving the foot to sustain the whole force of the enemy. This they did, animated by the example of *Contareni* the proveditor and other officers, with amazing firmness: but their number being greatly diminished, and *Contareni* killed, they were intirely surrounded. Resolved to make one more effort, they formed themselves into a wedge, and pushed through the enemy's ranks, with prodigious slaughter on both sides: by this means a few of those brave men escaped, and what is remarkable, carried off their share of the booty. The *Turks*, though they were masters of the field, did not care to resume the siege, but encamped at some distance from *Croia*, waiting for reinforcements^k.

THE death of *Contareni*, and so many intrepid soldiers, was greatly lamented at *Venice*, nor was the safety of *Croia* esteemed equivalent to this loss: but what augmented the consterna-

^h SABEL. *ibid.*
apud SABEL. *ibid.*

ⁱ SABEL. l. 10, d. 3.

^k CEPIO

A. D.
1476.

tion and grief of the senate, was intelligence that the *Turks*, in spite of all their precaution, had broke a second time into *Italy*.

Turks en-
ter Italy.

A. D.
1477.

WHEN the *Turks* were retired, after their first incursion into the province of *Friuli*, the *Venetians* drew a line and strong works from the bridge at *Gorizia* to the marshes of *Aquila*: this they imagined would be a sufficient barrier against the further attempts of the infidels; but they were no less amazed than terrified at hearing that a powerful army was encamped on the banks of the river *Lisonza*. The troops who defended the works behaved with all imaginable courage, and would have foiled the endeavours of the enemy, had they escaped a snare laid for them by the *Turkish* general. The *Venetians* being defeated, though with great slaughter of the enemy, the *Turks* were at liberty to proceed, which they did, laying waste the whole province¹. Immediately the senate dispatched a fleet and body of forces to oppose their progress, but the *Turks* were retired before their arrival. As the doge was taking measures to relieve and secure the province from future invasions he died, after a reign of one year and eight months^m (I).

GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, Doge LXXII.

Giovanni
Mocenigo, doge
LXXII.

GIOVANNI MOCENIGO, brother to *Pietro*, a man scarce inferior in merit to that excellent prince, was raised to the ducal dignity, to the great satisfaction of the people, who equally respected him for his own virtue and his brother's memory.

Croia
taken.

THE *Turks*, after their retreat from *Friuli*, resumed the siege of *Croia*, and at last reduced the place after an amazing obstinate defence. Immediately they again invested *Scutari*, with an army of forty thousand men, provided with every necessary: *Othoman* himself arrived before the trenches were opened, with another army still more numerous. Though the garrison did not exceed two thousand men, yet, relying on the strength of the place and speedy assistance, they made prepa-

¹ MOROSIN. Hist. l. 6. SABEL. l. 10. d. 3.
del. v. p.

^m SANSON.

(I) It was in this prince's reign that fine paintings were first seen in *Venice*. *Gentile Bellino* finished the beautiful ceilings and pieces in the council chamber. After peace was pro-

claimed with the *Turks*, *Mahomet* hearing of his fame sent for him, and upon his executing some masterly pieces, conferred very extraordinary honours and presents on him.

rations

rations for a vigorous defence. *Othoman's* batteries began to play, and soon effected a breach, which he ordered to be stormed. The assault was furious and the defence valiant; *Antonio Legiero*, the proveditor, who commanded in chief, omitted nothing which became an experienced and good officer. The *Turks*, we are told, shot such quantities of arrows in the different assaults, that the garrison for months used no other fuel. The moats round the town were filled with heaps of slain, which produced a stench intolerable to the besiegers, and was one cause of *Mahomet's* relinquishing the enterprize: he made several attempts to cleanse the ditch, but was always attacked with so much resolution as obliged him to retire. At last, wearied out with the tediousness of the siege, and perceiving the great diminution of his army, he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and broke up his camp with precipitation, the invincible garrison sallying out on his rear, and destroying multitudes of his troops^a. Historians tell us that the siege lasted eight months, and cost *Othoman* no less than thirty thousand men, a number almost incredible, if we consider the small force of the garrison.

DURING the siege of *Scutari*, *Othoman* detached a body of thirty thousand men to enter *Italy* by the forts of *Lixenza*; A. D. 1478. but finding these strictly guarded, the infidels turned towards *Mesin*, marching to the foot of the mountains, and proposing to enter *Germany* by paths thought impassable: they proceeded, horse and foot, over precipices and mountains almost incredible. One circumstance which *Sabellicus* relates exceeds any thing performed by *Hannibal*, if not probability itself: he says, that some of the rocks were so steep as rendered it impossible for horses either to mount or descend them: here they had recourse to engines, by means of which the cavalry were drawn up or let down at pleasure; a method which must have protracted their march to a great length as their horse amounted to twelve thousand. Having thus conquered one part of the *Alps*, they descended to the foot of mount *Cargna*: here they received intelligence that the next mountain was defended by a great number of the natives, through which they must either fight their way or return. Determining upon the former they begun climbing the mountains by means of hooks and grapples contrived for the purpose, with which the natives were so terrified that they abandoned their posts, leaving the *Turks* at liberty to pursue their march. In this manner did

*Difficult
march of
the Turks
over the
Alps.*

^a SABEL. l. 10. d. 2. CORIOLAN. l. 3. BARON.

they

they enter *Germany*, where they committed horrid devastations, and such as were truly worthy of barbarians °.

Peace with
the Turks.

OTHOMAN, having raised the siege of *Scutari*, invested *Lissa*, on the banks of the river *Driman*, and took it, and two *Venetian* gallies, which lay in the harbour (K). Here commissioners were sent to treat about peace, which at length was concluded, upon these conditions, that *Scutari*, together with *Tenarus*, a promontory in *Laconia*, should be ceded to *Othoman*, and that the senate should annually send him a tribute of eight thousand crowns : he, on the other hand, granting the *Venetian* merchants particular commercial privileges within his dominions P. *Scutari* was accordingly surrendered, and of two thousand men who composed the garrison when the siege began, only four hundred and fifty remained : they chose rather to abandon the town and seek their fortune in the *Morea* than live under *Othoman*, though, out of regard for their courage, he offered them very extraordinary and tempting immunities and rewards.

THE island of *Zant* was like to be the occasion of renewing the war ; the *Turkish* fleet having made a descent upon it, when *Loretano* the *Venetian* admiral coming up forced them to relinquish the enterprize. *Othoman* would have punished his officers for an infraction of the peace ; but they excused themselves by affirming they were ignorant of the treaty 1.

War with
the pope.

BEFORE the republic was clear of this dangerous war she found herself involved in another, in defence of the liberties of her ally the republic of *Florence*. The occasion was a conspiracy formed against the family of *Medicis*, by which *Juliano de Medicis* was murdered, and his brother *Lorenzo* in imminent danger of his life. *Salveato*, archbishop of *Pisa*, was the author of this plot ; him the *Florentines* immediately hanged, and imprisoned a nephew of pope *Sixtus*, who was supposed to be a confederate in the conspiracy. The pope, enraged against the republic for the affront offered his nephew, first interdicted the *Florentines*, and then raised an army to inflict temporal punishment. *Frederic* of *Urbina*, and *Alphonso* duke of *Calabria*, the inveterate enemies of *Florence*, were appointed generals, with orders to march directly into *Tuscany* 1. The *Florentines*, finding themselves unable to cope

° SABEL. l. 10. d. 3.

P BARON. ibid. SABEL. ibid.

1 SABEL. ibid.

1 BARON. t. 8.

(K) He ordered all the prisoners, amounting to two thousand, to be carried to *Marbeg*, and there massacred in cold blood.

with

with this powerful army, solicited the succour of the *Venetians*, which at that time they were not capable of affording in a manner suitable to their inclinations and the majesty of the republic: but the *Turkish* war being ended, next season they sent a powerful body of horse, under the conduct of *Carolo Montone* to their assistance. Upon his death, which happened a few days after his arrival on the continent, *Roberto Malatesta* was appointed to the command: he crossed the lake *Pergia*, making furious incursions into the country of the *Perusins*, and taking several towns of small importance. About the middle of the summer, *Malatesta* meeting with the army under *Matthao Campana*, governor of *Rome* and nephew to pope *Sixtus*, a bloody battle was fought near mount *Spallalla*. The victory was warmly disputed for the space of two hours; but the enemy's first line falling back, the whole army was put into confusion, and *Malatesta* left master of the field, their artillery, baggage, and a considerable number of prisoners: after this exploit he wasted the *Perusin* and *Siennois* territories, then returning into winter-quarters. The *Florentines* were soon after defeated by the *Neapolitan* forces, which produced a peace, and occasioned the republic of *Venice* to recal *Malatesta* and their army into *Lombardy*.

*Malatesta
defeats the
pope's ar-
my.*

FOR the two following years we find the republic but little concerned in foreign transactions: her care was employed in relieving and alleviating domestic calamities, which beset her at this period. In the year 1480 a plague broke out with the utmost fury, sweeping off 300 persons in a day, and desolating the city, until the severity of the winter checked its ravages. A dreadful fire which consumed a great part of the doge's palace, St. Mark's church, and the great hall of the pregadi, with an infinite quantity of rich furniture and moveables, rendered the next year unfortunate. As a small alleviation of these calamities the island of *Coritia*, or *Veia*, in *Dalmatia*, was annexed to the *Venetian* dominions: it had been given in the time of *Riniero Zeno* to count *Schinchinello*, surnamed *Frangipane*, whose posterity possessed the supreme jurisdiction for the space of two hundred years, acknowledging their tenure of the republic by a small tribute: they had afterwards, during the troubles in *Dalmatia*, been subject to a variety of masters: now, upon some disputes arising between *Maerblaisus* the prince and his people, he resolved to quit the authority and surrender the island into the hands of the *Venetians*, which he executed, himself retiring to *Venice*, where

*A plague
at Venice.*

A fire.

*Coritia
annexed to
the domi-
nions of the
republic.*

^a Hist. des Papes. vid. sub. Annot. Venet.

^t SANSON. Cron.

A. D.
1482.

he had a pension settled for life. The *Hungarians* made an attempt to seize on the island, but were frustrated by the arrival of *Victor Souranza*, who secured it to the republic^u.

Disputes
with the
duke of
Ferrara.

So extensive were the connections of the republic, that the *Venetians* did not remain long disengaged from foreign wars. A quarrel now arose with *Hercules* duke of *Ferrara*, the particular cause of which it will be necessary to recite: *Borsia*, the father of *Hercules*, and indeed all the dukes of *Ferrara*, had for a series of years been closely cemented in interest and friendship with the republic. *Hercules* seemed to inherit the disposition of his predecessors, until his marriage with *Leonora*, daughter of king *Ferdinand*, had wrought a change in his sentiments, and produced a coldness towards the *Venetians*. The first action declarative of this alteration was the permitting the salt works at *Commachia* to be opened, contrary to an express treaty with the republic: he next laid a tax upon all *Venetian* merchandize imported to his dominions, though for time immemorial the commerce of the republic had been exempted from all impositions and duties. At last he proceeded to extremities, built a fort at *Cap Dargre*, a gross infraction of the compact subsisting with the *Venetians*; and not contented with this instance of defiance, drove out of the city all the *Venetians*, ordering the bishop at the same time to excommunicate the subjects of the republic. This extraordinary conduct can only be accounted for by ascribing it to the influence of *Leonora* and intrigues of *Ferdinand*^w. The senate remonstrated with *Hercules*, sent frequent ambassies to him, and even employed pope *Sixtus* to mediate the differences between the two states; but every endeavour of theirs was superceded by the cunning of *Leonora* and pride of *Hercules*, who insolently attributed the patience of the senate to pusillanimity. Violent debates upon his conduct arose in the senate; some were for bearing with every insult rather than be provoked into a war, at a time when they dreaded the power of *Othoman*, and lived upon so precarious terms with the most powerful monarch in the universe: they likewise alledged the hazard of a war with a warlike prince, allied by blood and marriage to two potent princes, who would not fail to embrace his quarrel as a fair opportunity of reeking their vengeance on the republic, whose prosperity they envied^x. A majority answered, that these were the arguments of fear and pusillanimity; that the city had supported wars of more consequence

Debates in
the senate
concerning
the mea-
sures to be
taken with
Hercules.

^u BARRE Hist. de Allem., sub. hoc. An. FOUGASSES, t. I. p. 498. ^w BEMBO, l. 3. p. 14. ^x Hist. Allem., t. 8. p. 737.

than this, and entered upon them with less provocation ; that patience under such indignities would only draw upon them contempt and insults from other petty princes, and make the world imagine that the spirit which had raised the republic to its grandeur was degenerated. It was then affirmed, that the finances were never in better order, and that the short peace they enjoyed had more than reimbursed the whole expences of the *Turkish* war ; that the power of *Ferdinand* was greatly magnified, and the *Hungarian* fully engaged in his war with the emperor : But, admitting the power of *Ferdinand*, it was asked what aid could he afford to his son-in-law ? He had his own coasts to protect from the incursions of the *Venetian* fleet ; and, as for his land forces, the pope's dominions, *Sabinia*, *Spolita*, *La Marca*, and all *Italy* from the mouth of *Tiber* to *Ancona*, was a sufficient barrier against his entrance into *Lombardy*. The pope, the *Genoese*, and the prince of *Mantferat*, would out of policy join the *Venetians* *. In short, these and a number of other arguments were urged, which in the end prevailed and determined the republic to come to a rupture with *Hercules*. War was accordingly denounced, with the usual solemnities, and the inclinations of the people were visible in the universal joy with which this proof of the spirit of the republic was received.

War declared
against
Ferrara.

Two fleets were immediately equipped, the one to enter the *Po* and the enemy's country, the other to keep *Ferdinand* in awe, and, if he took the field, to ravage the coasts of *Calabria* and *Apulia* : this last was committed to *Souranza*, the conduct of the other to *Damiano Moro*, both officers of repute and experience. Two land armies were likewise raised to carry on the war on both sides the *Po* : *Malateste* commanded in chief, and under him *Sanseverino*. Volunteers from all corners of *Italy* flocked to the *Venetian* standards, and the levies were completed in an incredible short time. *Sanseverino*, who commanded the army north of the *Po*, resolved to pass into the enemy's country, which he effected, and immediately laid siege to *Mirafale* on the *Po* : his army consisted of twenty thousand men, who assaulted the town so vigorously that the garrison made but a short defence *. Upon his approach the enemy abandoned *Tracenta* and other places, which encouraged *Sanseverino* to march to *Cassellnuovo*, which he reduced in three days : here he received intelligence that a numerous army of the enemy lay at *Ostiglia*, under the command of *Frederic* of *Urbino*, appointed general of the *Fer-*

* BENBUS. l. 1. p. 18. etiam FOUCASS. t. 1. p. 499.
etiam BENBUS. l. 1.

* Ibid

rarese and *Arragonian* forces. After ordering the causeways and banks between *Mirasole* and *Ostiglia* to be broke down, to prevent the incursions of the enemy, he besieged *Figarola*^a.

A. D.
1482.

WHILE *Sanseverino* was engaged before this town, the fleet under *Moro* took *Hadria* by scalade, and subdued in consequence *Commachio* and all the adjacent country. *Moro* had in his voyage up the *Po* taken three forts, built to obstruct his passage: here likewise he defeated a body of forces, under the conduct of *Sigismund D'Este*, brother to *Hercules*, and *Giovanni Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*. Afterwards he joined the army at *Figarola*, and the place was invested by land and water, but powerfully supported by *Frederic*, encamped on the opposite side, who found means not only to annoy the *Venetians* with his artillery, but to supply the town plentifully with every necessary. We are told, that at this siege *Frederic* continued an incessant fire day and night from his artillery; upon which *Sanseverino* sent a trumpet acquainting him, that if he did not desist from so unusual a method of making war, he would turn his cannon upon his camp^b. It was then agreed that *Frederic* should only serve his cannon while the *Venetian* batteries played upon the town. At last, after a great number of skirmishes between both camps, and a variety of assaults, the town was at last taken by storm, after having sustained a siege of six weeks: few prisoners were made, most of the garrison being killed in the action, or drowned endeavouring to escape^c. As *Sanseverino* was repairing the walls, both he and *Loretano* the proveditor falling sick, they were carried to *Padua*, where the latter expired: *Moro* too was forced to return for his health to *Venice*, and died. Indeed a prodigious mortality raged over the whole fleet and army, no less than fifteen thousand men having perished of fluxes and fevers during the campaign.

Pope besieged in
Rome.

IN the mean time the pope was besieged in *Rome* by *Alphonso* duke of *Calabria*. Resolving to succour his brother-in-law *Hercules*, he was under the necessity of marching through the pope's dominions: in this resolution he was strongly supported by the powerful families of the *Coloneffi* and *Savelli*, who had long been the implacable enemies of the holy see. Two cardinals of these families were imprisoned by the pope's order: a circumstance that redoubled the diligence of their friends to assist *Alphonso*^d. The pope, thus blocked up, wrote to the senate for succours: in consequence of which *Malateste* was ordered to march to *Rome*; *Souranza* to lay

^a Fougass, t. i. p. 499.
BEMB. l. i.

^b Fougass.

^c *ibid.*

^d BEMB. l. i. Hist. des Papes, p. 224. t. 4.

waste the coasts of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, and the *Venetian* ambassador at *Rome* empowered to levy forces at the expence of the republic. *Malateste* hastened by long marches to the *Besiegers* capital, where, after an obstinate battle, he defeated *Alphonso*, defeated by and raised the siege. Here he died in a few days, owing to *Malateste*. the fatigue he underwent during the engagement^e.

WHILE the *Venetians* were gaining laurels in the pope's dominions, their officers were not idle on the *Po*: a detachment from *Sanseverino's* army, under his son *Fracasso*, in conjunction with *Victor Souranzo*, obtained a complete victory over *Sigismund D'Æste*, making seventy officers of distinction prisoners, with a prodigious number of soldiers. *Sanseverino* himself, as soon as he recovered his health, returned to the army, and marching from *Figarola*, laid a bridge over the *Po*, and proceeded directly to *Ferrara*: encamping within a mile of the city, he repaired a fort the enemy had abandoned, drew lines of circumvallation, and the natural situation being strong, fortified them with so much art as not only secured his own camp from sallies, but greatly distressed *Ferrara*^f. In this manner was *Hercules* inclosed within the walls of his capital, when *Sixtus*, unmindful of his late obligations to the republic, by an unaccountable policy, fell off from the *Venetians*, and joined the enemy. *Francisco Diedo*, the *Vene-* A. D.
1483.
Conduct of
pope Six-
tus.
gian resident at *Rome*, soon perceived this alteration in his holiness, and acquainted the senate with his suspicions. Every means was employed to preserve the friendship of *Sixtus*, but to no effect, his holiness not only joining the enemy but commanding the republic to lay down her arms and restore to *Hercules* all her conquests. Unwilling to lose the fruits of a war undertaken with justice, desirous of keeping upon terms with his holiness, and likewise of shewing the world the motives of their conduct, the senate employed *Bernardo Justiniano*, the greatest orator of his age, to draw up a memorial to be presented at all the foreign courts. In substance this memorial contained an assurance that they had declared war not only with the pope's consent but at his instigation, and after numberless injuries and affronts; that now they not only preferred peace to war but even to victory, could it be obtained on terms not injurious to the honour of the republic; that though the *Venetians* were willing to treat his holiness with respect, yet they feared his conduct on this occasion would be construed into a cunning and subtle policy, unbecoming the simplicity and openness of the head of *Christ's* church; that while the *Venetians*, for twenty years, withstood the weight

^e Fove. l. 2. d. 4.

^f Card. BEM. ibid.

of the *Turkish* power, not one *Italian* prince thought themselves obliged to engage in a quarrel which affected their religion; now that property became the object in dispute they were ready to unite in oppressing that state which had been the bulwark of the liberties of *Italy*. The senate requested of his holiness dispassionately to weigh their circumstances, to follow the dictates of his own understanding, and not be misled by the artifices of certain persons, whose interest was the rule of their conduct. As to themselves, they were determined to prosecute a war begun at his solicitation, and after repeated injuries; the event they committed to Providence.

SIXTUS, instead of admitting or even deigning to answer their arguments, immediately excommunicated the senate, and entered into a close alliance with *Ferdinand* and the other enemies of the republic. A congress was held at *Cassel-Maggiore*, and a strong confederacy formed against the *Venetians* by all the powers in *Italy*, the *Genoese* excepted: the duke of *Austria* likewise favoured this alliance by denying a passage thro' his dominions to some *French* and *Savoyards*, who enlisted with *Renatus* of *Lorraine*, at that time in the pay of *Venice*². *Renatus* strengthened the *Venetian* army with one thousand foot and four hundred horse, and every other measure was pursued to oppose the formidable league: one part of the *Venetian* army marched into *Lombardy*, the other remaining before *Ferrara*, from whence two of *Sanseverino's* sons went over to the enemy. The afflicted father sent apologies to the senate, requesting that they would accept of the redoubled diligence of the parent, and fidelity of his two remaining children, in attonement of the treachery of his sons, whom he should ever disclaim. Perfectly satisfied of the innocence of *Sanseverino*, the senate sent messengers to comfort and assure him of their continued esteem and affection¹.

ALPHONSO, in the mean time, throwing a bridge over the river beyond *Cassan*, entered *Ghiradadda* and passed to the *Bergamasco*, where he took several towns, after which he reduced all the *Brescian* country. *Sanseverino's* army was greatly inferior; so that he neither could come to a battle, nor cover all the towns of consequence to the republic¹. *Barbaro*, son to the famous *Françisco* of that name, was sent, however, to secure *Brescia*, all the surrounding territory being entirely reduced by the enemy, whose forces were considerably augmented by the junction of the prince of *Mantua*.

¹ BARRE Hist. Allem. t. 8. part 1.

² Foug. l. 2. d. 4.

¹ BEMB. l. 1.

League
formed
against
Venice.

DURING.

DURING these transactions forty of the enemy's galleys, under *Frederic of Arragon*, son to *Ferdinand*, took *Lissa* on the coast of *Dalmatia*; then sailing to *Corfu* made several fierce attacks on the island, but were always repelled by the bravery of *Georgio Viari* and the garrison. At last, having lost about one thousand men to no purpose *Frederic* retired; but neither by sea nor land did a general action happen during the campaign, which was spent in marches, counter-marches, and sieges, without any considerable progress. The loss of *Gazolo*, indeed, gave the republic uneasiness, as it was a place of importance; she confided in the fidelity of the inhabitants, and was betrayed ^k.

Lissa taken by the enemy's fleet.

ALPHONSO, pressed by repeated letters to come to the relief of *Ferrara*, quitted the *Brescian* by long marches, but was outstripped by the vigilance of *Sanseverino*, who arrived at *Cassellnuovo* before the enemy imagined he had moved: here he put his army into quarters and went to *Venice*, where he was received with great honours; but before his departure he recovered all the towns the enemy had taken that campaign between the *Po* and the *Brescian*. The senate likewise bestowed very considerable favours on the *Rossi* of *Parma*, who had bravely maintained their ground against *Lodovico Sforza*. As they were then banished their country, a pension of thirty-two thousand crowns was settled on the two brothers *Guido* and *Giacomo* ^l.

ON this occasion the senate, by the advice of *Sanseverino*, sent ambassadors to the emperor, the *French* king, and the *German* princes, to request that a general council might be called, in order that the unjust conduct and perfidy of *Sixtus* might be examined. By their mediation peace was established about the middle of the following summer, previous to which *Marcello*, the *Venetian* admiral, took *Gallipoli*, in which enterprize he lost his life, a ball having entered his breast and pierced the vital organs. Before this accident he performed every duty of a commander and soldier, animating the troops in the scalade, calling them by their names; he was praising the valiant, and upbraiding the backward, when he dropt; his secretary threw a cloak over his body, and gave out that *Marcello* was slightly hurt and gone to be dressed, and that he had authorised him to assure the soldiers the plunder of the city should be the reward of their bravery. In short, the town was taken, and the garrison without distinction put to the sword, during the rage of opposition and ferment of

Gallipoli taken.

^k Foug. 1. 2. d. 4. BEMB. 1. 1. Hist. Allem. ibid.

^l Ibid. etiam BARRE

spirits ; nor was *Marcello's* death known before the place had surrendered^m.

A. D.

1484.

Peace be-
tween the
Venetians
and Itali-
an princes.

OTHER actions of less consequence happened by land before preliminaries of peace were adjusted : at last the following articles were accepted by all parties ; viz. that the *Venetians* and *Hercules* should each restore their conquests, and be reinstated in the same possessions they held at the commencement of the ruptureⁿ ; that the *Venetians* should withdraw all their garrisons south of the *Po*, and raze the forts built on the banks of the river ; and, that *Sanseverino* should remain in the pay of the republic, and at the same time be acknowledged the commander in chief of the forces of all the *Italian* states. This agreement being ratified, the different armies were recalled, and the appearance of tranquillity restored to *Italy*. One may judge of the importance of this short war from the charges to which it put the *Venetians* in little more than two years : the sum of three million six hundred thousand ducats in gold, an immense sum at that early period^o, was disbursed by the treasury. Great rejoicings were made not only in the city but over all the dominions of the republic : tournaments and games of various kinds were held at *Venice*, to which the young princes flocked from all parts of *Italy*. Upon the whole, this war, which might be deemed a kind of civil war, on account of the long friendship subsisting between the state of *Venice* and *Ferrara*, ended more happily than could have been expected.

PEACE being restored, the doge applied his attention to civil affairs, and repairing the palace, greatly damaged by a fire that happened the beginning of this year. A plague likewise committed great ravages in the city^p ; but all the losses of the republic were soon made up by a short interval of peace, the whole commerce of the world being in a manner engrossed by this industrious people. Every port of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, was filled with their ships, laden with the richest merchandize, and the *Venetians* were without dispute the richest and most potent maritime state in the universe. Even during their fiercest wars commerce flourished ; nothing could make them neglect what they well knew to be the pillar and support of their government and consideration in *Europe*^q. Yet, amidst profound tranquillity the *Venetian* trade met with a rough check and very considerable loss : four gallees returning from the East, laden with spices, silks, and

^m Foug. l. 3. d. 4.

ⁿ BARRE Hist. Allem. t. 8.

^o Foug. ibid.

^p SANSOV. Cron. Venet,

^q Foug.

l. 3. d. 4.

diamonds,

diamonds, young *Columbus*, son of the famous *Genoese* mariner, attacked them with seven men of war off *Cape-Vincent*. A bloody battle was maintained, notwithstanding the disparity of forces; but the *Venetians* were forced in the end to yield to the enemy's superiority, who carried them into *Lisbon*. We are not told whether the encounter happened in consequence of any commercial quarrel, or whether it was an act of piracy in *Columbus*: nor do we find that the republic ever resented it, or even demanded reparation of the wrong; the bare fact is all that *Sabellicus* relates.

TOWARDS the end of this year died *Giovanni Mocenigo*, a prince endued with every quality to make his people happy: his virtues were similar to those of his brother; his capacity little inferior, and his reputation equal.

A. D.
1485.

MARCO BARBARIGO, Doge LXXIII.

MARCO BARBARIGO was chosen by the senate to succeed *Giovanni*: he was equally loved while a private citizen, and respected during the short period of his administration. The republic enjoying a happy repose, he employed his whole time in enforcing the laws, relieving the poor, encouraging virtue and merit, and suppressing vice and indolence. Amidst these acts of piety and good government he was seized with a fever, which cut him off in a few days, and left the republic to lament the loss of those blessings they had but just tasted. One act of his administration, in favour of the poor, deserves to be particularly mentioned: he got a decree passed that all those, of whatever quality, who demanded the redress of grievances, should cast lots whose suits should be first presented. By this means he prevented bribery, corruption, and influence, and put the poor, in points of justice, upon a level with the richest.

Marco
Barbari-
go, doge
LXXIII.

AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Doge LXXIV.

A. D.

THE senate having met for the election of a successor, *Agostino Barbarigo*, brother to the deceased, was chosen in his room; a promotion extremely acceptable to the people, as *Agostino* was the perfect archetype of his brother. He was at this time procurator of *St. Mark's*, an office which he discharged with a fidelity and integrity auspicious of his good conduct in a higher capacity. His first act was to send an embassy to the Grand Seignior, to thank him for presents made

1486.

Agostino
Barbari-
go, doge
LXXIV.

* Foug. *ibid*.
* Sansov. *ibid*.

* Sansov. del. vit. de princip. p. 244.

to the republic a little before the death of his brother, and likewise to procure some privileges for the merchants of the state trading to the *Turkish* dominions².

WHILE he was thus engaged a quarrel arose between *Sigismund*, brother to the emperor *Frederic*, and the republic. *Sigismund* was lord of the country of the *Grifons* on the *Alps*, and had for a number of years lived upon terms of strict friendship with the *Venetians*: their merchants traded into the cities of each without impost or duty, and particularly met at an annual fair kept in *Bolzano*, a town of the *Grifons*, to which numbers of the *Venetian* inland traders resorted. Here they were this year, all of a sudden, contrary to their established correspondence, and the laws of nations, seized, imprisoned, and their goods confiscated, without any other reason assigned than that the subjects of *Sigismund* on the lake *La Garda* were some years before driven from thence by the *Venetians*. Immediately after the imprisonment of the *Venetian* merchants, *Sigismund* levied troops with all expedition, to the amount of ten thousand men, entered the *Veronese*, and over-ran the country along the *Adice*: the enemy were commanded by *Gaudenzio Amasio*, who laid siege to *Rovero*, and took it after some resistance. We are told he laid the fort in ashes by means of bombs, at that time not much known in *Italy*³.

A. D.
1487.

War with
the Gri-
fons.

The senate, to oppose this army, ordered the soldiers quartered in the *Trevisan*, *Lombardy*, and *Friuli*, to assemble, and requested of old *Sanseverino* to take charge of the army. Before he could get together a force sufficient to oppose the enemy, the *Grifons* had made incursions into the territories of *Vincenza*, *Feltre*, and *Friuli*: they were at last repulsed, and their detachments defeated by *Jeronimo Savorgnano*, who had raised a body of peasants for the defence of the country. *Sanseverino* no sooner joined the army than he entered upon action; but a detachment, which he commanded in person, falling into an ambuscade, was defeated, and himself saved by the bravery of his son from being taken prisoner⁴. Upon this he resolved to march into the enemy's country, and lay siege to *Trento*, which he doubted not would put an effectual stop to the enemy's incursions into the *Venetian* territories, by recalling them to the defence of their own country. The scheme, however, though plausible, was warmly opposed by old *Lucca Pisani* the proveditor: but as a majority consented, the resolution was taken, and the army ordered to proceed to the country of the *Grifons*. On his march he was attacked and his army surprised by a thousand regulars and a large corps of

² Fous. l. 3. d. 4.

³ Fous. l. 4. d. 4.

⁴ Ibid. p. 522.

boors,

boors, assembled by *George count Pietro*. The soldiers not expecting to see the face of an enemy for several days were put into confusion, and *Sanseverino* killed in endeavouring to rally them. Thus died the brave old *Sanseverino*, one of the best and most faithful officers the republic ever employed. In this instance his good fortune seemed to forsake him, though not his courage, for he fell with his sword in his hand, fighting with the vigour and spirit of youth, at the age of ninety¹. His death produced a total rout: the panic became general; nor could all the skill and diligence of the proveditors bring the soldiers back to their colours, or withstand the charge of a militia not sufficient to encounter one-fourth of their army. *Andrea de Bargo*, colonel of infantry, imagined that cutting the bridge and stopping their progress would, from necessity, recal their courage and presence of mind: this he performed to the almost utter destruction of the army, though well and prudently intended; for so great was the consternation of the troops that they plunged into the water, and lost their lives endeavouring to escape by swimming². *Guido de Rossis* alone, with his troop of horse, withstood the enemy: he made his way through the thickest of the enemy's ranks with about fifty men, and ravaging their country returned home loaded with plunder³. As for *Bargo*, he was recalled and imprisoned; but *Guido* and other officers appearing in his defence, and asserting his bravery and diligence, he was not only reinstated but promoted. Orders for new levies were now issued by the senate; but before they were complete a peace was offered by *Sigismund*, tired with the expences of the war, and accepted by the republic, on condition, that the merchants seized at *Bolzano* should be set at liberty and indemnified, and that mutual restitution should be made of places taken during the war^b.

A. D.
1488.Sanseverino's death,
and the army
fly in a
panic,Peace with
Sigismund.

SOON after this several sumptuary laws took place in *Venice*, and the expences of private families in their table, cloaths, diversions, gaming, travelling, &c. were rated by a decree of the senate, in proportion to the ability of the individual. The regulation concerning dice was, that no family of the highest distinction and fortune should presume to stake above a fifth of an ounce of gold in one night^c.

THIS year likewise it was that the senate resolved in a manner to annex *Cyprus* to the dominions of the republic, by sending *Cornaro* to assist the queen his sister in her affairs. To this two circumstances contributed, which in fact determined the senate in their intention. The first was a *Turkish*

¹ Foug. l. 4. d. 4.
etiam Bemb. p. 31.

² Bemb. l. i.
^b Foug. l. 4. d. 4.

³ Foug. ibid.
^c Bemb. l. i.
flect

Cyprus
annexed to
the state.

fleet that sailed up the *Mediterranean*, which created suspicion that *Bajazet* formed designs upon the island : the other arose from secret intelligence that *Ferdinand* was taking measures to annex this kingdom to his own dominions, by a marriage between the queen and his son. The senate had been left protectors of the queen by *James Lusignan* her husband. Under their countenance she had governed peaceably for the space of fifteen years, the first commotions quelled by *Moc-nigo* excepted. As her only son was dead the republic looked upon herself as the natural successor of a queen who was daughter to one of her senators : thus, it was the business of the senate to exclude both *Bajazet* and *Ferdinand*, for which purpose *Francisco Priuli* was sent with a fleet to the defence of the island. *Cornaro* went before, and, exceeding his commission, prevailed on the queen by his eloquence to relinquish the government to the senate, and return to her native country *Venice*, where she should always live with the dignity and affluence of a sovereign^d. The queen unwillingly assented to his arguments, and every thing was fixed for their departure : he dispatched intelligence of his success to the senate, who, delighted with his conduct, sent rich presents to the queen, and whatever could sweeten the resignation she had made of pomp and grandeur. Before she left *Cyprus* the *Venetian* standard was erected in the market-place of *Nicosia*, the capital, by her orders ; and thus the island became a *Venetian* province. At last she arrived in *Venice* with a large retinue, and was met by the senate and chief ladies of the republic, who conducted her to the palace, where she was entertained with the state and magnificence her quality demanded. Soon after a household was appointed her, and the castle of *Azolo* in the *Trevisan* assigned for her residence, with a revenue of fifty pounds in gold for her yearly expence, and a present of ten pounds for her immediate use^e.

A. D.
1490.

THIS year ambassadors from *Africa*, from the prince of *Tremizan*, came to *Venice* to desire the senate would appoint a magistrate to distribute justice among the *Venetians* dwelling in three of his cities, lest he should be led into differences with the republic from such inadvertencies or omissions as might arise from his ignorance of their laws. A magistrate, equivalent to our consuls abroad, was appointed, and his revenue fixed at an hundredth part of all the merchandize sold in that country.

ABOUT the same time the use of firelocks was introduced in *Venice* ; and, for instructing the youth in the exercise, the coun-

^d Foug. et Bemb. *ibid.*

^e Bemb. l. 1.

oil of, ten passed a decree that two in each village should be taught the manual exercise and evolutions; that these young men should all meet on certain days to give proofs of their progress, by firing at a mark; and that the public taxes for that year should be remitted to the village of the best marksman, and a sum of money given him besides^f. Little occurs deserving notice for the space of four or five years, except that the republic was daily growing in wealth, grandeur, and power. The discoveries of the *Portuguese* in 1494, round the cape of *Good-Hope* to the *East-Indies*, opened the way for the gradual decline of their commerce, but it did not become apparent for a number of years: at present the sea was covered, and all the harbours in the world crowded with the *Venetian* merchantmen^g.

WHILE the republic was reaping the benefits of her long tranquility, an embassy from *Charles VIII.* of *France* came to *Venice*: the purport was to sound the inclinations of the republic, and demand the continuance of the league subsisting between the states, as he proposed marching into *Italy* to reduce *Naples*. The doge and senate assembled the great council to deliberate upon an affair of so much consequence: they foresaw that *Italy* must be wholly embroiled, and were willing to act with caution in a business so delicate. At last, after various debates, a kind of equivocal answer was returned to the ambassador, with which and civilities he was dismissed. Two other embassies succeeded this, and all were dismissed with the same answer, and strong assurances of the desire the republic had to live upon terms of amity with the king^h.

WE need not enter upon the origin of this war; it has been explained already in our history of *France*. Sufficient it is that the report of *Charles's* intention made *Ferdinand* use every possible measure for his own defence: he levied troops, equipped a fleet, and did all in his power to draw pope *Alexander* into his alliance. *Ferdinand* was so expeditious in his preparations, that *Lodovico Sforza*, who excited *Charles* to this attempt, fearing he might be oppressed before the king could enter *Italy*, sent an envoy to *Venice*, requesting that the senate would march a body of troops to the river *Oglio*; but this minister was dismissed with mere professionsⁱ. Mean time *Ferdinand* died, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Alphonso*: he immediately upon his accession dispatched an embassy to the republic, to solicit their influence with *Lodovico* to desist

^f Foug. l. 4. d. 4. etiam BEMB. l. 1. ^g BEMB. l. 1.
 Foug. l. 4. d. 4. ^h BEMB. l. 1. COMMINES, t. 1. p. 56.
 BEMB. l. 2.

from joining the *French*, and promising in return to leave him the undisturbed possession of *Milan*. The senate undertook to mediate, but could obtain no direct answer from *Ledovico*.

MANY attempts were made by both parties to engage the *Venetians* in the quarrel, but they were deaf to all arguments and promises. *Charles*, by his ambassador *Philip Commynes*, offered them a great share of the conquests he should make in *Naples*, if they would join him; but the senate replied, they had no right to a foot of ground in *Naples*, and it was their determination to adhere to the just maxim of their ancestors, never to carry on war for conquests, but to repel injuries, protect their liberties, and maintain their alliances^k. It would be digressing from our purpose to pursue *Charles* in his conquest of *Naples*: it is enough that the republic preserved a strict neutrality until the great power of *France* rendered it necessary to throw their weight in the opposite scale. Some haughty expressions the king dropt before the ambassadors of the republic, made them conclude it was full time to check his progress before he should be in a condition to over-run *Italy*. The purposes of the senate were greatly forwarded by the arrival of a *Spanish* armament, under *Lorenzo Suarez*, at *Leghorn*, for the defence of *Sicily*: this fleet consisted of sixty ships of war, having on board six thousand foot and five hundred horse. *Suarez* went himself to the *Venetian* senate and told them, "That the king his master, sensible of the ambition and power of the *French* king, had sent him with a fleet for the defence of *Sicily*: he was well assured that *Charles* would not stop with the reduction of *Naples*, if effectual measures were not taken to clip his wings and bound his ambition: his master, he added, authorised him to enter into an alliance with the republic, with whose wisdom he was too well acquainted to imagine she could be blind to the necessity of opposing a prince who measured right only by power." The senate lent a willing ear to *Suarez*^l: such an alliance they saw was necessary for the security of *Italy*: they likewise knew that the pope was equally desirous with them, and that the emperor and duke of *Milan* might easily be induced to engage in the league against the *French* monarch. At last, in the month of *April* 1495, a treaty was concluded between the emperor, the king of *Spain*, the pope, *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, and with so much secrecy, that *Philip Commynes*, who resided the whole time in *Venice*, had not the least suspicion of the negotiation^m.

Treaty
with the
emperor,
Spain, the
pope, &c.

^k BEMB. l. 2. ^l FOUQ. l. 5. d. 4. ^m COMMINES. p. 67.

WE cannot, without repeating facts already related, enter upon all the particulars of this war, so well described by *Philip Commines*, and the judicious and penetrating *Guicciardini* : We shall, however, endeavour to separate the share the republic bore in it from those transactions which properly belong to the history of other states (A).

It

(A) The two excellent historians above-mentioned speak harshly of this league ; though, to say the truth, we can see nothing more reasonable than a confederacy of this nature. If the *Venetians* used false pretexts, it was only to deceive *Commines*, and prevent his giving intelligence which might ruin their measures. *Guicciardini*, who was a *Florentine*, seems glad of every occasion of attacking the *Venetians* ; and in this respect betrays a prejudice and partiality which it is almost impossible for a writer of those times to avoid. *Commines*, with all that air of simplicity and candor, is tinctured with a vanity that disgraces his history. Even the learned *Baronius* himself cannot keep clear of national reflections and prejudices. Every act of *Charles* is set in the best light ; his very faults are so represented as to appear virtues, or, at least, the shadow of virtues : while the *Venetians*, in particular, are taxed as a selfish, proud, and vain people, jealous of another's prosperity, and sticking at nothing to compass their own ambitious purposes. A picture very different from what the historians of this republic draw, and indeed very remote from the truth. We have seen that the republic kept herself disengaged from this quarrel as long as the measures of prudence

and sound policy would admit. We have seen her refuse the offers of *Charles*, advantageous in themselves, had the senate regarded nothing besides the aggrandizement of the state. *Charles's* proposal to share *Naples* with them, was rejected with a moderation and justice that leaves no room for the charge of ambition and envy, with which those writers would stigmatize her conduct. *Charles's* behaviour to the *Venetian* ambassadors, after the reduction of *Alphonso's* kingdom, the abdication of this prince, and expulsion of his son, afforded the senate great room to suspect the ambition of the *French* king would not end with the conquest of *Naples*. The arrival of the *Spanish* fleet at *Leghorn*, and the pope's conduct, plainly evince, that the republic was not particular in this notion ; and, indeed, if we do not esteem the ballance of power in *Italy* a maxim of politics merely ideal, it was full time for her to exert herself in opposing the conquests of a prince born for great enterprizes, impelled to them by his ministers, and supported in them by a numerous and brave army. This much we thought necessary to advance in behalf of a state, in our opinion, acting on principles prudent, moderate, and just, to obviate the reader's prejudices from the suggestions of writers tinctured

It was stipulated among the confederates that an army of twenty thousand foot and thirty-four thousand horse should be raised, the different quota's as follows : the emperor *Maximilian* was to furnish six thousand horse and a proportion of foot ; the pope four thousand horse and a body of infantry ; the *Venetians*, *Spain*, and *Lodovico of Milan*, eight thousand horse each, with their different proportions of footⁿ. It was farther agreed, that if any of the contracting powers, by reason of their distance, found it inconvenient to send the forces stipulated, that in this case six hundred pounds of gold for eight thousand, and the same proportion for a lesser number, should be paid to any of the other states who would undertake to raise the troops^o. *Charles* had determined upon returning to *France* before he had intelligence of the league ; but this hastened his measures : he accordingly set out for *Rome* in a few days after, and from thence sent an envoy to *Venice* to demand whether the senate were his friends or enemies. To this no other answer was given, than that wise men were directed by contingencies ; and that it was in his majesty's power to make the *Venetians* either the one or the other^p.

CHARLES was highly incensed at the pope's departure from *Rome*, and his equivocal conduct ; nevertheless, he passed through the territories of the church in a friendly manner, excepting at *Tuscanella*, where the inhabitants were put to the sword for refusing quarters to his army : he likewise seized on *Ostiglia*, and thereby gave great offence to the *Venetians*, and quickened their preparations. *Antonio Grimani* with the fleet had orders to sail directly for *Puglia*, and preparations were made in *Lombardy* to obstruct the king's return and protect *Milan*. *Galias of St. Saverini* was detached by *Lodovico* with seven hundred men at arms and three thousand foot, to seize upon *Asti* in *Piedmont*, where the duke of *Orleans* with a small corps lay ; but before his arrival the duke received powerful succours from *France*, acted offensively, and took several towns^q.

IN the mean time the vanguard of the king's army was got to *Pontremio* ; and the *Venetian* and *Milanesse* troops, to the amount of eight thousand infantry and two thousand light horse, were assembled in the duchy of *Parma*, under young

ⁿ BEMB. l. 2.^o GUICCIARD. l. 1.^p BEMB. l. 2.^q BEMB. *ibid*.

tinctured with national jealousies ; and whose seeming candor, elegant stile, and deep reflection, give them weight and credit, which, in this particular, they do not deserve.

Gen.

Gonzaga of *Mantua*, a prince of conduct and valour superior to his years. Here the king sent a trumpet to the confederates, desiring a free passage, and assuring them of the strictest regularity and discipline among his troops: but no reply was made to the message. The *Taro*, a rapid stream, fortified on the one side by the confederates with a number of batteries, separated the two armies, when *Charles*, unwilling to engage before he had tried the effects of a conference, sent a trumpet desiring a meeting with the *Venetian* proveditors. The conference was agreed to, but *Charles* altering his purpose, did not chuse to wait the issue: he ordered his van to pass the river, in spite of the enemy's fire from the opposite batteries. *John Trivulcio*, with an hundred lances, three thousand *Swiss* infantry, and three hundred archers and cross-bows on horseback, formed the van: *Charles* in person commanded the main army, which followed, and the earl of *Foix* led up the rear. Before *Trivulcio* had crossed the river and advanced to the right of the confederates, *Gonzaga*, at the head of five thousand infantry and six hundred men at arms, passed by a ford higher up, in order to attack the king's rear, ordering certain corps under the proveditors to charge him in flank: this obliged the *French* to face about, when immediately a sharp action began. *Gonzaga* pressed on with great resolution, and was as bravely received and repulsed in several charges; but still renewing his attacks the enemy were put into some confusion, and the king's person greatly endangered. *Charles*, however, was saved by the intrepidity and gallant conduct of his troops, who flocked round for his defence; so that here the battle was pretty equal. On the other side the marquis de *Gies* put the confederates in disorder, and would have totally defeated them, had not *Gonzaga* in time repassed the *Taro* and come to their relief, which stopt the pursuit. Here the battle ceased, victory declaring for neither side, though the king's intention of crossing the *Taro* was frustrated. The next morning he proposed attacking the confederates in their camp, but was prevented by the violent rains which swelled the river in the night, and likewise by the advice of his officers, who thought it more adviseable to march round, notwithstanding the inconveniences of the roads. This resolution was accordingly executed, his majesty decamping with great silence without beat of drum. In the action the loss of the confederates amounted to three thousand infantry, and near three hundred men at arms; a circum-

The confederates design to hem Charles up at Asti, and prevent his return.

A battle.

¹ GUICCIARD. l. 1.
etiam. BEMB. l. 2.

² GUICCIARD. l. 2.
³ GUICCIARD. ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

stance

A. D.
1496.

Both sides
lay claim
to a vic-
tory.

stance which gave the *French* room to claim the victory, as their loss did not exceed two hundred men at arms. On the other hand, the *Venetians* formed the same pretensions, and challenged the glory of the day, because, besides the king's being disappointed in his design of crossing the *Taro*, they had not only saved their own camp and baggage, but taken a considerable booty from the enemy, some rich apparel of the king's, and part of his artillery. *Baronius* taxes the republic with vanity on this occasion^w, though we think very unjustly, as they undoubtedly had an equal claim with *Charles* to the victory, which is not to be always estimated by the number of slain, but a variety of other circumstances and consequences.

THE confederates sent a detachment of three thousand men, under *Sanseverino*, to molest the enemy's rear, but being forced to take a long circuit, as the river was not fordable from the late rains, he came up too late. Suspensions concerning his fidelity arose, and some historians affirm, that instead of annoying he actually conducted *Charles* to *Asti* thro' the difficult passes and roads he had to encounter. It afterwards appeared that he acted in consequence of secret orders from *Lodovico*, who began to waver in his alliance, and carry on a clandestine correspondence with the king^x. *Gonzaga*, however, as soon as the river was fordable, marched in pursuit of the enemy with his whole army: as he found he could not come up with them he returned from the *Tortonese*, and joined *Lodovico Sforza* before *Novara*. The senate sent two proveditors to assist at the siege of *Novara*, and a strong reinforcement; so that the army amounted to three thousand men at arms, three thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot^y.

Peace
between
Charles
and
Sforza.

DURING this siege the *Venetian* fleet at *Genoa* was successful: it not only took *Rappallo*, putting the *French* garrison to the sword, but defeated the king's fleet, which he had sent thither on his departure from *Naples*. This, and his inability to relieve *Novara*, obliged *Charles* to make overtures of peace; for which purpose commissioners met, and after a number of difficulties and obstructions, signed a treaty between *Charles* and *Lodovico*. The *Venetians* complained loudly of *Sforza's* conduct in striking up a separate peace, after they had refused hearkening to any proposals without the consent of their allies: they called him treacherous, perfidious, undeserving of allies, and unworthy to be trusted.

^w BARON. Hist. Eccles.

^x BEMB. l. 2.

^y Foug.

l. 5. d. 4.

Lodovico,

Lodovico, stung with reproaches which were but too justly levelled, gave secret orders to the garrisons in those places through which the army of the republic must pass, to block up the way, and prevent their return. Intelligence of this coming to *Contareni*, he offered the council of ten to assassinate *Lodovico* in open council; but the republic rejected this proposal, as reflecting upon the honour of the state, and gave instructions that he should temporize with him until he got out of his dominions: this accordingly was done so artfully, that the army arrived unmolested at *Mantua*, and then proceeded to *Venice*^a.

*Sforza's
treachery.*

CHARLES had not left *Naples* long before *Ferdinand* returned to *Calabria*, and seized the city of *Regio*. *Grimani*, the Venetian admiral, conquered *Puglia* and some towns in the *Hither Calabria*, which success soon produced a general revolt in favour of *Ferdinand*. The senate, apprized of these transactions, sent orders to *Grimani* to wait inactive at *Monopoli* until farther orders; but the pope's influence prevailed upon them a little after to send the admiral to *Naples* to assist *Ferdinand*^a. As *Grimani* was taken ill about the time he received these instructions, he contented himself with dispatching twenty galleys to assist at the siege of *Tarentum*; and upon his recovery sailed with the rest of the fleet to *Corfu*, it being suspected that the *Turkish* armaments were intended against that island^b.

ABOUT the same time the *Pisans* sent ambassadors to *Venice*, to beseech the protection of the republic against the *Florentines*, who were preparing to reduce them. The senators were divided in sentiment concerning this proposal, some not chusing to come to an open rupture with *Florence*; while others, moved either with compassion or actuated by ambition, were for granting the request. *Pisa* indeed stood extremely convenient for extending the dominions of the state, gaining a sure footing in *Tuscany*, and stretching the boundaries of the republic as far as the *Mediterranean* sea, the gulph of *Genoa*, and the whole breadth of *Italy*. The latter opinion for these reasons prevailed, and the manner of assisting the *Pisans* was referred to the determination of the council of ten^c.

BEFORE any measures were formed by the council, the senate received ambassadors from the pope, requesting they would order part of the army, returned from the siege of *Navarro*, to assist *Ferdinand* in expelling the *French* out of his dominions, in consideration of which certain sea-port towns

^a BEMB. l. 2.

^a Foug. l. 5. d. 4.

^b BEMB. l. 2.

^c Foug. l. 6. d. 4.

should be ceded to the republic; but neither did this ambassador meet with an immediate answer. At last *Ferdinand's* ambassadors, under the mediation of the pope, the emperor, and king of *Spain*, concluded an alliance with the *Venetians*, in which it was stipulated that *Brundisium*, *Trani*, and *Otranto* should be annexed to the *Venetian* dominions, in consideration the republic would send six hundred men at arms and three thousand foot to act under *Ferdinand*, and besides give him by way of loan one hundred and fifty pounds in gold. Commissioners were sent to take possession of the towns, and orders issued to *Gonzaga* of *Mantua* to lead the troops into *Naples* ^d.

CHARLES, hearing of this league, sent *Philip Commynes* to *Venice* to demand the restitution of *Monopoli*, and remonstrate with the senate on the late alliance with *Ferdinand*, contrary to the peace with him; for the *Venetian* proveditors being present at the conclusion of the agreement between him and *Sforza*, he included the republic in that treaty ^e; but *Commines* was dismissed with an unsatisfactory answer.

LODOVICO SFORZA, having intimation that the senate resolved to protect *Pisa*, petitioned that he might be admitted as an associate in the defence of this city: accordingly a treaty was concluded between the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Lodovico*; in consequence of which the republic ordered two thousand foot to be raised in *Genoa* and sent to *Pisa*. The *Florentines*, hoping to become masters of the city before the allied army could be assembled, sent six thousand foot, one thousand horse, and a fine train of artillery, to invest it; but the *Pisans*, falling out upon them before the trenches were opened, defeated and dispersed the *Florentine* army ^f.

Soon after *Paolo Vitelli*, deserting the *Pisans*, was appointed to the command of a fresh army, raised by the enemy and amounting to ten thousand men, with orders immediately to resume the siege of *Pisa*; but the *Venetians* were so vigilant in the defence of the city, and *Pietro de Medicis*, then banished, coming with a powerful army against *Florence*, the army was recalled before it had made any considerable progress ^g. *Pisa* was scarce delivered from the impending storm, when the senate received *Faenza* into their protection; a little state well situated to check the *Florentines*, *Bolognese*, and the other powers of *Romagnia*.

CHARLES, finding himself in danger of losing *Naples*, proposed returning in person with a powerful army

^d GUICCIARD. l. 2. BEMB. l. 2.

^e GUICCIARD. l. 1.

^f FOUQ. l. 6. d. 4.

^g BEMB. l. 2.

A. D.
1497.

into *Italy*; intelligence of which being received greatly perplexed *Sforza*, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*^h. *Sforza*, who was most exposed, took every measure for his own defence: he dispatched ambassadors to *Maximilian* the emperor, and to the senate of *Venice*, desiring their immediate assistance. The senate agreed to send troops to *Alexandria*, but raised scruples concerning the emperor's sending forces into *Italy*: they knew that *Maximilian* was no friend to the republic, and dreaded the consequence of granting him a passage through their territories; yet, fearing that the refusal might induce the timid *Lodovico* to enter into a treaty with *Charles*, they consented that an embassy should go to the emperor to settle this affairⁱ.

To pass over circumstances in which the republic was not immediately concerned, *Ferdinand*, assisted by the *Venetians*, laid close siege to *Atello*, the garrison of which was driven to great extremities for want of water: at last it surrendered upon honourable terms. This success was followed by the reduction of several other places, in which the republic bore a considerable share. *Ferdinand* in the mean time dying, his uncle *Frederic*, a prince much beloved, was crowned; and he having no enmity to *France*, the war in *Naples* in a manner ceased, after *Tarentum* had yielded to the *Venetian* fleet^k.

THE strong *Venetian* garrison in *Pisa* excited the jealousy of *Sforza*, who by this means saw himself deprived of the dominion of a city he spent so much labour to acquire. He began to vent his spleen by secret practices against the republic, endeavouring to bring the pope and king of *Spain* to use their influence that the *Pisans* might be restored to their liberty; but in this scheme he was disappointed, neither his holiness nor the *Spaniards* chusing to hazard the loss of the *Venetian* friendship by such a proposition: however, he so far prevailed, that a congress was held, at which attended the *Spanish*, *Venetian*, *Florentine*, and *Milanese* ambassadors, with the pope's legate; but nothing was determined^l.

LEWIS the twelfth of *France*, who succeeded *Charles*, Lewis the having, contrary to the opinion of all men, resolved upon twelfth of pursuing his claim not only to *Naples* but to the duchy of *France* *Milan*, to which he was heir by his grandmother, sent claims Na-ambassadors to the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Florentines*, to acquaint them with his accession to the crown, and desire their friendship, which the *Venetians* returned with a congratulatory embassy, and strong assurances of the good disposition of the republic.

^h COMMINES, p. 98.
J. 6. d. 4.

ⁱ BEMB.

^l BEMB. l. 2.

^k Foug.

republic. They were now arrived at the height of glory, caressed, esteemed, and feared by their neighbours, and respected by the kings of *France*, *Spain*, the emperor, and even the grand *Turk*, who had often experienced the power and valour of their fleets. *Mathias* king of *Hungary's* ambassadors came to *Venice* to contract an alliance with the republic, which the senate readily granted: thus were they courted and solicited by the greatest monarchs^m.

Sforza
declares
openly for
the Flo-
rentines.

LODOVICO, in the mean time, envying their prosperity and jealous of their growing interest in *Tuscany*, resolved to declare openly in behalf of the *Florentines* against the *Venetians* and *Pisans*: he even prevailed on the pope to promise to join him with one hundred men at arms, and send a squadron of three galleys to block up *Pisa* by sea, and prevent the city's receiving succours and provisions. His holiness never, however, performed his engagements, from an apprehension of quarrelling with the republic; but *Lodovico* began to declare himself, by denying the *Venetian* troops ordered to *Pisa*, a passage through his dominions, and obliging them to go round by *Ferrara*. He next prevailed upon the emperor to come to some resolutions opposite to the interest of the republic: then he induced *Giovanni Bentivoglio* and the *Bolognese* to contract an alliance with him, and extorted a promise from the republic of *Lucca* not to join the *Venetians*ⁿ.

THE *Florentines* were besieging some towns round *Pisa* when they received advice that the senate of *Venice* would listen to proposals for a peace, provided the superiority of *Venice* was acknowledged. Willing to conclude the war upon any terms, they sent two of their principal citizens to *Venice* to sound the republic; but they returned without having effected their purpose^o.

Treaty be-
tween
Lewis and
the Vene-
tians.

DURING these transactions in *Tuscany* *Lewis* of *France* was making preparations to invade *Milan* by the next spring. In this he hoped for the assistance of the *Venetians*, who he knew bore a mortal grudge to *Lodovico*; nor was he mistaken, for the republic readily executed a treaty with his ambassadors. Here it was stipulated that the king should invade the duchy of *Milan* on the side of *Piedmont*, while the *Venetians* attacked it towards the *Parmesan*; and that the *Milanese* being reduced, the territory of *Ghibaradadda* and the *Cremonese* should be ceded to the republic, on condition that, for a time specified, they would support the king with a certain number of forces.

^m BEMB. l. 3.
l. 4. p. 190.

ⁿ Foug. l. 6. d. 4.

^o GUICCARD.

This contract was made so secretly, that it was some time before either the pope or *Sforza* could procure the particulars ^P.

When *Lodovico* came to the knowledge of this unexpected alliance he was quite thunder-struck; but resolving to withstand the *Venetians* by any means, he secretly dispatched an envoy to *Constantinople*, to excite the Grand Seignior against the republic ¹. By some means the senate came to the knowledge of *Sforza's* intentions, and hearing that the *Turks* were preparing a great fleet, sent *Zancani*, a senator, to the porte, to sound the emperor's designs, and renew the treaty with the Grand Seignior. *Zancani* was well received, and the better to deceive him, the treaty was renewed, but in *Latin*, a language by which the *Turk* did not think himself bound. The ambassador was soon informed of this part of the *Mohammedan* religion by *Gritti*, a *Venetian*, who had long resided in *Constantinople*; he therefore laboured with all his might to have the treaty executed in the *Turkish* language, but was disappointed ². *Sforza* likewise, by means of *Hercules D'Este*, endeavoured to reconcile the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, hoping by this means to moderate the indignation of the republic. To secure the success of this scheme he acquainted the *Florentines*, that as *Louis* was preparing to invade his dominions he should be under the necessity of recalling those forces which acted against *Pisa* for his own defence. *D'Este* attended the congress in person, and was made umpire of the differences between the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Pisans*; but his decision proving unsatisfactory to all parties, the congress came to nothing. The *Pisans*, however, were so offended with the republic for some concessions unfavourable to them, that they took the guard of the city from the *Venetian* troops, and even obliged them to quit *Pisa* ³.

In the mean time *Trivulzio* had assembled a considerable army for the *French* king about *Piedmont*, and his majesty was come to *Lyon* in his way to *Italy*, whence he sent an envoy to the senate, with orders that he should attend the *Venetian* army ^{French and Vene-} wherever it marched. Great honours were conferred on the *French* minister: he was presented with a fine horse richly ^{tian army} equipped, and two pounds of gold, together with a com- ^{assembles.} plete field equipage ⁴. Then the army, consisting of seven thousand foot and an equal number of horse, was directed to begin their march. *Alviana* had the command, who, crossing the *Oglia*, entered the enemy's country, and soon reduced a number of towns and forts: at last, coming before

^P GUCCIARD. l. 4.

¹ Foug. l. 7. d. 4.

² BEMB. l. 3.

³ Foug. ibid.

⁴ BEMB. l. 3.

Caravaggio, he took it by assault, together with several other towns on the river *Adda*. *Lodovico* began to tremble for his dominions; and struck with the rapid progress of the *Venetian* conquests, dispatched an ambassador to *Venice*, with orders to take *Ferrara* in his way. *D'Este*, who had always countenanced *Sforza*, sent a gentleman before the *Milanese* ambassador, to request that the senate would not deny him an audience^u; but he was nevertheless forbid the city. *Frederic* of *Naples* about the same time acquainted the senate with his intention of sending five hundred horse to *Sforza's* assistance; and was answered that *Sforza* required much stronger reinforcements; but that they would esteem even that small number an hostility commenced against the republic, which they would resent accordingly^w.

LODOVICO, destitute of all hopes of foreign aid, began to think of gaining the affections of his own subjects, by whom he was greatly detested: for this purpose he remitted one-third of the taxes with which they were oppressed, and subjoined other popular acts; after which he enrolled the name of every person in the duchy fit to bear arms^x.

IN the mean time he was hemmed in on every side, the *Venetians* having advanced to *Lodi*, while the *French*, after taking and sacking *Alexandria*, were proceeding towards *Milan*. *Sforza*, greatly terrified at their approach, sent his family to *Germany*, whither he was preparing to follow: this determined the *Milanese* to acquaint him, by four of the chief citizens, that finding he distrusted their loyalty, they were resolved to submit to the *French*; and *Lodovico*, having no farther hopes, set out with five hundred light horse for *Germany*, having with tears taken leave of the citizens. *Bernardino de Corte*, with three thousand foot, in whom he confided, together with store of arms, provisions, and money, sufficient for a long defence, were left in the citadel; but *Sforza* was not gone three days before the ungrateful *Bernardino*, whom he had bred from a child, and loved as his son, basely betrayed the city into the hands of the *French*.

Milan and
Cremona
submit to
the French
and Vene-
tians.

In the mean time the *Venetians* advanced to *Cremona*, and summoned the governor to surrender; but the citizens desiring two days to consider of the proposals, the time was granted, and they seized the opportunity of sending to *Trivulcio*, the *French* general, to request he would take possession of the city. *Trivulcio*, however, replying that *Cremona* belonged to the *Venetians* by an article of the treaty between

^u GUICCIARD. l. 4. ^w Foug. l. 7. d. 4. ^x GUIC-
CIARD. l. 4. ^y Ibid. etiam BAMB.

his master and the republic, they received the proveditors into the city, conducting them to their quarters under a canopy of state. *Antonio Battaglion*, to whom *Sforza* had committed the defence of the citadel, being summoned the next day to surrender, consented to betray his master for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds of gold, the rank of a gentleman of *Venice*, a house in the city, and another in the country near *Padua*. *Cremona* being thus annexed to the *Venetian* dominions, the senate sent magistrates thither to govern in the same manner and by the same laws as the other parts of the republic. Two ambassadors were likewise chosen, and these, together with the new magistrates, ordered to wait upon the king who was come to *Mantua*, and to compliment him in the name of the doge and senate ².

BUT while the *Venetians* were thus extending their dominions in *Italy*, and gathering laurels on the continent, they were threatened with a dangerous war in their islands, the *Morsea*, and *Greek* dominions. The governor of *Zara* sent advice of the great preparations *Bajazet* made by sea and land, and likewise of the arrival of two thousand *Turkish* horse in the *Zaratin*. The senate immediately appointed *Grimani* admiral, who, unwilling to lose time, generously lent the state eighty pounds of gold towards equipping the fleet. Before the *Venetians* put to sea, the *Turkish* fleet came out of the straits, to the number of two hundred and sixty sail, commanded by *Bajazet* in person: they directed their course towards *Romagnia*, which gave the senate hopes they had no design upon *Rhodes*. *Grimani* at last set sail with forty-six gallies, seventeen large merchantmen armed, and eighty small vessels, steering directly for *Modon*. Having intelligence that *Bajazet* sought him, he went to the island of *Sapienza*, near *Modon*, and there drew up his fleet. The *Turks* soon appeared and joined battle, which was accepted by *Grimani*, reinforced the day before by *Andrea Loretano* and seventeen gallies which he had equipped at his own expence. *Loretano* began the engagement, and every where drove the *Turks* before him: both fleets were soon joined in close fight, which grew bloody and desperate, when the *Venetians*, setting some of the enemy's ships on fire, caught the flames, and the whole fleet was in danger of being burnt, the wind blowing from that quarter ². Two or three gallies were actually destroyed by the fire; and *Grimani* found himself under the necessity of sounding a retreat, to prevent its progress.

War with
the Turks.

Battle be-
tween Ba-
jazet and
the Vene-
tians.

² GUICCIARD. l. 4.

² BEMB. l. 3. FOUQ. l. 7. d. 4.

Turks enter
Dalmatia.

THE grand master of *Rhodus* being under apprehensions of a visit from the *Turks*, sent to *Lewis of France* and the republic for succours. A squadron of twenty-two sail was immediately equipped in *Provence* and *Venice*, and sent to his assistance: on the arrival of the fleet, it was found that the *Turks* had some other design; and the allies returned to *Zante*, and joined *Grimani*. This admiral was accused of neglecting his duty before the last engagement: it was said that he let slip a favourable opportunity of defeating the *Turks* the day before he engaged: now he omitted another fair occasion of fighting, for which he was recalled, and publicly censured, the *Turks* in the mean time having taken *Lepanto*^b. Nor were they idle towards the continent; for, entering *Dalmatia*, they scoured the confines of *Zara*, and, finding no opposition, wasted and destroyed the country as far as *Livonna*, taking a great number of prisoners. Upon this intelligence *Zanani* marched to the frontiers with a strong army; but failing in his duty, he was superseded and confined four years prisoner in *Padua*. Thus stood affairs with the *Turks*, while the *Venetian* and *French* troops, under *Cesar Borgia*, son of pope *Alexander*, proceeded to *Romagnia*, where they besieged and took certain towns belonging to the patrimony of the church, which the pope resigned up to *Borgia*.

THE senate, for the security of their own dominions during the war in *Romagnia*, sent three thousand foot and two thousand horse to *Ravenna*, under *Alviano*, to be distributed round their frontiers in such a manner as to form a chain. When *Alviano* arrived he received a message from *Giovanni Sforza*, requesting he might be taken into the protection of the republic, and screened from the vengeance of *Borgia*, who hated him implacably; but *Alviano* told the ambassador, that he was persuaded the senate would never protect a prince who had so mortally offended them in concealing *Lodovico's* ambassador, dispatched with design to excite *Bajazet* against the republic^c.

A. D.
1499.
Lodovico
returns
from Ger-
many.

MEAN time *Lodovico*, returning with some succours from *Germany*, conceived hopes of regaining his dominions, from the distaste the *Milanese* expressed of the *French* government. The senate, upon intelligence that he was preparing to re-enter *Italy*, ordered their troops to file towards the *Gremense*, and reinforced the army with 3000 *Swiss* they had taken into the service of the republic. *Lodovico* arriving at *Como* took it without striking a blow, the *French* garrison surrendering themselves to prevent being enclosed between his forces with-

^b BEMB. l. 4.

^c BEMB. ibid.

out, and the disaffected inhabitants within the city. Thence he sent his brother *Ascanio* towards *Milan*, where there was a strong party formed in his favour. *Trivulzio* was governor of *Milan*, and being chief of the *Guelph* faction in *Lombardy*, he was extremely obnoxious to the *Gebellines*, who formed a majority of the citizens: this animosity was carried so far that news of the surrender of *Corna* was no sooner arrived than *Lodovico* was proclaimed, and *Trivulzio* forced to retire with the garrison to the citadel, and next day to *Novara*. In this *Recovery* *Lodovico* recovered the *Milanese*, with as much fa- *his domi-* *lity* as the allies had reduced his dominions. *Pavia* and *nions in the* *Parma* presently followed the example of the capital; *Lodi* *Milanese*. and *Placentia* would have done the same, had not the *Vene-* *tians* prevented it by ordering some troops to march thither^d. He did not long enjoy this prosperity; for while he was be- sieging *Novara*, the *French* army assembled in *Piedmont*, and, joining the *Venetians*, poured into *Milan*, soon after made *Is defeated* *Lodovico* prisoner, and sent him to *France*: *Ascanio* was like- *and made* *wise* taken and sent after his brother, but released at the death *prisoner*. of *Lodovico*^e.

No sooner was this affair concluded than the senate sent *Lodovico Manenti* to *Bajazet*, complaining of his having attacked them by sea and land unprovoked, and contrary to the treaty made the year before with *Zancani*; likewise to solicit the liberty of the *Venetian* merchants, restitution of *Le-panto*, and the renewal of the treaty. They were induced by two reasons to try the effects of this embassy, the first arose from the low state of the exchequer, and the other from credible intelligence that *Bajazet* would not be averse to moderate conditions: but their expectations were disappointed; for *Bajazet's* demands were insolent, and such as might have been expected in consequence of a war in which he was every where victorious. He told *Manenti* that if the senate desired peace they must restore to him *Napoli*, *Modon*, and *Coron*, the three principal cities the republic held in the *Morea*; and also pay one hundred pounds of gold yearly, by way of tribute. *Manenti* returning with this answer, the senate resolved upon prosecuting the war with vigour^f. Their first care was to fortify the frontiers of *Friuli* against the incursions of the *Turks*; then they sent *Quirini* and *Lodovico Canalis* with a small body of foot, for the defence of *Corfu*: they likewise dispatched stores and troops to *Napoli*, upon advice that *Bajazet*, with a prodigious fleet, intended a descent on the *Morea*. *Mel-chior Trevisan*, the *Venetian* admiral, assembled his whole force,

^d GUICCIARD. l. 5.^e Ibid.^f BAMB. ibid.

amounting to seventy sail, at Zant; but the *Turkish* fleet, which exceeded two hundred vessels, arriving on the coast of *Napoli*, landed a body of horse to scour the country as far as the walls of the city. The garrison sallying out upon them, obliged the *Turks* to retire; upon which they filed towards *Modon*, sending a large detachment to lay siege to *Junca*. The garrison was well supplied with every necessary, and commanded by *Contareni* the proveditor, a brave officer. Sallying out upon the *Turks*, they intirely defeated and forced them to raise the siege the day after the trenches had been opened. *Trevisan*, general of the *Venetian* army, dying, the command, to the great joy of the troops, devolved upon *Contareni*, until the senate should otherwise dispose of the vacancy^s.

A battle.

IN the mean time *Bajazet*, with all his force, laid siege to *Modon*, which *Contareni* determined to relieve at all events. The garrison was badly provided with stores and provisions, the chief supplies having been sent to *Napoli*, from a notion the senate entertained the first attempt would be against that city. *Contareni* set out from *Zant* with the fleet, determined to fight the enemy though greatly superior: as soon as he descried the *Turkish* fleet, he bore down upon it in order of battle, and was received by one hundred stout gallies. Not discouraged at the enemy's numbers, *Contareni* began the engagement, which continued with great fury and advantage to the *Venetians* for the space of five hours; but the wind slackening, and a perfect calm succeeding, they lost the fruits of their superior skill in navigation, and were forced to fight upon equal terms: they had almost sunk under the powerful weight of the enemy, when a gale springing up enabled *Contareni* to disengage his fleet and retire to *Zant*, with the loss of two of his largest ships, and great damage of the remainder. *Bajazet* preserved the honour of the victory, but his loss was more considerable; for besides a prodigious slaughter of his men, six gallies were sunk and destroyed^b.

THE *Venetian*, having refitted the fleet, was still bent upon sending succours to the besieged. To this end he chose five of the stoutest gallies, with resolute officers, who engaged at all events to push through the *Turkish* fleet, and supply the city with provisions. Thinking it necessary to acquaint the besieged of his intention, he dispatched a yatcht, manned with certain desperadoes, to desire the garrison would make a diversion in favour of the squadron coming to their relief. The boat entered the harbour, amidst the enemy's shot, with the loss only of one rower; and the squadron soon

^a Foug. l. 8. d. 4.

^b Foug. l. 8. d. 4.

following, kept a running fight with the *Turks*, and in spite of all their endeavours got safe to port. Their arrival was joyful, but it occasioned the loss of *Modon*; for so eager were the garrison to receive supplies, that, neglecting their posts, they flocked in crowds to the shore; and the *Turks*, seizing the opportunity, scaled the walls, and entered the town in such multitudes, as baffled all the valour of the garrison¹. Thus was *Modon* lost by the very means which might have saved it, in defiance of all the *Turkish* power. The garrison and inhabitants were all put to the sword, excepting the governor, who was sent in chains and presented before the walls of *Junca*, which so intimidated the garrison that the fort was surrendered without a stroke. *Coron* soon after capitulated upon honourable terms; and of all the towns the republic held in the *Morea*, none of any consequence now remained besides *Napoli*^k. This the *Turks* soon invested; but after a tedious and bloody siege were forced to abandon the enterprize, the city being well supplied, and the governor determined to bury himself in its ruins (A).

ABOUT the time *Modon* surrendered, the *Venetian* fleet was dispersed and terribly shattered in a storm, which drove several ships shattered and dismasted as far as *Candia*. *Benedetto Pessari*, who was appointed admiral in the room of *Trevisan*, came to *Zant* while the *Turks* were besieging *Napoli*. As soon as he had collected and refitted the fleet, he determined to go in quest of the enemy; but *Bajazet*, having intelligence of this design, commanded the bashaw to raise the siege of *Napoli*, and return with the fleet to *Constantinople*. *Pessari* sent a frigate to view the enemy, who had sailed the day before the cruiser arrived, which determined the *Venetian* to steer his course to *Legina*, the *Turks* having taken and garrisoned that island during the siege of *Napoli*: here he landed

¹ BEM. l. 4. etiam Foug. ibid.

^k Ibid.

(A) The conduct of one *Contareni*, a *Venetian* officer, who was made prisoner at *Coron*, deserves notice: this gentleman had been sent with a party by the *Turks* to summon the garrison of *Napoli* to surrender, in hopes he might prevail on his countrymen to save their own lives, and avoid the severities and rigours of a siege. As *Contareni*

was parlying with the governor on the opposite side of the moat, he suddenly spurred his horse and plunged into the ditch. Having gained the opposite side he used all his influence to persuade the garrison to support the utmost miseries of a siege rather than surrender; after which he returned prisoner to the *Turks* like a second *Regulus*. Bem. l. 3.

some

A. D.
1500.

some troops, who soon reduced the fort, put the garrison to the sword, and brought the *Turkish* governor prisoner on board. Thence he went to *Mitylene*, where he was attended with equal success. The plunder of this island he distributed among his troops, and sailed for *Tenedos*, which having burnt to the ground, he attacked the rear of the *Turkish* fleet as it was entering the streights, and took nine galleys, the crews of which he put to death¹. After this exploit he proceeded to the island of *Samothrace*, where, understanding that the inhabitants submitted from necessity to the *Turkish* dominion, he received them into the protection of the republic, and left a garrison and governor, upon whom the natives settled a salary of a tenth of the produce of the island. Next he went and sacked *Cavista*, returning from thence to *Napoli* loaded with booty, and adored by the troops, whose hearts he had gained by his generosity and valour².

Cephalonia taken
by Pessari.

HERE receiving advice that the *Spanish* fleet, under *Gonsalvo Ferdinandes*, was come to *Zant* to join the *Venetians*, he immediately sailed thither; and passing by *Junca*, he ordered *Charles Contareni* to be beheaded on the prow of his galley, for having surrendered that strong fort to the *Turks* upon being summoned. Both fleets in conjunction went and besieged *Cephalonia*, which they carried by the obstinate intrepidity of the *Spanish* and *Venetian* infantry. *Junca* likewise was recovered by means of one *Demetrius* of *Modon*, who concerting measures with some of his friends succeeded so happily, that killing fifty *Turks* the rest made their escape over the walls, and abandoned the fort³.

PESSARI failed with fourteen stout galleys to *Preveza*, where he was told the *Turks* were preparing a fleet: here he took three galleys ready to put to sea, and burnt several others on the stocks; then he steered to *Corfu*, where he ordered the fleet to rendezvous and refit. Before he went on this last expedition, *Gonsalvo* took his leave and retired to winter in *Sicily*: *Pessari* made him a present of some rich wines, and seventy thousand weight of sweet-meats which he had sent him from *Venice*. After refitting the fleet he sailed to the mouth of the river *Bojan*, with intention to destroy a *Turkish* fleet which lay there; but the enemy, drawing their ships fourteen miles up the river, prevented his design. *Pessari* leaving a small squadron to block them up returned to *Corfu*: here the senate rewarded the courage of the troops by a liberal gratuity to every soldier who had distinguished

¹ BEMB. l. 4.
supra.

² FOUQ. l. 8. d. 4. etiam BEMB. ubi
himself,

³ FOUQ. l. 8. d. 4.

himself, and by taking care of the families of those who had died or were killed in the service °.

WHILE *Pessari* was performing wonders at sea, the senate sent an ambassador to *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary*, to engage him in an alliance against *Bajazet*. In this treaty the pope desired to be included; and it was stipulated that the king, with all his forces, should attack the *Turks*, in consideration of a subsidy of three thousand pounds in gold from the *Venetians*, and four hundred from the pontiff. Towards the close of this alliance *Agostino Barbarigo* died, after he had governed fifteen years, with the reputation of a temperate and prudent prince, who was sparing of the public, and profuse of his own money; but with all his good qualities, there was a tincture of jealousy and moroseness, which rendered his character disagreeable: the sovereign was esteemed, but the man was not beloved P. He was succeeded, according to the usual forms, by *Leonardo Loretano*, a man equally respected for the quality of his birth and for his wisdom.

Treaty
with the
king of
Hungary.

LEONARDO LORETANO, Doge LXXV.

THE new doge begun his government by proposing, in the first great council held after his accession, that *Pessari* the admiral should, in reward of his services, be made a procurator of *St. Mark's*, in the room of *Tromo* deceased. He was accordingly elected, in his absence, to this dignity, one of the first in the state. Early in the spring the *French* and *Portuguese* fleets came into the *Archipelago*, to assist the *Venetians* against the *Turks*; but those auxiliaries proved of no service to the republic, as peace was soon after concluded. The senate had just received advice from *Andrea Gritti*, that *Achmet*, the Grand Vizier, was not averse to an accommodation; they accordingly sent an ambassador to *Hungary*, to desire the king would send plenipotentiaries to *Constantinople*; and the king consented, on condition of the republic's continuing to him a yearly subsidy of three hundred pounds of gold. The treaty was accordingly concluded, on some trifling concessions which the republic made to *Bajazet*, tired out with the war he carried on in *Asia* as well as in *Europe*. The Grand Signior dispatched an ambassador extraordinary to *Venice*, who made his entrance in great magnificence, and was received with particular marks of distinction, as the representative of a great monarch and soldier. Thus did this war,

Peace with
Bajazet.

° BEMB. ibid.
sov. Cron. Venet.

P SANSOV. del. v. di princip.
Foug. d. 4. L. 8.

¶ SAN-
which

A. D.
1503.

which the republic had carried on for upwards of five years, with little or no assistance, against the whole *Turkish* empire, terminate with much honour and little prejudice to the state, besides the wasting of their finances, and emptying of their treasury.

THEY were scarce delivered from this war when ambassadors arrived from *Lewis* the twelfth, to engage the republic in an alliance against *Spain*, which the senate absolutely rejected, though they agreed to continue the ancient treaty. The death of pope *Alexander* the sixth; the election of a new pope; his death a few days after; and the choice of a successor to *Pius* the third, occurred in this interval of tranquillity which the republic enjoyed. Upon the accession of *Julius* the second to the papal chair, the republic sent an embassy of eight of the chief nobility to congratulate his holiness: they were kindly received, and mutual professions of esteem were exchanged.

A. D.
1504.

THESE professions produced no real cordiality. *Julius* was jealous of the extraordinary acquisitions made by the republic: he even advised the duke of *Valentinois* to recover the towns the *Venetians* had torn from his dominions*. This obliged the senate to caution the proveditors in *Romagnia*, to take every step they thought necessary for the safety and interest of the state; upon which the proveditors laid siege to *Tassignana* and *Meldola*, two strong towns, which surrendered upon the first summons. Highly incensed against the senate pope *Julius* sent the bishop of *Tivoli* to *Venice* to reprehend them, and procure the restitution of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, and also to request the assistance of the republic towards recovering the other towns in the hands of *Valentinois*. The nuncio delivered his instructions, but was answered, that the pope had no authority over the towns he mentioned; that they never had been claimed by any of his predecessors, nor esteemed a part of the church-patrimony; and that they had been renounced in open consistory to the *Valentinois* family: they added, that this exertion of despotism was not suitable to professions of friendship and the good offices which had passed between his holiness and the republic, which they were willing to maintain as long as it could be done with justice to the honour and majesty of the commonwealth. With this answer the nuncio was dismissed; but *Julius* maintaining his point, yet knowing his strength unequal to support it by arms, had recourse to menaces and threats that he would stir up all the princes of *Europe* against the republic. *Justiniano*,

Quarrel
between
the pope
and re-
public.

* GUICCIARD. l. 5. Foug. l. 9. d. 4.

† BEMB. l. 4.

their ambassador at *Rome*, endeavoured to appease the pontiff; but he would listen to no proposals, until the towns were first ceded. The ambassador acquainted the senate with the pope's declaration, and they immediately assembled to deliberate upon an answer; but while they were sitting, the nuncio returned with haughty letters, delivered with an air and speech no less imperious. Greatly perplexed in what manner to conduct themselves, the senate at length determined to send ambassies to the emperor and king of *France*, to refute the complaints made by *Julius*. The remonstrances of their ambassadors had a good effect for the time. Both monarchs seemed satisfied of the equity of their plea; and the pope's ambassadors returned chagrined and disappointed, they having obtained nothing more than that the princes would send commissioners to debate the cause at *Rome*."

HOWEVER, the emperor soon forgot his complaisance to the republic; for next year he sent ambassadors to *Venice* to desire that *Faenza* and *Rimini* might be surrendered. He had a right to this demand, he said, as the natural protector of the holy see; that if they thought the demand unreasonable they would submit it to arbitration; that he would labour to procure the pope's consent; and lastly, that he would be umpire, and decide according to equity, without prejudice, passion, or partiality. The senate, being well assured of the emperor's inclinations, and in what manner he would determine the point in dispute, answered, that their claim was so clear as to render an umpire unnecessary, with which they dismissed the ambassador."

A. D.
1505.

IN the mean time a confederacy was formed between the emperor and the *French* king; upon which the latter sent *John Lascari* to *Venice* to entreat the senate to compromise matters with the pope, in order to pave the way for a general league against the *Othoman* empire; he added, that he had sworn to the league with *Maximilian*, not to attack any christian state, but only to support each other, if attacked. To this the senate replied, that they had taken all possible means to be reconciled to his holiness, and had even offered to hold the towns in dispute of the church, and to pay any reasonable tribute: they congratulated his majesty on the treaty with *Maximilian*: but as it was stipulated in the treaty between the republic and the king, that neither should contract other alliances, they requested to know why his majesty had given them no intimation of his intentions. The ambassa-

A. D.
1506.

" BARRE Hist. d'Allem. t. 8. part 1.
Allem. ibid.

" BARRE Hist.

dor was a good deal embarrassed with this unexpected question: however, he answered, that though he was ignorant of his master's motives for the treaty, he could assure the senate, that the *Venetians* could be joyfully received into an alliance.

UNSATISFIED with mere compliments, the senate determined to try the issue of another embassy to the pope, which they made proposals; first, to restore *Rimini* which they had taken in *Romagna* since the death of *Alexander* sixth, except *Faenza* and its appendages; secondly, to restore *Faenza* under certain restrictions and limitations. This proposal the pope seemed to relish; but a series of intrigues and negociations between him, the *French* king, and the emperor, for the space of two years, frustrated the effect. The *Venetian* grandeur and wealth excited the jealousy of the great powers as well as of the little princes and their neighbours of the republic. It would be endless, to recite all the embassies, treaties, and negociations which occurred during this period; sufficient it is that there was in a confederacy against the republic, the most powerful which *Europe* had then ever beheld.

A. D.
1507.

Dyet of
Constance

A YEAR before the league of *Cambray* was formed, a war broke out between *Maximilian* and the republic. It had been suggested to the emperor, that *Lewis's* coming to *Italy* was to seize upon the patrimony of the church, and to dismember the holy see. This notion the *Venetians*, who were not pleased with the king's resolution, took care to confirm. The emperor upon this assembled a dyet of *Constance*, wherein it was determined that his imperial majesty should go into *Italy*, attended by a retinue of eight thousand foot, twenty-four thousand horse, and a train of artillery. The pretext was, to receive the imperial crown from the pope's hands, a form which had not been passed through, notwithstanding he wore the diadem for several years.

BOTH *Lewis* and the republic were greatly perplexed at this resolution, and left no means untried to prevent it by means of the princes of the dyet. *Maximilian* dispatched four noblemen to *Venice*, to solicit a passage through the dominions of the republic, giving the senate the strongest assurances that he would offer no molestation to the meanest *Venetian* subject. *Lewis* laboured hard to persuade the senate to deny this request, promising to assist the republic with all his forces to oppose the emperor. The king's

* BARON. Hist. Eccl. sub. hoc. an. BARRE Hist. d'Al.
part 1.

A. D.
1508.

agreeable to the inclinations of the senate, who knew how desirous *Maximilian* was of an opportunity of supporting his claim by force of arms to certain towns annexed to the republic, which the emperor pretended were a part of the dominions of the house of *Austria*. The ambassador was therefore told, that the republic would cheerfully grant the emperor a passage, if he would dismiss his formidable retinue, which they could not suffer to pass into *Italy* consistently with their treaty with the *French* king. *Maximilian* gave the republic to understand that he would force a passage, and accordingly prepared to execute his menace. In the month of *February*, notwithstanding the extreme inclemency of the season, he passed the *Alps*, and, after a march scarcely credible, arrived within four leagues of *Verona*. The *French* governor in *Milan* sent six hundred men to the assistance of the republic, which, with the *Venetian* forces, formed an army of two thousand soldiers, under *Alviana*. Had the emperor known how to use the good fortune which almost always attended him, this body must have sunk under his power; but, having surmounted the greatest difficulty, he approached *Vincenza* without taking any measures to besiege it, though strenuously advised by the marquis of *Brandenbourg*. As this city was but poorly garrisoned and provided against a siege, it must probably have surrendered before *Alviana* could come to its relief; and hence a way into the *Venetian* dominions would be opened, and a retreat secured, besides possession gained of a town, otherways of great importance to the success of the expedition; but the emperor declined attacking it, under pretence that he was not prepared to undertake a siege of so much consequence and hazard; that he would not lead to destruction troops it was his duty to save; that, leaving the *Venetians* within their walls, he would retire to *Trent*, where the army could be better supplied. Thus abandoning the conquest in his power, he actually marched several leagues farther from the frontiers of *Italy*.

THENCE he went to attend the dyet at *Ulm*, leaving his troops a prey to the enemy. *Alviana*, seizing on a pass left unguarded by the *Germans*, entered the valley *Cadorino*, and there attacked the imperial army. The *Germans*, perceiving they were shut in, determined to force their way: a battle ensued, in which both sides fought with great courage; at last, after continuing the engagement for three hours, the Imperialists were broken and defeated, leaving five thousand dead on the field. Upon this *Alviana* laid siege to *Cadorino*, *Gradisk*, *Goritz*, and a number of other places belonging to the house of *Austria*. On the other side *Contareni*, with the fleet, in-

vested *Trieste*, *Cap-Istria*, *Rovigno*, and *Pola*, with many other cities on the coasts of *Istria* and *Friuli*. Every thing succeeded with the *Venetians* by sea and land, and it would have been difficult to assign bounds to their conquests, had *Trivulcio*, with the *French* troops, remained firm to their engagements. *Alviana* had formed a design of besieging *Trent*, in expectation of being supported by *Trivulcio*; but this general, understanding that the treaty between his master and the republic was only defensive, refused to enter upon offensive measures.

BESIDES *Trivulcio*'s refusal, other impediments obstructed *Alviana*'s design; some of the wisest personages in the republic declared against an open rupture with the emperor. *Dominico Morosini*, in particular, a procurator of *St. Mark's*, aged ninety, of great experience and sound judgment, told the senate, "That though the *German* princes were not pleased with the emperor's quarrelling unprovoked with the *Venetians*; yet they would resent any indignity offered to the imperial crown; that as they had sufficiently avenged the injury, and compensated the loss sustained from *Maximilian*, proceeding farther would look as if a passage thro' the *Venetian* dominions had been refused, only to promote a war in which the state hoped to be gainers; that laying down their arms now would shew their moderation, gain the esteem of the *German* princes, upon whom a great part of their commerce depended, and convince the world the republic had spirit to resent, but justice to refrain from giving an injury. It was indeed glorious, he said, to vanquish an enemy in the field, to extend the limits, and raise the power of their state; but it was still more glorious to subdue their passions, bridle their ambition, and merit the reputation of just, the greatest character of an individual or community. The events of war, depending on contingencies, were variable and uncertain; but councils, proceeding from deliberation, weighed in the nice balance of true judgment, and abstracted from furious zeal and blind passion, were sure, and the nearest to certainty that the weak state of humanity would admit."

THIS speech from the venerable old man had its effect in asswaging the heat of those who warmly declared for prosecuting the war. The senate at that time determined nothing, but referred the issue to another sitting: in a few days after, intelligence was received that the emperor was levying forces on the confines of *Verona*, and in the country of the *Grisons*,

which determined the senate unanimously to proceed in the war. *Morosini* now eagerly pressed this measure, which he had so lately opposed. The resolution was transmitted to the proveditors upon the frontiers and in *Istria*, with reinforcements of troops, and supplies of money and stores. In consequence of these orders *Alviana* took *Protonovi*, then *Fama*, a city of *Sclavonia*, which he burnt; and crossing the *Alps*, he laid siege and took *Prefsburg*, a strong town on the confines of *Hungary*².

WHILE the *Venetians* were pursuing their conquests, the emperor's army assembled at *Trent*, attacked and defeated a corps of three thousand republicans near *Calliona*; but this victorious army soon dwindled away, the soldiers mutinying and deserting for want of pay. The *Grisons*, to a man, left the Imperial general, who was reduced to seven thousand men, and forced to retire: upon which, the *Venetians*, advancing as far as *Trent*, laid waste the country, and took some towns and forts of little consequence. *Maximilian*, being in great want of men and money, daunted likewise with the loss of *Frieste*, and the success of the republic, made overtures for a peace. After some altercation, a congress was fixed to sit at *Venice*. The emperor's commissioners were the bishop of *Trent*, and *Lorentano* his secretary. *Lewis* appointed *Trivulzio* and *Charles Godfrey* to attend; and the affairs of the republic were committed to *Zachary Contareni*, a person in great esteem. The great point which the Imperial commissioners laboured was to disunite the *French* and *Venetians*. To succeed the better in this, they promised *Contareni* to make him acquainted with the nature of the late secret treaty between the emperor and the king, if he would, on the other hand, renounce the alliance of *Lewis*. This proposition was rejected by the *Venetian* with disdain, who declared he would conquer or die with his allies³. The Imperialists, finding themselves disappointed in this project, made another proposal, which was accepted, though in its consequences it answered the emperor's purpose as well as the former. This was, that a truce of three years should take place, including the three powers concerned in the *Italian* war, in order to settle preliminaries for a general peace: that in the mean time all conquests should remain in the hands of the possessors, who should have the liberty of fortifying all the places which they retained after peace was concluded. *Contareni* did not dislike this proposal, but he desired leave to consult the senate before he returned an answer.

Trieſte
taken by the
Venetians.

² BARRE Hist. Allem. t. 8. p. 2.
BEMB. l. 4.

³ GUIC. l. 5. etiam

This circumstance, which occasioned the warmest disputes, was obviously calculated as a bait for *Contareni* to draw him from the alliance of *France*, since *Lewis* reaped nothing by the war, and the emperor had lost by it dominion as well as reputation. The *French* commissioners not only refused their assent to this article, but likewise to accede to the truce unless it was made general, and the duke of *Gueldres*, whose ruin *Maximilian* had planned, was included ^b.

The senate's instructions to *Contareni* were, that he should close in with the proposals of the Imperialists; that he should endeavour to get *Trivulcio* and *Godfrey* to sign them, but upon their refusal conclude a separate truce, with this proviso, that six months should be granted to the *French* plenipotentiaries to determine. Upon this *Contareni* shewed so much eagerness and zeal to finish the truce, as made the *French* plenipotentiaries suspect the republic had very little regard to the interest of her allies; and that they were the dupes of her politics in the late alliance, which had not produced a single advantage to ballance the expences of the war: however, the treaty was concluded, and the *French* left to complain of the ingratitude of the republic, and the cunning of *Maximilian* ^c.

IN this measure the senate certainly mistook their aim, as appeared by the consequences. Nothing could be more contrary to the true interest of *Venice* than a rupture with a monarch the most powerful and natural protector of the republic. *Lewis*, by the acquisition of *Milan*, had a strong interest in preserving the rights and privileges of the *Venetians*, and fighting their cause against all enemies. Their contiguity to his duchy made them the natural guaranties of it, and this again obliged him to protect them by means of the large army which he necessarily kept on foot in *Italy*; but the issue is the best proof of the misconduct of the senate ^d.

ALVIANA, after having giving orders concerning the fortifications of *Goritz* and other conquests, returned to *Venice*, where triumphal honours were decreed him. The order was new, and it is difficult to assign the senate's motives for falling in so late with a practice they had so long neglected. The most probable reason is, that they accommodated the reward to the disposition and genius of the general, who esteemed nothing so much as glory, and thought all his services sufficiently repaid by honours which distinguished him above others. *Barre* alleges, that this instance of vanity considerably forwarded the league against the republic. Undoubtedly the

^b COMMINES, p. 126.
Hist. d'Allem. part 2.

^c GUICCIARD. p. 475.

^d BARRE
emperor

emperor was greatly piqued at so open a declaration of victory, which he thought a blot upon his own glory, as well as a reflexion on the empire; and it is certain that he determined upon vengeance, and even to smother his resentment against *France*, in order to wipe off this disgrace. But the great spring of the league of *Cambrai* was *Lewis's* indignation: he complained to *Condémère*, the *Venetian* ambassador, of the injury done him by concluding a separate treaty; of the ingratitude and selfish motives of the republic; and even dropt some menaces which plainly indicated his intentions of seeking revenge.

To ascertain precisely the justice of the claims made by each of the powers engaged in this league, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of the government of *Italy* for some ages. Before *France* and *Spain* got footing in *Italy*, the popes were the common arbiters among the different states; rather spiritual than temporal sovereigns. In a few centuries they lost great part of the dominions of the church; and in the time of *Otho* the first the patrimony of *St. Peter's* was composed of the city of *Rome* and its appendages, some of the maritime parts of *Tuscany*, the duchy of *Spolatta*, marquissate of *Ancona*, *Ravenna*, all *Romagnia*; and in general those dominions contained under the exarchat. During the broils between the *Gauls* and *Gibellines*, the emperor deprived the holy see of all *Tuscany*, and several other places. In fine, after the pope's dominions had been dismembered, the emperor *Rodolph* the first fold liberty to most of the cities of *Italy*, who gladly embraced the opportunity of throwing off both the imperial and papal yokes. In consequence, the most powerful soon reduced under their dominion the weaker cities; while in their turn they fell under the tyranny of certain families, who had acquired power and influence. In this manner did many petty states of *Italy* acquire sovereignty, and within their respective jurisdictions, all the power formerly lodged in the emperors and pontiffs.

A. D.
1509.

DURING the pontificate of *Alexander* the sixth, the dominions of the church were still more retrenched, though the pope preserved the right of sovereignty over many places of which he had lost the property: among these were *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Faenza*, *Urbino*, *Ferrara*, *Frivola*, *Rimini*, *Perussia*, *Pesara*, and *Cesana*. Notwithstanding these losses the popes still, by means of their spiritual authority, were powerful, this giving them great influence over their neighbours, and drawing considerable revenues from all the christian princes.

* Foug. l. 10. d. 4.

R 3

When

When *Lewis* the twelfth succeeded to the dukedom of *Milan*, and *Ferdinand* got possession of the crown of *Naples*, a thorough change was introduced in the affairs of *Italy*: then the temporal power of the pontiffs was wholly absorbed in the authority of those powerful monarchs, who, besides their dominions in *Italy*, were the sovereigns of other considerable kingdoms. The popes tried every method to expel them out of *Italy*; but, unable to effect this by their own force, they fomented divisions and jealousies between them, in order to weaken both. Even this policy was found ineffectual, as the power of the one encreased in proportion as that of the other was diminished. For a series of years this was the sole aim of the politics of the court of *Rome*: some times foreigners were called in to incline the scale; but it was remarkable that hereby no advantage ensued to the holy see, as the superiority which was given to one party was more destructive of the papal influence than the equal balance before mentioned.

It must also be considered, that besides the general interests of the see of *Rome*, every pope had his particular views and interests, that of aggrandizing their families, and raising to high dignities their brothers, nephews, or natural children. *Alexander* the sixth, for instance, formed a plan for making *Cesar Borgia*, his bastard, a powerful temporal prince. For the execution of this design it was that *Borgia*, either by fraud or force, became master of *Perusia*, *Urbino*, *Frivola*, *Faenza*, *Rimini*, &c. under pretence that the possessors had not properly acknowledged the tributes and services to the holy see: however, after the death of *Alexander*, his son, who then was not firmly established in his usurpation, lost these dominions which reverted to the lawful proprietors.

JULIUS the second was no sooner raised to the papal dignity than he formed the same scheme in favour of the house of *Rovera*: for this purpose it was insinuated to the *Venetians*, that his intention was to re-unite to the church all those places alienated from it; with this view he desired they would surrender *Faenza* and *Rimini*. On their refusal he demanded the assistance of the emperor *Maximilian*, which was the first step towards the league of *Cambray*.

As to the *Venetians*, they had long been the admiration and wonder of mankind, on account of the wisdom of their senate, esteemed the most politic body on earth, and the prodigious pitch of naval power to which they arrived. It was by their prudence, industry, and address, that they gradually established a very considerable territory on the continent, supported by a strong maritime power, in the latter superior to
any

any state in *Europe*, and in the former upon a footing with the most formidable potentates of *Italy*. The *Venetian* dominions on the continent at this time consisted of the provinces of *Friuli*, the *Trevisan*, the *Bergamese*, the *Veronese*, the *Brescian*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Rovigo*, with their dependencies, the *Cremonese*, the *Polesin*, *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*; all of which provinces and cities had formerly constituted a part of the kingdom of *Italy*. Afterwards they became subject to the emperors, whose vicars in time assumed the reins of sovereignty: these being in course of time expelled, the cities recovered their liberty, only to fall under a more petty tyranny, in which state they existed when the *Venetians*, either by measures of force or policy, annexed them to their dominions.

ALTHOUGH the imperial sovereignty was no longer acknowledged, yet it is certain the emperors never ceded their pretensions to those places. The *Germanic* body often put in their claim, founding their right upon the sovereignty of *Otho* the first, and of several of his successors, over *Italy*. Thus there was hardly a city or province belonging to the republic, to which the emperor did not claim an original right; and the popes and kings of *France*, pretensions of a later date, either as superiors of the church, or dukes of *Milan*.

FRIULI was annexed by *Otho* the first to the see of *Aquileia*; *Ravenna*, *Faenza*, and *Rimini*, had been a part of the holy see; *Rovigo* and the *Polesin* were dependencies on the dutchy of *Ferrara*; *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda* belonged to the dutchy of *Milan*, and were ceded to the republic by *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*; *Brescia*, by the right of war, was likewise annexed to the *Milanese*, under the *Viscontis*; and *Crema* had voluntarily submitted to *Sforza*, the succeeding duke: besides, the five maritime cities held by the republic in *Naples*, proved extremely irksome to that prince, notwithstanding he had solemnly renounced them, in consideration of the assistance of the *Venetians* against the *French* king.

FROM this view of *Italy* we see another cause of the formidable league now formed. *Italy* was divided among six different princes and states, viz. the pope, the king of *France* as duke of *Milan*, the king of *Arragon* and *Naples*, the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the duke of *Ferrara*; this latter deriving his security from the mutual jealousy of the *Venetians* and the holy see. To these may be added the emperor *Maximilian*, who, without possessing an inch of ground in *Italy*, laid claim to all that belonged to his ancestors, and more particularly to the *Venetian* dominions on the continent. Thus did seven powers imagine themselves interested in a partition of the territory of the republic, and of consequence in her destruction.

Rise of the
league of
Cambray.

tion. *Maximilian* was eager to possess some place which would secure him an entrance into *Italy*, in order to re-establish the imperial power. *Julius* the second, as we have observed, had formed the project of re-uniting to the church the places dismembered from it; a design which could not be compassed without the ruin of the republic, ever attentive to oppose the aggrandizement of her neighbours. *Lewis* the twelfth repented his having ceded the *Cremonese* and *Ghiaradadda*, carefully watching an opportunity to reclaim those places, as well as the *Bergamese*, *Brescian*, and whatever formerly appertained to the duchy of *Milan*. *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, without having money to pay for them, was desirous of getting these five maritime towns out of the hands of the republic; the duke of *Ferrara* longed to recover *Rovigo* and the *Polesin*; and lastly, the *Florentines*, incensed at the assistance the *Venetians* had afforded to *Pisa*, joined with pleasure in a league which was likely to give them the dominion of this city, and at least deprive it of the aid of *Venice* (A).

Conditions
of the
league.

THESE were the true motives of the league concluded at *Cambrai*. Cardinal *Amboise*, and *Margaret* of *Austria*, governess of the *Netherlands*, met to settle preliminaries. She was invested by *Maximilian* with full powers to finish a treaty, upon such conditions as she thought proper. *Margaret* and the cardinal struck up a league to the following effect^f, that the pope, the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *Arragon*, should mutually aid and assist each other for the recovery of all those places usurped by the *Venetians*; that *Ravenna*, *Corvia*, *Rimini*, *Faenza*, and the other towns of *Flaminia*, should belong to the pope; that *Verona*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, the *Trevisan*, *Friuli*, and all the country bordering on the *Adriatic*, should be restored to *Maximilian*; that the *Brescian*, the *Bergamese*, *Cremonese*, *Crema*, *Ghiaradadda*, and all the ancient dependencies of *Milan*, should be ceded to *France*; and that *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* should have the towns of *Apulia*, ceded to the *Venetians* by the late alliance. It was farther stipulated,

^f Hist. de la Ligue de Cambrai, t. r. l. i. Edit. P. Paris. BEMBO, l. 7.

(A) The *Florentines*, notwithstanding their acceding to the league, made no great figure: they were at that time harrassed with civil divisions, which prevented their taking part in the politics of *Italy*. Nor did the

duke of *Ferrara* prove of any great use before the time that *Julius*, renouncing the league and breaking with *Lewis*, attacked his ally the duke of *Ferrara*.—B. l. 7.

that

that their armies should take the field in *April*; and, to obviate the difficulty of the truce for three years, which the emperor had concluded with the republic, that the pope should summon him as protector of the church, to his assistance; that in the mean time the other three powers should attack the *Venetians* with all their forces, the pope all the while thundering out anathemas and excommunications against them, if they refused to restore what they had unjustly usurped. It was farther agreed, that the kings of *England* and *Hungary*, the dukes of *Savoy* and *Ferrara*, together with the marquis of *Mantua*, should be invited to join in this alliance; that during the course of this war the emperor, or his son the prince of *Spain*, should in no shape molest the king of *Arragon*, touching the pretensions of the young prince to *Castile* in the sight of his mother; that *Maximilian* should grant a new investiture to *Lewis* of the duchy of *Milan*, comprehending all the above-mentioned dependencies; that if the republic should have recourse for assistance to the *Turks*, in this case the allies should redouble their efforts, and esteem the present confederacy a league against infidels; that no party should conclude either truce or peace without the joint consent of all the allies; and lastly, that no differences between the emperor and *Ferdinand* might arise to disturb this alliance, arbiters were chosen amicably to terminate their disputes^s (B).

THUS was the league of *Cambray* concluded, the most formidable confederacy *Europe* had ever beheld, and kept so secretly that the senate had not the least suspicion of the impending storm. Cardinal *Bembo* relates, that the *Venetian* ambassador in *France* asked the king the purport of that long congress at *Cambray*, and received for answer the most solemn assurances that nothing was intended against the republic, for whom he had the sincerest esteem; an answer which the minister reported to the senate, and by that means confirmed their security.

POPE *Julius*, in the mean time, weighing with himself the consequences of this league, and the probability that it might establish in *Italy* a power more formidable to the papal authority than the *Venetian*, began to enter upon measures for

^s GUICCIARD. l. 8.

(B) According to *Bembo*, spring 1509, possibly meaning the time when it was ratified by *Barre*, and *Guicciardini*, the league was signed in *October*, the pope, and acceded to by 1508, though *Sansevino*, whose the king of *Arragon*, and the chronology we have followed in the duke of *Savoy*.

recovering

recovering the towns of *Romagnia*, without acceding to the league^b. For this purpose he insinuated to *Bodoario*, the *Venetian* resident at *Rome*, that if the senate would yield *Rimini* and *Faenza* to him, he would not only break off from the confederacy, but prevail on *Maximilian* to follow his example. *Constantine*, a *French* refugee, was employed to insinuate this affair to *Bodoario*, who tampered so artfully with the refugee; that he drew from him the whole secret, and every particular of the league, which he immediately transmitted to the senate! The pope's proposal was then debated in a full assembly, and rejected with indignation.

French
ambassador
ordered to
leave Ve-
nice

IN the mean time *Stella*, who had long resided at the emperor's court, and enjoyed his friendship, was dispatched to *Maximilian* to endeavour to disengage him from the alliance; but this point miscarrying, the republic thought seriously of making preparations¹. The *French* ambassador was ordered to quit the city, and *Gondelmere* was recalled. *Lewis*, on his departure, either out of personal esteem or policy, presented him with a gold chain of great value, which the ambassador refused, saying, that he never accepted the favours of those who were enemies to *Venice* (C). An army of eight thousand heavy armed cavalry, three thousand light horse, and thirteen thousand foot, was levied, two thousand of whom were auxiliaries from *Epirus*. At the same time the senate issued orders for equipping a considerable fleet, both to make incursions upon the coasts of *Naples* and defend their own harbours. *Andrew Bodoario* was likewise dispatched to *England*, to solicit succours from that monarch, or prevail on him to make a descent on *France*. *Bodoario* had resided long at the court of *London*, and was perfectly skilled in the *English* language. A treaty likewise was struck up with four of the *Swiss* cantons, in consideration of a subsidy of two hundred pounds weight in silver, to be paid them annually for the space of ten years.

DURING these preparations pope *Julius* ratified the league with *Maximilian* and the *French* king; but with this proviso,

^b BEMB. l. 7. GUIC. l. 8.
ad Anno 1509.

¹ BEMB. *ibid.* etiam BARON.

(C) *Bembo* says, that the senate likewise recalled the *Venetian* envoy at *Milan*, who was told by *Trivulcio*, the *French* governor, when he took his leave, "Sir, I am ashamed of my country, my king, and

" the unjust war he has undertaken against the republic, faithful to her promises. My master's orders must be obeyed, but you may always depend on my esteem." L. 7. p. 295.

that

that he should be the last to commence hostilities : the duke of Savoy also acceded to the proposals made to him, and became a confederate against the republic, with the flattering expectations of having the island of Cyprus yielded to him in the partition to be made of the Venetian dominions. *Maximilian* was raising money for the war in the Netherlands ; *Lewis* had levied an army of five thousand horse and two thousand foot, with which he entered Italy in the month of April ; the king of Arragon was busy in raising forces and equipping a fleet ; and the pope had got together an army of ten thousand men, rather to be spectators of the event than to engage in the quarrel (for still he was endeavouring by negotiation to procure the cession of Faenza and Rimini) at the same time that he was playing his spiritual weapons against the republic. He began with laying the Venetians under an interdict, while the senate paying, as usual, but little regard to the thunder of the vatican, assembled an army little inferior in number to the confederates, but raw and undisciplined. Count *Petellian* was appointed general, *Bartolemeo Alviata* lieutenant-general, and *Georgio Cornelio* and *Andrea Gritti* proveditors * (D). *Petellian* was an officer of great prudence and experience, *Alviata* of fire and courage : their sentiments generally clashed, and the issue of the first engagement was unfortunate, but perfectly consistent with the dispositions of those two officers. The latter accused the former of cowardice, while he in his turn reproached *Alviata* with rashness and temerity. *Petellian* was for disposing the army in such a manner as to protect the frontiers and country of *Ghiaradadda* ; *Alviata* proposed carrying terror and desolation into the Milanese and the enemy's country. The senate joined in opinion with the former, well knowing, says *Bembo*, that nothing can withstand the impetuosity and first fury of a French army (E).

* BARRE ad Anno 1508.

(D) *Bembo* observes, upon this occasion, that in the time of *Foscari* an edict of the senate passed, that no proveditor should be chosen under the age of 55 years, that being an office which required maturity of judgment and experience. P. 300. l. 7.

(E) This admirable historian would seem to be characterizing the genius of that nation at this day, " The French, says he, " of all men are the most vigorous and alert upon a first attack ; but little able to support the labour, the fatigue, and hardships of a campaign. " All fire and spirit, their courage languishes if it fails of success in the first attempt, " either for want of a sufficient degree of bodily strength, or " mental fortitude." L. 2. p. 79.

BEFORE

A. D.
1509.
War de-
clared by
France
against
the Vene-
tians.

BEFORE *Lewis* entered *Italy* he sent a herald to *Venice* to denounce war, and published an edict commanding all his subjects in the *Venetian* dominions to withdraw on pain of death. The senate opposed this edict by a decree, forbidding all artizans and useful members of society to depart, under the penalty of close imprisonment and confiscation of goods and chattels. This had its effect, and preserved to the republic a great number of valuable mechanics : leave was likewise granted to the *German* merchants to trade as usual into their dominions, notwithstanding the state was at war with the emperor, and every step and precaution taken that could possibly enable them to weather the terrible storm impending. The *French* herald, lest his menaces might terrify the people, was met without the city, and introduced into the senate, where he spoke his declaration with great bitterness and pride. The doge answered him with a composure and gravity that astonished the *Frenchman* : he told him, that the infidelity of which their master accused the republic belonged properly to himself ; but as the *Venetians* were not accustomed to make war with their tongues, they doubted not but the justice of their cause would furnish them with weapons more becoming their dignity, and worthy of the perfidy of his master¹.

THE king's forces were now entered the frontiers of *Italy*, and *Chaumont*, with a body of three thousand horse and six thousand foot, crossing the *Adda*, advanced directly to *Trevigio*, which he took, plundered, and destroyed, having made prisoners one thousand *Venetian* infantry that composed the garrison. The marquis of *Mantua* laid siege to *Cassel-Maggiore*, which he had surrendered to him, and in consequence a number of other places of less importance. The *Venetian* army advancing obliged *Chaumont* to repair the river, after which *Petellian* retook *Trevigio* before *Lewis* could arrive from *Milan* to its assistance. Both armies remained for some days within a small distance of each other, *Lewis* desirous of coming to a battle, and the *Venetian* general of avoiding one : at last the king, finding means to cut off the communication between the *Venetians*, the *Cremonese* and *Crema*, whence they were supplied with provisions, forced *Petellian* to a motion which produced a battle. The *French* van attacked the rear of the *Venetians* where *Alviana* commanded, and were received with so much spirit and resolution, that being soon put in confusion, they must have retreated had not the king sent a strong reinforcement to their relief. The action was now renewed with fresh vigour, *Alviana* perform-

¹ BEMB. 1. 8.

ing wonders, and exposing himself to the greatest dangers : he placed six field-pieces upon an eminence, from whence they played with great success upon the enemy ; but at last the *Venetians* were oppressed with numbers, and constrained to quit the field with precipitation. Had he been properly seconded by *Petellian*, it is more than probable *Alviana* would have been victorious, notwithstanding *Lewis* and his troops behaved with great courage : a wound he received, which disabled him and occasioned his falling into the enemy's hands, was another cause of the defeat of the *Venetian* army^m, whose loss on this occasion amounted to five thousand men, which was nearly equalled by that of the enemy.

THOUGH this victory was glorious to *Lewis*, and attended with important consequences, yet was it by no means general, as *Petellian* and the greater part of the *Venetian* army was not engaged, that old general retiring in good order, and imagining he had discharged his whole duty in rigidly following the senate's directions to avoid a battle, though by succouring his lieutenant he might have gained a complete victory ; and, indeed, his conduct was greatly applauded at *Venice*, where he was regarded as a second *Fabius* in caution and wisdomⁿ.

AFTER this battle, fought on the fourteenth of *May* 1509, *Lewis* marched to *Caravaggio*, which he took by capitulation, and soon after received the submission of *Brescia* (F) and *Bergame*. The rapidity of his conquests made the senate try

^m BEMBO. *ibid.* etiam BARON.

ⁿ BARRE *Hist. Allem.*

(F) We know not how to reconcile this fact, asserted by all the other historians, with what *Bembo* relates of the fidelity and public spirit of the *Brescians*, and the defeat of the *French* at *Caravaggio* (1). *Guicciardini* (2), *Baronius* (3), *Mariana* (4), and *Barre* (5), assert, that those places surrendered to *Lewis*, after a short resistance. *Bembo*, on the contrary, takes no notice of the siege of *Brescia* till the following year ; he even says, that the *Brescians* raised an army, at their own expence, of

six thousand men ; and that *Lodovico Avagori* alone levied a troop of six hundred horse, an example which was soon followed by *Verona*. As to *Caravaggio*, he mentions the siege, and says the *French* were shamefully repulsed. It is possible that he relates this of the resistance it made to *Chaumont* ; though other historians say, that he repassed the *Adda* after he took *Treviglio* ; and that the *Brescians* might have raised this army before the battle.

(1) *Lib.* 7.

(2) *Lib.* 9.

(3) *Sub. loc. Ant.*

(4) *Lib.* 8.

(5) *Tom.* 2. 922.

The senate
makes pro-
posals to
the pope
and em-
peror.

once more to effect a reconciliation with the pope and emperor : they wrote to the cardinals *Grimani* and *Cornari*, both *Venetians*, at *Rome*, to offer his holiness the cession of *Faenza* and *Rimini*. Proposals equally advantageous were made to the emperor, the senate having commissioned *Antonio Justiniano* to inform him, that they would surrender *Trieste*, *Portonovo*, and all the places taken from him the preceding year, and acknowledge his sovereignty in *Friuli*, *Lombardy*, and the country anciently called *Venetia*. The emperor would hear of no terms, and the pope recovered *Faenza*, *Ravenna*, and the other towns to which he laid claim, in consequence of the late victory ; so that the republic was forced to redouble her endeavours to prosecute the war. *Loretano*, the doge, sent a message to *Paolo Barbo*, a procurator of *St. Mark's*, who, by reason of his age, had not attended the senate for a great number of years, to come and assist them with his advice. Accordingly the good old patriot, calling for his senatorial robes, was conveyed into the senate, and no sooner set down than he spoke to this effect : ‘ Though infirm in body and mind he immediately obeyed the summons of his prince and country, to lend them all the small help in his power, and offer such advice as the situation of affairs would admit ; but, says he, through so thick a cloud of misfortunes what human eye can pretend to penetrate ? The circumstances of the state are really lamentable, broken and exhausted, where can it look round for succour ! Yet there is an immortal and just God, the avenger of perfidy and broken vows ; him neither the arms of men can terrify, nor cunning deceive : his providence has often relieved us under our most pressing afflictions, and will not fail still to do so while we confide in him, and preserve the measures of justice, and dictates of reason and religion.’ He then descended to particulars, advising the speedy augmentation of their army and fleet, and the raising supplies^o : but the progress of the *French* conquests confounded the wisest resolutions of the senate, all the provinces and towns stipulated by the treaty of *Cambray* to belong to the king and the holy see being already reduced (G). The *Polesin* was yielded to the

^o BEMB. l. 8. GUICCIARD. l. 9.

(G) A circumstance, attested by all the historians, reflects great honour on the *Venetians*. They refused the assistance offered them by the Grand Seig-

nior ; and though reduced to the utmost extremities, resolved to suffer every distress rather than give their ancient enemies, the infidels, a footing in *Italy*.

duke

duke of *Ferrara*; the towns of *Azole* and *Lunet* to the marquis of *Mantua*; and the emperor's army, commanded by the duke of *Brunswic*, was in the very heart of *Friuli*, after having reduced the cities *Trieste*, *Feltre*, and *Belluni*. Besides these losses, the republic sustained others from new enemies, each of whom hoped to profit by her misfortunes and share in the spoils. The earl of *Sadron* had seized upon certain castles and towns, contiguous and convenient for him; and the bishop of *Trente* reduced *Riva di Trente* and *Agresta*, to which he had no other pretensions than what opportunity afforded. *Padua* and *Trevifo* alone remained firm to the republic in her distress: the former raised the sum of sixty pounds weight of gold for the payment of the army; the other, though abandoned by the *Venetian* garrison, drove out the emperor's commissioner, and again erected the *Venetian* standard: however, these instances of fidelity were so rare, that the senate had once thoughts of intirely abandoning the continent, imagining that by this measure only they could preserve the city ^P.

BUT nobler resolutions soon took place of these gloomy reflections. Orders were issued for fortifying the city; engineers were appointed to examine the places where forts and outworks were requisite; batteries were erected at all the fords; a militia was raised, and fleet equipped, for the safety of *Venice*: magazines were formed, and every precaution taken as if a siege was expected. Nor indeed was the conjecture ill founded; for *Maximilian* had actually proposed to invest the city, but was forced to lay aside the design, on account of *Berdiand's* refusal to succour him with a fleet ¹. He then directed the prince of *Brunswic* to lay siege to *Padua*: some historians alledge that he led the army thither in person. This *Padua besieged*. city was invested by an army of forty thousand horse and foot: the trenches were soon opened, the batteries began to play with great fury, and several breaches were made in the walls, which the Imperialists stormed, but always with little success. *Petellian* commanded in the city, and the *Paduans* were even emulous of distinguishing themselves in the service of the republic. The enemy were repulsed in every assault with great loss; but still continuing their resolution either to perish or subdue the city, *Petellian* assembled the inhabitants, and after animating and exhorting them to perseverance, received an oath of eternal fidelity to the republic. The emperor having placed a battery of cannon of enormous weight against the bastion of *Codolonga*, continued to play upon it for some successive days without intermission: having at last ef-

^P BARON, ad A. 1509. ¹ BEMB. et GUIC. ibid.

Stormed,
and the
siege raised.

sected a breach, orders were given to a strong body of choice troops for storming. They were obeyed, and the breach mounted with great resolution, and defended with equal courage. The engagement was long and bloody, when at length the Imperialists were totally routed, with prodigious slaughter, and the loss of many prisoners of the first distinction : upon this the emperor, despairing of success, raised the siege with precipitation, and retired to *Limini*, after he had lain twenty days before *Padua*†.

THIS happy event inspired the republic with courage ; it was the first they had experienced during the war, but it sufficiently proved what courage was able to effect, and that the enemy was not invincible. *Maximilian's* return into *Germany*, and some growing differences between the pope and *Lewis* the twelfth increased their reviving hopes : his holiness had never heartily espoused the league, and above all things dreaded the extension of the *French* dominions in *Italy* : he now acquired, by a sudden revolution of affairs, the patrimony of the church which he claimed, and this point gained, his enmity to the republic ceased : he would even have repealed the interdict, had not the ambassadors of *France* and *Aragon* strongly insisted upon the performance of his engagements*.

The Venetians recover Vicenza.

IN the mean time the *Venetians*, willing to make the most of the dissensions among the confederates, sent the proveditor *Gritti* with a body of forces to *Vicenza*, upon some assurances that the citizens were desirous of the *Venetian* government. *Gritti* was immediately admitted into the city, to the great joy of all the inhabitants, who compelled the prince of *Anhalt* to retire with the garrison into the citadel, which likewise, after a siege of four days, was surrendered : their fleet at the same time entering the *Po* scoured the enemy's country on both sides as far as the lake of *Sourra*.

IT was high time that fortune should begin to smile on the republic ; the extreme rapidity of the enemy's conquests, and the suddenness of their losses, threatened the city with civil disturbances. The people exclaimed loudly against the senate for having so easily quitted towns, won to the republic by the blood of their ancestors : they said, that if some towns had been terrified out of their allegiance, and others subdued by force of arms, that was no reason for abandoning others which were able and willing to withstand the enemy. *Verona* was no less firm to the *Venetians* than *Padua* had shewn itself ; but, deserted by the garrison, the inhabitants esteemed it an act of obedience to the republic to submit to the emperor.

† GUIC. l. 10. BEMB. l. 8.

* MOREVA Hist. l. 15.

They

They were mistaken, the people said, who imagined the enemy were to be appeased by humility, which only encreased their insolence; and having easily gained a part, were by that induced to seek the conquest of the whole republic: but if some places were yielded to *Lewis* in consequence of his victory, and on account of the power and strength of his army, how came others to be surrendered to the emperor and the pope, before they had struck one blow? Or, how came overtures to this effect to be made to them, who were as impotent in their friendship as they were contemptible in their enmity?

To these and other complaints the senate answered, that, like prudent mariners in danger of shipwreck, they had lightened the ship of part of her cargo, with a view to preserve the remainder and their lives; that such towns only were ceded as by reason of their distance could not be defended; that they were tubs thrown out to the whale, to stop the progress of an enemy they were unable with their broken forces to resist; and that the event had plainly proved the wisdom of such measures, since the pope's ambition being gratified there was more than a probability he might soon be gained. These incipient disputes might have risen to a dangerous height, if some lucky strokes of fortune had not intervened and put the people in a good humour. *Basciana, Feltra*, and some other places were recovered, and their army marched to reduce the *Polesm*, which in a short time it effected: the *Venetians* then separated in three divisions, for the greater security of the towns in their possession; for *Chaumont* had advanced to *Vincenza* with a strong detachment. The duke of *Ferrara* was in the utmost distress, being cooped up on all sides by the *Venetian* fleet and army; but the arrival of *Chaumont* relieved and inspirited him. An attack was made with such vigour on the fleet, that, unable to withstand the enemy's efforts, the *Venetians* were put in confusion, and the admiral *Trevifano* obliged to save himself in a skiff.

A. D.
1510.

Thus ended the siege of *Ferrara*, after it had been successfully pushed for near a month, and the city on the point of surrendering. *Loretto* soon fell into the enemies hands; and *Padua*, owing to the differences among the leading citizens, surrendered to the emperor, without the formality of a siege, after it had withstood his utmost efforts. Some proposals for a truce were now made to the *Venetians* by *Maximilian*; and the emperor having obtained what he at first demanded, would have gladly ended a war which his finances

* BEMB. ibid.

* BEMB. l. 9. MARIAN. l. 17.

could not support: but the *Austrian* pride subdued all his policy, and made him insist on terms too arrogant for the republic to grant even in her state of humiliation. The pope was disappointed that the treaty with him was broke off; for, jealous of the *French*, he had formed a scheme to join the *Venetians*, if the republic would have rid herself of so formidable an enemy as *Maximilian* *. Ever true to his own interest, *Julius* had no regard to public faith, or private honour. Ambition and avarice were his predominant passions; in which all the others, together with justice, truth, and virtue, were absorbed.

In the mean while the senate formed a project for the recovery of *Padua*, which was conducted with so much address, that it succeeded beyond expectation, and even probability. The resolution was taken, after long and warm debates in the senate, to send *Gritti* with an army thither, and rely upon the affections of the inhabitants, who by this time were probably tired of the Imperial yoke. Some alledged such an attempt would, in all probability, terminate only in increasing the emperor's indignation, and more closely uniting him with his allies, already too powerful: that if the attempt succeeded, the republic could not long expect to retain the conquest, since, without doubt, the allies would employ all their strength to recover a place so necessary to their farther schemes. The doge and majority were of this opinion, which was opposed by the nobler resolution of *Molini* and several other senators: they affirmed that the republic would be wanting to itself, if it omitted any opportunity of recovering those cities so unjustly taken from them; that the apprehensions of rousing the enemy, and heightening their resentment, was vain, since they were actuated more by views of ambition and interest than of pique; that at all events the senate was using the means, and whatever the issue might prove, they could not fail of the applause of their own hearts, in having pursued measures worthy of the honour, the dignity of the commonwealth, and of the memory of their ancestors. "I am not, says *Molini*, so much terrified by the prodigious power of the confederacy formed against us; circumstances of a similar nature have happened to all flourishing states: but it grieves me to see our own fears of more dangerous consequence than all the strength of our enemies; that we cringe and supplicate to arrogance and insolence, and render our city contemptible without making it secure. What friends have you made, what compassion have you excited by your mean ambassies and unworthy cession of

* BEMB. *ibid.* etiam GUICCIARD. l. 10.

" cities,

“ cities, before they had experienced the weight of the ene-
 “ my’s metal? None truly! esteem or pity cannot fall upon
 “ objects undeserving of them. These are affections which
 “ belong not to the coward, but to the brave, who persevere
 “ in combating misfortunes, and yield not hope but with life.
 “ You have fleets, you have superior skill in naval affairs,
 “ why do you not compensate your weakness on the conti-
 “ nent by your strength on the ocean? Why do you not ruin
 “ their shipping, destroy their ports, and carry desolation and
 “ death to their coasts? This has been the foundation of
 “ your wealth and power, and, believe me, it will ever remain
 “ your bulwark as long as you are wise enough to estimate
 “ the advantage. Shall it be said that *Venetians* were con-
 “ quered less by the cruelty of fortune and the strength of an
 “ enemy, than by their own pusillanimity and misconduct?
 “ But you remonstrate against the complaints of individuals,
 “ that the public interest must not be sacrificed to the good
 “ of private persons: but consider who those private persons
 “ are? They are the richest, the bravest, and the most
 “ faithful of your subjects; who, through the timidity and
 “ weakness of your measures, have been left a prey to despo-
 “ tism and ecclesiastical arrogance, more intolerable than
 “ the worst slavery. How is public liberty compatible with
 “ private slavery? Do you not, by abandoning the interests,
 “ and declining the offers of the *Paduans* in particular, re-
 “ linquish your own interest, honour, and the reputation of
 “ the state? Is not the public wealth made up of private
 “ riches? Are not our fleets and armies now supported by
 “ the voluntary contributions of individuals? Did not the
 “ *Paduans* set the example; and, after having once returned
 “ their generosity with ingratitude, will you still continue
 “ blind to the dictates of true honour and humanity? I speak
 “ the more freely of this city, as the opportunity now offers
 “ of recovering it, and with it your own reputation; and
 “ likewise because I cannot be taxed with having any private
 “ view. You all know that I possess not one house in the
 “ city, or inch of ground in the *Paduan*; but my reputa-
 “ tion is inseparable from that of my country, and will ever
 “ be dearer to me than life.” He then touched every topic
 which could enlarge the understanding, or warm the hearts of
 his audience, and concluded with so much honest zeal and
 force of argument, that the senate was unanimous in attempt-
 ing the recovery of *Padua*. A decree was immediately passed
 for giving *Gritti* ample powers to transact this delicate busi-
 ness; and that nothing, in the mean time, might transpire

which could frustrate the attempt, they all bound themselves over to secrecy by a solemn oath².

Padua re-
covered.

GRITTI marched in the night towards *Padua*; and having conveyed some choice troops into waggons covered with straw, by their means, and under pretence they were a convoy of provisions, he seized upon a gate of the city; and pursuing his advantage, got possession of *Padua*. The Imperialists made a vigorous defence; but *Gritti*, joined by the greater part of the inhabitants, totally defeated them, making near two thousand prisoners. Thus, by the advice of *Molini*, and address of *Gritti*, the republic became once more possessed of the most valuable city, on account of its vicinity, she had upon the continent. The recovery of *Padua* was attended with all the happy consequences which *Molini* had predicted: the public clamour was appeased, and the pope, observing that the republic was not to be terrified by the power of the league, relaxed his severity, and regarded the *Venetians* as the only barrier against the power of *France*. The first favourable step his holiness took, was to grant the republic absolution. *Maximilian* and *Lewis* laboured hard to divert him from this purpose; but it was necessary to the plan formed, and nothing could induce *Julius* to deviate from what he esteemed his interest. He even proceeded farther: he permitted his subjects to enlist in the *Venetian* service; he granted *Paul Baillon* leave to command their army, in the room of *Petellian* deceased; he used all his influence in an indirect manner to induce *Maximilian* to quit the league; he laboured to prevail upon the *English* to declare war against *France*; and lastly, he drew off the *Swiss* from their alliance with *Lewis*, and even concluded a treaty between them and the *Venetians*. In this manner, and from a few spirited strokes, did the face of affairs receive a total and favourable alteration³.

THE *Venetians* being tempted by their good fortune at *Padua* to make a similar attempt on *Verona*, where they were also invited by the inhabitants, marched thither with great expedition and secrecy: but the ladders they applied to the walls being too short, they were discovered, and the enterprize frustrated, to the utter destruction of many of the principal citizens, who, upon suspicion, were put to death by the governor⁴. This accident did not put a stop to the treaty negotiating between *Julius* and the republic, which at length was concluded on these conditions, viz. That the *Ve-*

² BEMB. l. 9.

³ BEMB. ibid GUICC. l. 10. BARON.

⁴ BEMB. l. 9.

netians would cede their claim to the cities of *Romagnia* to his holiness; that they would renounce their right of placing a magistrate, whom they called *bisdomino*, in *Ferrara*; and that they would permit a free navigation to the subjects of the see in the gulph of *Venice*. *Treaty between the pope and Venetians*

INTELLIGENCE of this treaty coming to *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, they charged the pontiff with a breach of the league of *Cambray*; in which it was stipulated, that none of the parties should make peace with the republic but with the joint consent of his allies, and until all were reinstated in their possessions usurped by the *Venetians*. In short, they pressed him so hard, that, unable to deny the fact, he had recourse to equivocations, and other arts in which he was perfectly well versed; and at last promised to adhere to the articles of the treaty. But the performance of this agreement was very wide of his intentions: he had two grand projects in view, each of them diametrically opposite to the interest of those two monarchs. The first was to invade the dutchy of *Ferrara*, and the second to drive both *Lewis* and *Maximilian* out of *Italy*. This was the object of his late treaty with the republic; but he found her strength, united to his own, unequal to the enterprise, which made him labour to engage other powers in his interest, and conclude the treaty we have mentioned with the *Swiss*. He left nothing untried to induce the *Venetians* to come to a peace, upon any terms, with *Maximilian*, even at the expence of the *Trevisan* and *Padua*. He wrote to the senate, that no other means remained to expel the *French* out of *Italy*, but detaching them from the house of *Austria*; this once effected, it would be no difficult matter to recover the *Trevisan* and *Padua* from the emperor: in a word, he offered his mediation, and was accepted *.

A CONGRESS was appointed at *Scala*, to attend which *Ju- Congress*
lius sent the bishop of *Perusia*, an artful prelate, whom he had employed in a variety of intrigues. *for a peace* The *Venetians* offered to reimburse the emperor in the expences of the war: the sum was immense, and they doubted not but the poverty and avarice of *Maximilian* would gladly embrace the proposal. Their conjecture was well founded, but the event turned out different from their expectations from an unforeseen accident. *Maximilian* in his return to *Germany*, to attend the dyet at *Augsburg*, was grossly insulted by the *Venetian* peasants: some rustic jokes on his poverty so highly incensed him, that he vowed revenge, and to return the following spring. Deaf to his wants and his passion for money, he sent positive orders

to the bishop of Gurtz, his plenipotentiary at the congress, to accept of no terms less considerable than the entire cession of *Padua*, *Vincenza*, and the *Trevisan*, together with a reimbursement of the expences of the war. The bishop obeyed his orders, and the congress was dissolved ^b.

JULIUS sent a nuncio, and the *Venetians* certain agents privately to attend the nuncio, to the dyet, which sat in *January*. Their intrigues and opposition drew out the deliberations of this assembly to a great length, though in the end they could not prevent the states of *Germany* from concurring with the emperor's design to establish in *Italy* the ancient authority of the empire. The emperor was warmly supported by *Helian*, plenipotentiary from *Lewis* the twelfth. This minister spoke in the assembly with great vehemence; he pronounced against the *Venetians* a discourse full of fire and spirit, stamped with the marks of genius and erudition, rather than of truth. He laid before them the designs and artifices the republic had employed to possess herself of the dominion of *Italy*; he recited the different provinces usurped from other princes by the *Venetians*; he spoke of their usual ceremony of espousing the sea as an instance of their folly, arrogance, and presumption; he gave a long detail of their piracies on the ocean, and cruelty on the continent: he reminded the diet of their conduct to *Mahomet* the second; of their pride and haughtiness to the unfortunate *Paleologus*; their opposition to the holy league formed against the *Turks* by *Pius* the second; their treason against *Christendom*, in sending *Eugeneers* and *Gunners* to the king of *Calicut*, and persuading the *Dutch* to attack the *Portuguese* in the gulph of *Persia* (A). He told *Maximilian*, that unless he crushed that venomous serpent before she recovered her late blow, she would insinuate a poison into the empire, which would be the destruction of him and his successors; concluding this bitter invective with an earnest intreaty, that his Imperial majesty and the circles of the empire would unite to exterminate this odious republic. Enraged at the bitterness of this harangue,

^b BEMB. 1. 9.

(A) The reader will here observe a palpable anachronism, which we have inserted as we have found it in the *Spanish*, *French*, and *German* historians. Yet it is obvious that the *Dutch* had no knowledge of any part of *India* till the latter part of

the reign of *Charles* the fifth; nor was their company established for fourscore years after the diet of *Augsburg*, or a trade opened to the *East Indies*, before the oppression of the *Netherlands* by *Philip* the second.

the nuncio was going to reply, when unfortunately dropping some expressions severely reflecting upon *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, a confused noise arose in the diet, which was appeased by turning the nuncio out of doors, putting the republic under the ban of the empire, and renewing a treaty offensive and defensive with *France*.

JULIUS, incensed at the affront given himself in the person of his nuncio, immediately vented his spleen against the duke of *Ferrara*, the friend and ally of *Lewis*: a conduct that greatly perplexed the *French* monarch, who was desirous of keeping fair with the church. The *Venetians* turned this humour of his holiness to the advantage of the republic; they recovered, during the incursions of the pope's army into the territory of *Ferrara*, the towns of *Este*, *Monselesia*, *Montagnana*, *Marostica*, *Bassano*, and several other places. They laid siege to *Verona*, and were upon the point of carrying it, when *Chau-mont*, with a superior army, arrived to its relief, and obliged them to retreat: however, they found means even in their flight to reduce *Orzola*. Their fleet joined the pope's, to make an attempt upon *Genoa*; but returned without executing their design, upon finding the city prepared to receive them, and that no encouragement was given by the malcontents.

A. D.
1511.

The pope
breaks the
league.

In the mean time *Maximilian* was using all his influence to prevail on *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary*, to declare war upon the *Venetians*; but all he could procure were some menaces and a slender body of *Hungarian* auxiliaries. *Julius* kept no terms with the king of *France*; he even declared war against him, which obliged *Lewis* to unite himself more closely with *Maximilian*, and consult his clergy how far it was allowable to repel the insults of the pontiff. The clergy were unanimous, that if *St. Peter*, instead of his representative, were to attack the temporal rights of christian princes, they might in conscience defend themselves. Upon this *Lewis* renewed the pragmatic sanction; an example followed by *Maximilian*, who carried his views to the papal chair, the deposition of *Julius*, and succession to the papal dignity (B).

Declares
war on
Lewis and
the duke of
Ferrara.

* In Append. ad Hist. Venet. JUSTIN. Edit. Gerem.

Julius,

(B) This anecdote we find mentioned by no author besides *ron Liechtenstein*, to be found in a collection of letters by *Mariana* (1), excepting in *Maximilian's* own letters to the ba- *Lewis* the twelfth, published by Mr. *Godefrey*, director of the

(1) Hist. Hist. l. 30.

The Venetian fleet and the pope's army invest Ferrara.

Julius, not daunted with the chimerical projects of the emperor, pursued his resentment against *France*, in the person of the duke of *Ferrara*: he ordered his fleet to join the *Venetians*, and in conjunction to invest *Ferrara* on the side of the *Po*, while his army laid siege to it by land: but the duke's brave conduct frustrated the design, the fleet being twice defeated with considerable loss to the *Venetians*, who stood the brunt of the action, while the pope's fleet retired into a place of security^d.

The pope commands in person.

THE *Venetians* were likewise disappointed in a project formed against *Brescia*, which was discovered before it was ripe for execution: but they were more successful before *Concorda* and *Adirandola*, where they acted jointly with the pope's forces. The first place stood a siege of a few days only; but the last, being well provided with every necessary, made a brave defence. His holiness, thinking his presence might animate the troops, entered the trenches, contrary to the remonstrances of the cardinals, and even of the *Venetian* officers, who could not help blushing to see the head of God's church preside at a siege, and view the effusion of human blood sacrificed to his ambition: indeed, he neglected nothing which could forward the works or distress the besieged. At last a breach was effected, upon which the garrison hung out a flag of truce, and sent commissioners to his holiness with offers to submit if he would only spare their lives; a request he was with difficulty prevailed upon to grant^e.

ABOUT this time a cartel was settled, and an exchange of prisoners made between the *French* and *Venetians*, in which the numbers appeared pretty equal, as likewise did their reciprocal complaints of hard usage and cruelty. *Trevisano* the

^d BESS. l. 10. GUSCO. l. 9.

^e MARIAN. l. 29.

chamber of accounts in *Lips*. These are *Maximilian's* own words, "Quod quando ipse intellis, ingenti pecuniæ summa quæ impendenda erit, geri atque effici non posse, visum nobis est ére fore nostri propositi, ut cardinalibus et proceribus aliis *Romanis* quos ad res nostras pertrahere satagimus, polliceamur, ac spondamus tercentum millia ducatorum á *Fuggeris* mutandorum et *Romæ* ab eorundem

"ponelcha ad constitutum diem presentandorum. Op-
"pugnerabimus autem illi
"(*Jacobo Seil. Fuggero Seniori.*)
"clenodiorum nostrorum pretiosiores quatuor cistas, vera
"pariter cum pallio investiturali qui non ad imperium, sed
"ad nostrum domum *Austriacum* pertinet, et cujus nos, post
"adeptum papatum, non amplius erit ut opus habeamus."
Lettres de Louis xii. p. 326. t. 3.
Et p. 1. t. 4.

admi-

admiral, who commanded their fleet upon the *Po*, was banished for three years on account of his misconduct (C). He would have met with more severe punishment, says *Bembo*, had not the friends of other officers who likewise misbehaved, zealously exerted themselves in his behalf, fearing lest the inquiry might become general. This year likewise an edict of the senate passed for recalling all persons outlawed on account of murder or other crimes, on this condition, that they purchased their pardon by a future regular conduct, and by serving the state for six months at their own expence. Another law passed for raising the supplies by a tax on all who received daily, monthly, and annual pensions and pay, for mechanical services to the state: this was regulated in the proportion of a tenth of every man's income, if it exceeded a sum specified in the law. The council of ten passed a decree, entitling every citizen, who should pay twenty pounds weight of gold into the treasury, to the privileges of a senator for one year, except that of voting. This money might, after a time specified in the act, be applied after their death to the payment of their debts, and other such occasions, so that it might be looked upon as a kind of loan to the public. The decemvirs enacted another law, which was afterwards extended, viz. that no citizen whose son, brother, nephew, or near relation was an ecclesiastic, should be admitted into the senate when affairs which related to the pope and the church were debated. The intention of this law was to prevent the actions of the senate from being carried to the pope by those who might, in hopes of preferment, be induced to betray the secrets of their country. *Bembo* says, that this law was repealed the next year, but we find it afterwards renewed.

EARLY this year a fresh attempt was made upon *Genoa*, *Attempt on Genoa unsuccessful.* at the instigation of the pope. It proved equally unsuccessful with the former, and in its consequences more unfortunate; for the *Venetian* fleet was in its return greatly damaged by a storm, though none of the ships perished. *Verona* was

† BEMB. l. 10.

(C) He was permitted to return soon afterwards upon his promising to garrison and defend *Padua* for a month at his own charge. *Philip Morosini*, who was imprisoned for having dangerously wounded his cousin in a duel, was set at liberty on paying into the the treasury ten pounds of gold (1). To so great distress was the republic reduced, and so low were the finances, that crimes were purchased with money, and the laws sold by consent of the legislators.

(1) *Bemb. l. 10. c. 1. p. 422.*

also

also besieged in form ; but before a breach large enough to storm the city could be effected, the garrison was relieved by a strong detachment from *Trivulcio's* army, under the conduct of *Gaston de Foix*, who soon after made prisoners of three hundred *Venetian* horse ^g.

TRIVULCIO in the mean time advanced to *Bologna*, where *Julius* then was. The *French* had a strong party in the city, headed by the *Bentivoglios*, which induced *Trivulcio* to attempt the siege, and put the pope in great consternation for its safety. Determined to do every thing in his power for the defence of *Bologna*, he sent repeated orders to his general to come directly hither with his army, and, if possible, to gain a march upon *Trivulcio*. At the same time he assembled the chief citizens, reminded them of his kindness, exhorted, intreated, and animated them to a defence of their liberty, and the interest of the church. He was answered with assurances of zeal and affection for his person and the holy see ; upon which he retired to *Ravenna*, not caring to hazard the issue of a siege, and fully persuaded that the *Bolognese* would be sufficiently powerful to resist *Trivulcio*. But he was no sooner gone than they began to waver in their fidelity ; some espoused the cause of the *Bentivoglios*, who were in the interest of the *French* ; others again continued attached to the church, and thus, before the arrival of the enemy, the city was almost destroyed by the civil divisions of its own citizens. The cardinal *Pavia*, who was left governor, terrified at those civil commotions, endeavoured to introduce a thousand *Venetian* infantry into the city for his own defence, and to reinforce the pope's garrison, which consisted of no more than three hundred light horse and two thousand foot ; but being warmly opposed by the greater part of the inhabitants, he deserted his government. Immediately the *Bentivoglio* faction took arms, seized upon the gates, sent for the *Bentivoglios*, and introduced them with several troops of *French* horse into the city : the *Venetians*, with great difficulty, made their escape by the passes through the mountains of *Romagnia*, leaving their cannon and baggage to the enemy ^h.

INTELLIGENCE of the surrender of *Bologna* being received at *Venice*, orders were instantly sent to *Gritti*, who was on the point of marching, to lay siege to *Legnano*, to drop that enterprise, to send the artillery on the *Po* with a detachment for the security of *Padua*, and to be watchful of the preservation of the other towns and cities belonging to the republic ; di-

French
take Bo-
logna.

^g BAMB. l. 11. ^h COCCIN, de Bell. Ital. 159.

istributing

distributing his army, in such a manner, as to avoid surprize, and at the same time protect their dominions¹.

MAXIMILIAN was all this time equally desirous of revenging the late insults of the *Venetian* peasants, and irresolute about the manner of proceeding. The expences of the war were great, and the means of continuing it afforded him by the dyet but slender. After advancing to *Rovero* with his army he again returned to *Trent*, and there conferred with the *Venetian* commissioners, but without any intention of coming to a conclusion with them. The count de *Palice*, the general, was not idle; he took *Casselnovo*, and then entering *Friuli*, almost reduced the whole province before the *Venetian* army arrived. At the approach of *Baillon* he retired to the *Milanese*, and was no sooner gone, than the *Venetians* robbed him of all his conquests (D).

¹ MICEN. Bell. Ital. 159.

(D) *Coccinius* relates this transaction in another manner; according to him, *Palice*, who commanded the *French* troops in the *Veronese*, was ordered to obey *Maximilian's* directions (for in fact the emperor had no army besides a body guard of about five thousand horse and foot). *Palice* took the field in *May*, and had no sooner received his orders, than he acquainted the emperor with them, and intreated, that his Imperial majesty would put himself at the head of a corps not unworthy of his dignity either in numbers or valour. *Maximilian* declined the request; but at the same time ordered him to dislodge the *Venetians* from an advantageous post they possessed in the neighbourhood of the *Veronese*. Here they were entrenched, and their camp almost wholly surrounded by mountains and lakes. *Palice* knew it would be impossible to force them, although his army was four times their number,

the *Venetians* not exceeding five thousand horse and foot, under the conduct of the brave *Guy Rangohe*, a *French* refugee. He contrived therefore to cut off their provisions, which forced *Rangohe* to quit his situation, and retire towards *Friuli*. In his march he was attacked by the whole *French* army, and after a brave and obstinate resistance, defeated and made prisoner. Then it was that *Palice* entered *Friuli*, and pursued his conquests with extreme rapidity. Here it was that he received the emperor's commands to enter the *Trevisan*, and undertake the siege of the city, to which his strength was by no means equal; and of this he informed the *French* king, who permitted him to retire to *Milan*. Upon his departure the whole province of *Friuli* returned to its allegiance: a circumstance which determiued *Maximilian* to enter upon new measures. *Coccin. Bell. Ital. p. 159.*

A. D.
1512.

Treaty be-
tween the
pope, Fer-
dinand,
and the
Venetians

IN this manner stood affairs in *Italy* when *Julius*, by his intrigues, drew over the king of *Arragon* to his party, and prevailed upon him to sign a treaty with him and the *Venetians* for their defence. The professed intention of this alliance was to preserve the unity of the church; exterminate the acts of the council of *Pisa*; recover the *Bolognese*, *Ferrara*, and all the other pretended patrimony of the church; oppose all enemies to these resolutions, leaving room for the emperor to engage in the alliance if he chose it; and finally, to defend *Italy* against the encroachments of all strangers and foreigners whatsoever. It was stipulated, that the allied army should consist of two thousand five hundred men at arms, three thousand light horse, and twenty-four thousand foot, in certain proportions specified in the treaty. They were to be commanded by Don *Raymond de Cordona*, viceroy of *Naples*, who was to take the field early the following spring^k.

We have observed, that *Maximilian* was greatly offended at the return of the *French* army to the *Milanese*. Though he had not a man in the field, or had not performed one article of his treaty with *Lewis*, yet was he highly displeased that *Palice* did not undertake the siege of *Treviso*, and to the full extent obey his imperial mandate. *Maximilian's* conduct on this occasion verified the old saying, "That a man can never forgive the person he has injured." He bitterly complained of *Lewis*, and was on the point of concluding a treaty with the kings of *England* and *Arragon* against *France*, when his natural inconstancy suddenly checked his intention^l. In the mean time the pope laboured to induce him to settle a truce with *Venice*, in order to pave the way for a treaty of alliance. While *Maximilian* perceived that the pope and *Venetians* were inferior in power to *France*, he paid his court to *Lewis*; but finding that the address of *Julius* had engaged the courts of *Spain*, *England*, and *Venice*, in his quarrel, he only sought a pretext for quarrelling with his old friend. He first complained that he had drawn no advantage from the league of *Cambray*; that the towns stipulated to be ceded to him were still in the hands of the *Venetians*: he demanded that *Lewis* would reduce *Padua*, *Treviso*, and the other places on the continent, to be annexed to the empire; that he would enter into a contract of marriage between *Rencé* of *France*, his second daughter, and the infant *Ferdinand*, the emperor's youngest son, and brother to the archduke *Charles*; that he would give her in dowry the duchy of *Burgundy*, afterwards to be united to the imperial dominions; that he would con-

The tempo-
rising con-
duct of
*Maximi-
lian*.

^k GUICC. l. 10.

^l BEMB. l. 11.

lent to have arbitrators chosen to determine the difference between the pope and *France* concerning the dutchy and city of *Ferrara*, the *Bolognese*, and the validity of the council of *Pisa*; that the *French* governor of *Milan* (*Gaston de Foix*) should attack no place in *Italy*, or enter upon any enterprize but with the consent of a *German* prince he would send to *Milan* to preside in the council; and lastly, he demanded that *Lewis* would surrender all his conquests in *Italy*, the bare dutchy of *Milan* excepted. Propositions so extraordinary sufficiently indicated the emperor's intention to break with *Lewis*: he hoped for great advantages from an alliance with the pope, the king of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*, especially as there was a prospect that the king of *England* would accede: he now earnestly desired to become a party in the league, and actually embraced it on no other terms than a general and vague promise, that the dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Milan* should be given to his youngest son *Ferdinand* of *Austria* ^m.

BUT previous to this a variety of transactions passed in *Carniola* and *Istria*. *Christopher Fragipan*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Istria*, made an attempt upon *Maglia*, which he hoped to terrify into submission: he came with a small body of troops before the walls in the night, and ordering a great number of trumpets and warlike instruments to be sounded, as if the town was invested by a numerous army, he immediately summoned the *Venetian* governor to surrender; but was answered that day-light must first discover his authority, upon which he thought proper to retire and conceal his weakness. The *French* likewise made an unsuccessful attack upon *Treviglio*, from whence they were forced to retire with the loss of several hundred men, and some superior officers ⁿ (E). The *Venetians* were very successful in *Carniola* and *Istria*, not only in foiling the enemy's attempts to extend their conquests, but in reducing towns to the obedience of the republic. In the latter they took *Rosa*, one of the emperor's best officers, prisoner, notwithstanding he had with unequal numbers de-

^m PET. JUSTIN. l. II. RAINALD. ⁿ BEMB. l. II.

(E) This year was chosen a new magistrate at *Venice*, to preside in chief over national affairs, have a seat in the privy council of the doge, in the senate, and council of ten, where he was to make a separate report of the state of the navy. The first person elected was *Antonio Treno*, a procurator of *St. Mark's*. Warm contests arose about the election of a governor of *Cyprus*, there being a great number of candidates for that lucrative and honourable employment: *G. Gradonico* was at last elected. *Bemb. l. 12. p. 490.*

fended

Success of
the Venetians.

sended himself with great valour (F). *Fragipane* a second time took the field, and with greater force attacked *Maglia*, but he was defeated and wounded by *Andrea Curani*, who engaged him in single combat, both armies being spectators. *Curani*, as soon as he was victorious, ordered his men to attack the Imperialists, who were already dispirited with the disgrace of their leader, and soon obliged to quit the field. *Gradonico* was no less successful against the *French* garrison in *Cremona*; for going with a small party to the walls, he summoned the inhabitants to surrender, telling them, that unless they expelled the *French* before his army arrived, he would lay the city in ashes; a peremptory declaration which produced the desired effect, and occasioned the immediate surrender of the city° (G).

MAXIMILIAN, though he was desirous of nothing more than being reconciled to the *Venetians*, and of joining in the league against the *French* king, yet he made a point of having four *Venetians* of distinction sent to him as hostages for the sincerity of the republic's performance of some very indefinite promises. The senate was at length prevailed upon by the

° BEMB. l. 12.

(F) About this time the senate bestowed lands and particular privileges on the inhabitants of *Belluni*, and other cities who had distinguished their fidelity to the republic. *Belluni*, besides some extraordinary honours, was presented with fifty acres of ground, as an addition to its district. Some particular acts concerning trade passed in the senate. Among others, it was resolved to keep a resident or consul, at the expence of the public, at *Alexandria*, with a salary of 3lb. of gold per month, together with a ship of war to conduct him to *Egypt*. *Bemb. l. 12. p. 492. t. 1.*

(G) This year, according to *Sanfovino*, died the queen of *Cyprus* at *Venice*, of a sudden disorder with which she was seized. By means of her death the kingdom of *Cyprus* became in-

separably annexed to the *Venetian* dominions. *Catharine* had indeed, in consequence of the artful conduct of her brother, rather than from inclination, made a solemn surrender of her rights to the republic some years before; but still with a reservation of the title of sovereign, and of the affections of her subjects. The pension settled upon her by the republic was great, and agreeable to her dignity; but still she languished and pined after authority, the situation of a subject not being very agreeable to the disposition of a lady who had long been used to sovereign power. She was interred with great magnificence by the public; and a beautiful tomb erected to her memory by that brother who had prevailed on her to abdicate the crown.

pope

pope to comply with this ridiculous demand. *Bembo*, indeed, alleges that the hostages were never sent, nor do we find their names in any other historian^p. Before this point was settled, the troops of *Arragon*, *Venice*, and the church, attacked *Bastia* with great fury: the siege was carried on with more art, and nearer the modern custom of making approaches, than any we find related before. The garrison made an obstinate defence; but the walls being levelled with the ground, the allies entered and put all indiscriminately to the sword. It was a few days afterwards recovered by *Alphonso* duke of *Ferrara*, and the garrison, consisting of two hundred *Spaniards*, made prisoners^q. At length *Maximilian*, with great secrecy, signed the treaty with the pope, *Ferdinand*, and the *Venetians*; and, the better to conceal his design, suffered his troops still to remain with the *French* army: he likewise endeavoured to apologize to the *French* ambassador for permitting the *Swiss* to pass six thousand troops into *Italy* through his dominions; this, he said, was in consequence of a treaty with them A. 1499, though in fact the interpretation of the article alluded to was false. The approach of the *Swiss*, the disposition of the emperor, and the formidable army of the allies, obliged *Lewis* to offer terms of peace, which he would not have listened to a few months before; but they were rejected, and his army forced to secure itself in *Pavia* and other strong towns^r.

Bastia besieged and taken.

Lewis offers terms of peace.

THE senate, at the instigation of *Avogari*, and upon an invitation from the inhabitants, who were tired of the *French* yoke, and desirous of returning into the obedience of the republic, had formed a design of recovering *Brescia*. *Avogari* wrote to the council of ten, that if an army was sent before the city, he would secure an entrance and take possession of the gates, which would facilitate the reduction of the citadel. Orders were in consequence sent to *Gritti* to march thither, and appear at a certain gate of the city at an hour agreed upon with *Avogari*: but, before his arrival, *Avogari's* design and correspondence were discovered by the wife of one of the faction enamoured of the *French* governor. *Avogari* made his escape out of the city, and raised a great army of peasants, with which joining *Gritti*, the city was attacked, and their efforts being seconded by the inhabitants, the *French* were constrained to surrender the town and citadel at discretion. All the inhabitants on the lake *La Garda*, the country adjacent, and the mountains, returned to their allegiance, and the republic once more became mistress of the *Brescian*^s. In *Bres-*

Brescia taken by the Venetians.

^p BEMB. *ibid.*

^q COCCIN. *Bell. Ital.* p. 164.

^r GUICC.

I. II.

^s BEMB. 12.

cia were made prisoners above two thousand foot and five hundred horse; and its conquest was succeeded by other very signal advantages. *La Palice*, finding himself too weak to defend the *Milansè*, retired to *Pisqueltana*, and from thence to *Pavia*; while the *Venetians*, with the *Swiss* auxiliaries, after the reduction of *Valegia* and *Piscara*, pursued their conquests. *Caravaggio* and *Soncina* were taken; but instead of admitting the *Venetians*, as was stipulated in the treaty, into the latter, the cardinal *de Sion* garrisoned it with his own forces. *Bergamo* and the *Bergamese*, with all the towns, forts, and castles, upon the *Adda*, submitted to the republic.

A. D.

1513.

Milan,
Parma,
&c. submit to the
pope, Venetians,
and Ferdinand.

- AT *Pavia* *La Palice* was joined by *Trivulcio*, but the army being intirely composed of cavalry, they were still unable to cope with the allies, who were advancing by long marches. In their rout the confederates received the submission of *Milan*, *Legnano*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and other places; and the *Venetians* even brought about a revolution in *Genoa*, from whence the *French* were driven. *Coma*, *Crema*, *Bologna*, and *Pavia*, were at length surrendered: nor did *Maximilian* determine to support the league, although he had signed it, until he saw the *French* almost totally expelled from *Italy*. He urged a thousand difficulties, and insisted upon high terms with the *Venetians*, who were then not to be terrified into concessions. The bishop of *Gartz*, the imperial envoy, had the address to gain over *Julius* to his master's interest. *Maximilian* demanded *Verona* and *Vincenza* to be ceded in perpetuity to him, and homage done him by the *Venetians* for *Friuli*, and the places to which he pretended a prior right. He was peremptory in his demand, and the republic no less positive in her refusal, although the pope menaced them with spiritual and temporal vengeance. *Julius* finding them obstinate, struck up a separate treaty with *Maximilian*, and endeavoured to engage the *Spanish* ambassador to accede to his measures; but this he absolutely denied, under pretence of having no instructions for that purpose^t.

^t BRUN. 1. 12.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the Treaty with Lewis the Twelfth, and Motives which induced the Republic to this Alliance; the Progress of the War in Italy; the Accession of Charles the Fifth and Francis the First to the Imperial and French Crowns; their Rivalship and Renewal of the War in Italy, together with its Consequences to the Venetians.

TO fortify themselves against this new alliance, the republic entered into a treaty, defensive and offensive, with *Lewis the twelfth*, by means of *Andrea Gritti*, then a prisoner in *France*. It was agreed that the *Milanese*, the *Cremonese*, and the country of *Ghiaradadda*, should belong to the king, who was to cede all claim upon the *Bergamese*, *Brescian*, and other provinces, then in possession of the *Venetians*. This treaty was to remain in full force, and the parties were mutually to assist each other with all their forces, until the *Milanese* and its dependencies were recovered by *Lewis*, and the *Venetians* reinstated in all their former possessions on the continent. *Julius*, hearing that such a treaty was in agitation, sent ambassadors and acknowledgments to *Venice* of his sorrow for having broke off his alliance with the republic; but died of a slow fever before he had taken any measures to regain their confidence. Thus died pope *Julius* the second, equally deserving of admiration and esteem for his good sense, firmness, erudition, and the protection he afforded to men of learning; of hatred and contempt for the ambition, avarice, cunning, and intrigue, which distinguished his pontificate.

A FEW months before this treaty and the pope's death, a detachment from *Trivulcio's* army recovered *Brescia*; upon which occasion *Avogari*, the strenuous asserter of the republic's claim, was put to death. The *Venetians* made another attempt upon it, which proved unsuccessful; and it was at last taken from the *French* by the *Spanish* troops a few days before the treaty between *Lewis* and the republic was signed.

LEO the tenth being raised to the pontificate, pursued the views of his predecessor, that of humbling the power of

Venetians
enter into
a treaty
with
Lewis.

Pope dies.

French re-
cover
Brescia.

Leo X.
made pope.

^a PAOLO PARUTA. l. 1.

^v GUICC. l. 12.

France; but in a manner different from *Julius*. He was no sooner raised to the pontificate than, under pretence of acquainting *Henry* the eighth with his exaltation, he addressed a brief to him, intimating his intention to adhere to the league with the emperor and the king of *Arragon*, and desire of contracting a fresh alliance with *England*. At the same time he was striving to reconcile *Maximilian* with the republic, and to disengage the latter from *France*. All those practices could not long be concealed from *Lewis*: *Leo* became suspected; in consequence of which *Lewis* united himself more closely with the *Venetians*. All the endeavours of the pope could not prevail on the republic to desert her allies: instead of yielding to his remonstrances, or joining with the stronger party, she pressed *Lewis* to hasten reinforcements into *Italy*, in order to strike some blow of consequence before the enemy was prepared^a. Immediately twenty thousand *French* under *Tremouille* and *Trivulcio* were ordered to join the *Venetian* army upon the frontiers of *Italy*. The republic's army consisted of eight thousand foot, one thousand five hundred men at arms, and five hundred light horse, under the conduct of *Bartolomeo Alviana*, and the two provveditors *Contareni* and *Lo-retano*. *Alviana* determined to make an attempt upon *Verona*, altho' he had the senate's orders not to pass the river *Adda*: for this purpose he began a clandestine correspondence with some of the inhabitants, which being discovered frustrated the enterprize; but he had the good fortune to balance this unsuccessful attempt by the reduction of *Valegia*, *Pescara*, and *Cremena*^b. In this latter he erected the ensign of *France*, saying that he held it for *Lewis*: but the *Venetian* affairs wore a different aspect in the *Vincentine* and *Veronese*. *Alviana* was no sooner departed thence than *Roccondolph*, an imperial general, and *Gonsalvo*, an *Arragonian*, draughting some men from the garrison of *Verona* and other towns, attacked and defeated *Cavalle* and *Fortino*, whom *Alviana* had left there with a body of one thousand horse and foot. The defeat was so total, that the enemy, pursuing the *Venetians* to *Cologna*, entered the town with them, made them all prisoners, and seized upon the garrison. Elated with this success, they formed an enterprize upon *Vincenza*, which was rendered abortive by the vigilance of the governor^c.

COMMOTIONS were excited in the city of *Milan*, and the whole *Milanese*, upon the arrival of *Alviana*, and intelligence that the *French* army had passed the *Alps*. A few months

^a GUSC. *ibid.*
Epist. l. 3.

^b PARUTA. l. i.

^c BEMB.

Venetians
worsted in
the Vero-
nese.

ago only they rejoiced at the expulsion of *Lewis's* troops and the restoration of the *Sforzas*; but not reaping the expected advantages, they now again panted after a *French* governor: upon this *Maximilian Sforza* retired to *Novara*, there to wait for a body of *Swiss*, on their march for the defence of *Milan*. His departure afforded a free access to the *Venetians*; while *Trivulcio* entered the *Milanese* on the other side, and in a short space intirely reduced it to obedience. *Ronzo de Cera*, going with a body of *Venetians* to *Brescia*, summoned the city, and had it immediately put into his hands, the *Spanish* soldiers finding themselves unable to stand a siege, both on account of their weakness, and the strong affection the inhabitants shewed for the republic^d. Brescia surrenders to the Venetians.

DURING this state of affairs, the *Swiss* were assembling in great numbers upon the frontiers; but the *French*, making light of enemies unprovided with cannon and magazines, whom they imagined they could purchase over with money, went and laid siege to *Novara*, instead of attacking the *Spanish* army, which they might have defeated before reinforcements could arrive. *Gritti* strongly remonstrated against this step, and was seconded by the opinion of the senate; but it availed not; the *French* undertook the siege, trifled away several days before the walls, and were at last compelled to abandon the enterprize. The siege was no sooner raised than ten thousand *Swiss* entered *Novara*, and there formed the resolution of surprising the *French* camp, which was pitched within three leagues of the city. They set out in the evening, and, arriving before day-light, attacked the *French* so unexpectedly, and with so much resolution, that they were entirely broken and dispersed^e.

THIS defeat was attended with fatal consequences to the republic, of which the first instance was an intire revolution in *Milan*, and the absolute restoration of the *Sforzas*. The viceroy of *Naples* marched to *Cremona*, with intention to attack the *Venetians*; but *Alviana*, apprehending he might be shut up between the *Spanish* and *Swiss* armies, abandoned the *Cremonese*, retiring to the *Veronese*: here he determined to lay siege to *Verona*; and while he was thus employed, the enemy became masters of *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*. The tables were now turned upon the *French* and *Venetians*, who were no less unfortunate towards the end, than they had been successful in the beginning of the campaign. *Alviana* continued to batter *Verona* with great fury, and had at last opened a breach of forty yards, which he ordered to be stormed. The Alviana storms Verona and is repulsed.

^d PARUTA. l. 1.^e FUGGER. l. 6.

defence and attack were both vigorous, and strongly supported by both parties. As the wall was exceeding high on the town side, the *Venetians* fought to great disadvantage on account of the depth of the descent; besides, the garrison amounted to four thousand choice troops, *Germans* and *Swiss*. After great loss of blood, *Alviana*, perceiving that the inhabitants, as he expected, did not stir in his favour, founded a retreat. His chagrin at this disappointment made him raise the siege, and lay waste the whole country, in hopes thereby to excite the *Veronois* to a revolt^f. But the approach of the *Spanish* army obliged him to retire beyond the river *Adice*, where he took every measure to strengthen his army, and oppose the enemy. For the security of *Trevise* he sent a strong detachment under *Baillon*, leading in person the main body towards *Padua*.

In the mean time *Leo* the tenth renewed the subject of peace between the emperor and the republic. He did not doubt but *Maximilian* would listen to reasonable terms, as by the friendship of the *Venetians* he would more easily procure *Burgundy* for his grandson. On the other hand, he imagined, that the defeat of the *French*; the little probability that *Lewis*, who was likely to find sufficient employment at home, could for that year send another army into *Italy*; the approach of the *Spanish* army; the lowness of their finances, together with the great want of soldiers, particularly infantry, would induce the *Venetians* to forsake *Lewis*, and be reconciled to *Maximilian*: but rational as these conjectures were, yet they fell short of truth. The senate would hearken to no terms until *Vicenza* and *Verona* were yielded to the republic: on the contrary, they warmly solicited *Lewis* to recruit his army, assuring him of their fidelity, and sincere regard for every article of the treaty. They, at the same time, exhorted him to a reconciliation with the pope; in which they fell in with the sentiments of the whole *French* nation. *Lewis* promised assistance; but he took more immediate steps to gain the friendship of his holiness. For this purpose he sent the bishop of *Marseilles*, in quality of plenipotentiary, to *Rome*, instructing him to assure *Leo*, that he had revoked the decrees of the council of *Pisa*, and would permit no other than those of the *Lateran*, to testify his reverence for his holiness, for the apostolic see, and his determination to defend the church with all his power against all enemies whatsoever. The republic likewise sent an embassy of ten chief magistrates, and senators, ordering their resident at *Rome* to attend all the

sittings of the *Lateran*. But the reception they met convinced the senate of the pope's dislike to the republic. He severely chastised the ambassadors; taxed the *Venetians* with having brought back the *French* into *Italy*; and even insinuated his suspicion of their having formed a design to recover *Romagnia*. Instead therefore of affording them any marks of regard, as the senate expected, he sent the emperor the body of troops stipulated in the treaty ². It was now apparent that nothing but vigour could save the state; the republic therefore applied herself to levying forces, equipping a fleet, raising money, and forming magazines. *Alviana* who was encamped on the banks of the *Adice*, receiving intelligence that the *Spanish* army was proceeding towards *Padua*, and that *Colonna*, after being joined by the pope's forces, was in full march to attack him, crossed the river, and encamped at *Montagno*, as well for his own security as the protection of *Padua* and *Treviso*. By this retreat the possession of *Rovigo* fell into the enemies hands, together with the town of *Pescara* and all the garrison. In the mean time the bishop of *Gurck*, coming to the *Spanish* army, strongly advised the siege of *Padua*, which, he said, would be giving the *Venetians* a mortal blow, and securing the emperor in the possession of all the towns to which he laid claim. The viceroy, and other officers, joined with him in opinion concerning the importance of the conquest; but represented the difficulty and hazard of besieging a city so well fortified and provided: however, the bishop persevering in his opinion, the siege was undertaken. *Alviana* had already sent his baggage and artillery to *Padua*, that he might with the greater expedition throw himself into this city, or *Treviso*, as the situation of things might require; he now resolved to enter *Padua* with his army, and to defend it with the last drop of his blood. Courage nor conduct he wanted not; but there was a fire and impetuosity in his temper that fitted him to execute with rapidity rather than deliberate with prudence. Although the city was already sufficiently garrisoned against a greater force than the enemy could bring, yet the senate, knowing its importance, sent a reinforcement of new levies of *Venetians* and *Isrians*, together with a strong convoy of ammunition and stores. *Alviana* ordered all the trees, houses, and every thing that could shelter the enemy, to be cut down and razed for a mile's distance round the city, which rendered the approaches difficult, as they were greatly exposed to his cannon. This circumstance, the vigorous sallies of the besieged, and smallness of the ene-

The senate resolves to push the war.

The viceroy of Naples lays siege to Padua.

Siege of
Padua
raised.

mies army to invest a town of so great extent as *Padua*, made their operations slow, and shewed the officers the absurdity of the attempt, although the bishop still adhered to his sentiments. As they were likewise destitute of pioneers, and that a deep trench was necessary to skreen the soldiers from the enemy's fire, it was at last determined to remonstrate to the bishop, and if he still remained obstinate, to save the army, and acquaint the emperor with the circumstances and occasion of their conduct. Thus, after continuing twenty days before *Padua*, they abandoned the siege without erecting a battery, or firing a shot, and took the road of *Vincenza*, which was deserted on their approach by the *Venetian* magistrates and the principal inhabitants. Here they made plunder of every thing sacred and prophane, rather from necessity than any disposition to rapine; for the army was entirely supported by plunder.

THE viceroy permitted his troops to make incursions even within sight of *Venice*, and even took an opportunity of insulting that capital, by ordering some cannon to be discharged at the city. *Alviana*, shut up in *Padua*, could no longer endure this presumption; he solicited, begged, and intreated the senate for permission to sally out upon the enemy, but was denied and ordered to keep within the walls, they being determined rather to undergo affronts than to run hazards upon so critical a conjuncture. At last *Alviana's* pressing instances prevailed, and he had leave to take the first favourable opportunity that offered for attacking the enemy. In consequence he marched out of the city, sending to *Baillon*, who commanded in *Treviso*, to join him with a reinforcement: his design was to cut off the enemy's return to *Vincenza*; for which purpose he seized on the avenues leading to *Barberana*, ordering the peasants at the same time to block up the passes to *Germany* with felled trees, trenches, and strong intrenchments. *Alviana* encamped with the main body at *Olma*, on the road from *Vincenza* to *Verona*, there resolving to wait for the enemy. The viceroy was come within four miles of the *Venetian* camp, and finding all the passes guarded, and that he was blocked up in a country destitute of every necessary for the support of an army, resolved, after a variety of consultations, to open a path by the sword. As the dangers to which they were exposed could not long be concealed from the soldiers, he thought it most adviseable to acquaint them with the circumstances, and exhort them to their duty as the only means left of safety. His discourse was so spirited and animating, that the soldiers cried out to be led against the enemy, promising to acquit themselves in a manner worthy

of the troops of so brave a general. It was not, however, the viceroy's intention to attack *Alviana*, whose camp he knew was advantageously situated and well fortified, but to force a way by *Bassana*. He decamped without beat of drum, taking the advantage of a thick fog, and had marched some miles before *Alviana* suspected his being in motion : upon this notice the *Venetians* were ordered to pursue and attack the enemy's rear, which they did with great fury, but in good order ; they were received by *Prospero Colonna* with equal resolution, who, finding himself hard pushed, sent to the viceroy for reinforcements. The battle continued obstinate for an hour, when suddenly the *Venetians* were seized with a panic, put in disorder, and totally routed, in spite of all the endeavours of *Alviana* to rally and bring them back to the charge. All the baggage and artillery were lost, and about four thousand *Venetians* killed or made prisoners. *Alviana* himself performed miracles of valour, was every where present, animating, exhorting, and menacing his troops ; but nothing was able to surmount their unaccountable terrors, by which alone they were overcome (A). So sensible was the senate of *Alviana*'s valour, that upon receiving news of the defeat, they sent an ambassador to console and assure him of their sense of his merit and good conduct : but their behaviour to several of the inferior officers was different, whom they cashiered and punished with other marks of infamy¹.

The Venetians
defeated.

ALVIANA was no less affected with the goodness of the senate than with his defeat ; but resolving, after their example, bravely to sustain a misfortune with which he could not charge himself, he took measures for securing *Padua* and *Treviso*. The doge *Loretano* exhibited manifold instances of firm-

¹ PAOLO PARUTA. l. i. GUICC. ibid.

(A) *Mariana* acknowledges that the *Venetian* cavalry broke through all opposition, and totally disordered *Colonna* ; but pushed their success too far. While they were in the pursuit, *Roccondolph* attacked the infantry with fresh troops. The *Venetians*, though greatly inferior, and tired with the former charge, received him with obstinate vigour, in expectation of being supported by the cavalry ; but finding they did not return, imagining they were deserted, a panic seized them, which not all the endeavours of the general could conquer. The same historian says, that the *Venetians* left upon the field four hundred men at arms, and four thousand foot and light horse ; that *Baillet*, and *Loretano*, the providers, were taken prisoners, with a great number of other officers ; and that, in consequence of the victory, the citadel of *Milan* and *Vicenza* surrendered to the conquerors : in short, that the *French* were dispossessed of all they held in *Italy*. *Marian. Hist.* l. 30. p. 97, 98.

ness, intrepidity, and affection for the state. After exhorting the senate to bear up with spirit under their misfortunes, he told them, that now offered an opportunity to shew their fortitude and zeal for their country: that, for his part, he was determined to hazard his all for the defence of his people, and hoped the senate would make use of his private purse in the same manner they would the public treasury. It all belonged to the republic, he said, and the man who had not gratitude to return it when wanted, deserved not to live. Nor was this all; he had two sons, he said, who could never die more gloriously than in the cause of *Venice*; he therefore ordered they would directly set out as volunteers to *Treviso* and *Padua*. All the senators were greatly moved with the generosity and affection of the doge, and their conduct plainly shewed what great things the example and influence of a prince can effect.

A voluntary contribution raised in Venice for the support of the war.

A contribution for levying a new army was raised among them, which soon became general all over the city, and demonstrated that private coffers were not empty, however languid and exhausted might be the state of the treasury^{*}.

BUT the conduct of *Prospero Colonna* tended more to the preservation of *Treviso* than all the preparations of the republic. After the late victory it was proposed by the viceroy in council that *Treviso* should be invested; but *Colonna*, beginning to apprehend danger to the balance of power in *Italy*, from the ruin of the *Venetian* state, had influence and address enough to get this resolution procrastinated: his excuse was the difficulty of the attempt, and hazard of abandoning it with equal shame as they had done *Padua*. It was, therefore, determined to wait the arrival of the bishop of *Gurck*, and to be directed by his opinion: this took up the space of near a month, and not only gave the *Venetians* time to provide for the security of the city, but rendered the attempt impracticable on account of the approach of the winter.

Negotiations set on foot by Leo.

THE rigour of the season prevented the armies from keeping the field; negotiations, therefore, were set on foot by *Leo* for a peace between *Maximilian* and the republic. *Leo* had it always in view to prevent *Lewis* from recovering the *Milanese*: he was no less anxious lest it should come into the hands of the house of *Austria*; and dreaded every overture towards a marriage between *Renée* of *France* and *Charles* of *Austria*. He even endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between *Lewis* and the *Swiss*, in order that the king might be less inclined to accept terms from the emperor and *Henry* the eighth; and he wished to see the *French* monarch ratify

^{*} BARON. ad An. 1514.

that

that article of the treaty of *Dijon* which regarded the dutchy of *Milan* : but all he could effect was to prevail on him to accept a truce for three years in reference to the *Milanese* ; and on the cantons of *Switzerland* to suspend the effects of their enmity to *France* ¹.

SEEING, therefore, that little could be done in this way, he turned to the side of the *Venetians*, and resumed the negotiations between them and the emperor : he was sensible that *Lewis* could not be effectually excluded from the *Milanese* but by the assistance of the *Venetians*, at least not while they were in his alliance. *Ferdinand*, having notice of the negotiations with the *Swiss*, and fearing lest he should be left unsupported, concluded a truce for one year with *France*, in which was a secret clause, that *Lewis* should not attack the *Milanese* during the year 1514. The pope, who was ignorant of this clause, apprehended that *Ferdinand* might have ceded the *Milanese* to *Lewis* ; in consequence, therefore, he was indefatigable in bringing about a reconciliation between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*. By mere dint of sollicitation, he wrought so far on both parties, as to consent to accede to a cessation of hostilities for a year, in order to adjust preliminaries. *Leo*, by a writing under his hand, promised not to pronounce sentence but with the consent of both parties ^m.

Truce between Ferdinand and Lewis

Compromise between Maximilian and the Venetians.

THE reconciliation, however, was equally obstructed by the breach of the truce on both sides. When the season permitted, the pretensions of each either rose or sunk according as they were successful in the field : when the *Venetians* were hard pressed, then would they consent to yield *Verona* to the emperor ; but he insisted upon *Padua*, *Treviso*, and *Vincenza* likewise. Upon any change of fortune, the republic would hearken to no terms in which *Verona* was not included. *Leo* perceiving this, proposed that both parties should lay down their arms ; that *Maximilian* should deposit in trust to him *Vincenza*, and whatever the *Spanish* army had conquered in the *Trevisan* and *Paduan* ; that the republic should do the same with regard to the *Cremasco*, and besides pay to the emperor the sum of fifty thousand crowns ; but that this agreement should be void, if the principals of both parties did not ratify what their ambassadors had signed. The *Venetians* objected to this proposal, from a persuasion that in the present state of affairs a truce would be more prejudicial to them than the continuation of the war. Piqued at their refusal, *Leo* sent *Colonna* and *Savelli* to invest *Crema* ; but *Rence di Ceri*, the brave governor, sallying out defeated *Savelli* and

A. D.
1514.

¹ SPALATIN. vit. LEON. GUICC. l. 12. ^m PARUTA. l. 1.

the pope's forces, which obliged *Colonna* to raise the siege and retire to *Romagnia* ⁿ.

A. D. 1514- In the beginning of this year the senate sent an ambassador to the Grand Seignior, to prevent his coming to a rupture with the republic. Their apprehensions from that quarter were soon quieted, on *Selim's* march into *Asia* against the sopher, and the war carrying on with *Achmet* his brother. As soon as the negotiations broke off, hostilities commenced in *Frisk*. *Alviana*, after taking some towns from the emperor, instead of amusing himself with repairing the fortifications, made a forced march, and attacked the enemy's head-quarters at a time when they expected he was at the distance of twenty leagues: here he revenged his defeat in the last campaign, having totally dispersed the enemy, and taken two thousand prisoners. From hence he marched against *Moran*, a place taken in the winter by the *Germans*; but this expedition was fruitless: he made several brave assaults, but the enemy was well provided, the garrison strong, and the *Venetians* forced to relinquish the enterprize. Some historians say, that *Alviana's* rear was roughly handled in his retreat. Disappointed before *Moran*; he yet had the good fortune to seize upon the traitor who had occasioned its loss, whom he sent to *Venice*, where he was hung up by the heels, until he expired.

*Alviana
defeats the
emperor's
forces.*

*The Swiss
take Udi-
na.*

AFTER *Alviana's* retreat, the *Swiss* and *Germans* attacked and took *Udina* at the first assault, it being intirely destitute of a garrison and necessaries. Hence they marched to *Osopo*, which they battered with incredible fury but little success; upon which they determined to turn the siege into a blockade, hearing that the garrison was in want of water; but this attempt was likewise rendered abortive by some heavy showers of rain that supplied the besieged.

*Venetians
defeated.*

THE senate, apprised of the consequence of *Moran* to the republic, ordered *Satogarni* and the proveditor *Vitturi* to make a second attempt. These two officers marched to the siege with five thousand horse and foot, formed trenches, erected batteries, and got every thing in great forwardness to give an assault, when an order of the senate came that they should run no hazards, or risque the safety of the army. In consequence of this, several days were lost before the town in an irresolute manner; during which the *Swiss* and *Germans* assembling, attacked the quarters of *Vitturi*, defeated and took him prisoner. This loss was in some measure compensated by *Ceri*, who sallying out of *Crema* upon *Savelli*, put him to flight with considerable loss, and opened the way for throw-

ing succours into the city, which had long been greatly distressed with famine and a plague. *Ceri*, not contented with relieving *Crema*, attacked and took *Bergamo*; but not being able to spare a garrison, it was soon retaken by the *Spaniards*. After this he went to *Venice*, leaving the command of the garrison with *Giuvanna Ursini*, where he was received with great marks of distinction and esteem.

In the mean time *Leo X.* was alarmed with *Selim's* return from *Asia*, and his great preparations by sea and land. Those armaments, he doubted not, were intended against *Italy*; and among all the christian powers he saw none who could stop the torrent besides the emperor and the *Venetians*. To make them act with vigour against the common enemy, it was absolutely necessary to make them friends; a point he had often laboured to no purpose. However, he resolved not to desist from an attempt in which *Italy* in particular, and the liberties of *Europe* were interested. He sent legates and nuncios to *Maximilian* and *Venice*, to effect, if possible, a reconciliation. *Pietro Bembo*, a *Venetian*, then secretary to *Leo*, and the elegant historian of the republic, was appointed to negotiate this important affair. *Leo* knew his address, and the esteem in which he was held by the senate. Although *Bembo* was received with the utmost kindness, and had conducted himself with all possible address, he could terminate nothing. The senate in private communicated to him their sentiments of the proposed alliance, and their suspicions of *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*; at the same time assuring him of their sense of the goodness of *Leo's* intentions. *Bembo* took his leave, and found at *Rome* the other nuncio returned from *Maximilian* with as little success. On his departure the senate sent ambassadors to *Lewis* the twelfth and *Henry* the eighth, to congratulate them on their late peace and alliance; to thank them for the favourable mention of the republic made in the treaty; to request *Lewis* to send succours into *Italy*; and to assure him of their intention literally to adhere to their treaty with *France*. Before the arrival of the ambassa-

Lewis the twelfth dies.

ly, *Lewis* died on the first day of *January* 1515. His death was not attended with those consequences to the republic which were apprehended; for the duke of *Valois*, who succeeded to the crown by the name of *Francis* the first, was determined, as to the affairs of *Italy*, to tread in the steps of his predecessor, though he did not declare his intentions. *Dandolo*, the *Venetian* ambassador, was received by

A. D.
1515.

* PARUTA. l. 12. BEMB. Ep. l. 6.
Epist. 543.

* PETR. de Angl.

Francis
the first
renews the
treaty
with the
Venetians

Francis publicly with stiffness and ceremony ; but privately with great cordiality, insomuch that the treaty was renewed, with some clauses of a stricter amity than before. In *England* the ministers of the republic met with equal success, *Henry* assuring them of his friendship ; and that he would use his influence with *Francis* to hasten his departure for *Italy*^a.

THE great object of the senate's policy was to raise the supplies for the war they were resolved to pursue. The treasury was exhausted ; commerce languishing, and private persons tired of contributions. A variety of schemes were proposed, each of which had its difficulties, and produced warm debates. At last, a poll-tax in proportion to every man's property, the highest not exceeding three hundred crowns, was decreed, and three commissioners appointed to regulate and levy the money. A confiscation of goods was the penalty annexed either to concealing property or deficiency in payment ; which was found to be necessary, as large sums were due to the public from the last assessments.

IN the mean time *Francis* the first was making great preparations. As he was a prince of courage and ambition, the eyes of *Europe* were upon him, not doubting but he had formed vast projects. He gave out, that his intention was to chastise the *Swiss* for their irruption into *Burgundy* in the late reign ; but *Maximilian* and *Leo* suspected other designs. *Ferdinand* apprehended that his preparations were destined against *Navarre*, and *Maximilian Sforza* dreaded they might tend to deprive him of *Milan*. As to *Ferdinand*, his doubts were removed when *Francis* demanded a prolongation of the truce between him and *Lewis* the twelfth, on condition that the secret article regarding the *Milanese* should be void. He rejected this proposal, and made it the means of engaging *Maximilian* and the *Swiss* cantons in a league for the defence

The emperor,
Ferdinand, the
Swiss, and
Sforza enter into an
alliance.

of the *Milanese*. A treaty was accordingly concluded between *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand*, the *Swiss* cantons, and *Maximilian Sforza*, with room left for the pontiff to accede within a limited time. *Ferdinand*, whose chief view was the defence of *Navarre*, engaged to make a powerful diversion on the side of *Fontarabia*. The *Swiss* were to enter *Burgundy*, while the emperor, by pursuing the war in the *Venetian* dominions, should prevent their assisting *Francis*. It was stipulated to pay the *Swiss* forty thousand crowns *per* month, and not to conclude peace with *France*, until the king had renounced his pretensions upon *Milan*^r.

^a PARUTA. l. 2.

^r GUIJCC. l. 12.

ON the one side the *Venetians* endeavoured to gain over the pope, while the emperor and *Ferdinand* on the other represented to him of what importance it was to the security of the holy see to join against *France*. *Leo* was greatly embarrassed; each side had its inconveniences: at last, swayed by the apprehensions lest *Francis*, being possessed of the *Milanese*, would demand the sieges of *Parma* and *Placentia*, he chimed in with the opposite league; but with this proviso, that his acceding to it might be kept secret. This precaution proved useless; for he was soon obliged to march his cavalry towards *Piedmont*, to block up the passage of the *Alps* against *Francis*. *Julian de Medicis* remained with the rest of the troops in *Lombardy*, ready to join the *Spaniards*, if necessary; while the cardinal of *Syon* arrived in the *Milanese* with twenty thousand men he had raised upon his own credit, and with the pope's money. Here the *Swiss* were joined by *Sforza's* troops, and all marched towards *Suza*, the head-quarters, in order to stop up the defiles between the mountains of *Geneva* and mount *Ceris*, which was the usual route of the *French* into *Italy*.

The pope joins in their alliance.

FRANCIS at length set out with an army of twenty-three thousand horse and foot, sending word to the senate, to prevent their general from hazarding a battle before the armies were united. He found the passes of *Suza*, *Pignerole*, *Salusses*, and others, guarded by the *Swiss* and the pope's cavalry: upon this he passed directly over the *Alps*, through unfrequented and difficult paths, and on the fourth day's march arrived on the frontiers of the marquisate of *Salusses*. The *Swiss*, seeing that *Francis* had eluded all their vigilance, retired to *Novara*, where the king followed and made proposals extremely advantageous to those auxiliaries; which they were inclined to accept, as the allies had but badly performed their engagements. Some of the soldiers had mutinied for want of pay, others deserted, and the majority thought fit to recompence themselves by seizing on the pope's military chest. The treaty was in great forwardness, when news arrived that twenty thousand of their countrymen were on full march to join the army, having with them money sufficient for the payment of all their arrears. This intelligence determined them to break off the conferences with the *French* king, to adhere to their alliance, and give battle to *Francis*. Before the king arrived at *Marignan* he surprised *Prospero Colonna*, who was encamped with two thousand men in the marquisate of *Salusses*: after this he pitched his camp at *Marignan*, to facilitate a junction

* SPALATIN. in vit. LEON. GUICC. l. 12.
Rep. Helvet. l. 1.

* SIMBER.

with

Battle at
Marignan
begun.

with *Alviana*. The *Swiss*, knowing it was their business to fight before he was reinforced, broke up their camp without beat of drum, and in the most profound silence marched with this view, thinking to surprise the enemy. *Alviana*, who had come to the camp to concert the operations of the campaign, was at dinner with his majesty when the constable of *Bourbon* entered the tent, and informed them that the *Swiss* army was in sight. *Alviana* mounted his horse and flew to *Lodi*, to bring up some of the *Venetian* cavalry. The king had scarce time to range his army in order of battle when the attack began upon the artillery, defended by the *Lansquenets* ^u (B). Already the constable had drawn up the advanced guard, which he commanded in person, and the *German* infantry, for the defence of the artillery, when the *Swiss*, by the advice of colonel *Rhoss*, marched strait up to the cannon, bearing the fire both of the artillery and infantry, to avoid being taken in flank by the *French* cavalry posted on the wings. Their intention was to make the first and principal attack on that side, and, after seizing the cannon, to turn upon the *French* gens d'arms, whose shock was formidable. This very finesse had succeeded at *Novara* two years before; and now it was imagined that the *Swiss*, not willing to break their agreement with the *French*, were marching against the *Lansquenets* with the king's consent, for whom they bore a mortal grudge and antipathy. The same opinion prevailing among the *German* infantry made them give way for above an hundred paces,

^u PARUTA. l. I.

(B) The *Lansquenets* are *German*, of which *Francis* had ten thousand in his army; a circumstance that must strike the reader when he considers that the emperor was at war with *France*: but the princes of the empire and imperial towns have the privilege of permitting foreign potentates to levy troops in their territories. They may contract alliances and assist them with all their forces, provided such alliance be not prejudicial to the *Germanic* body, of which the emperor is head, but not absolute sovereign (1). It is

customary too in *France*, that the *Lansquenets*, in default of *Swiss*, have the guard of the artillery, a post of the utmost consequence; the reason is, that they look upon the *Swiss* as the best infantry in *Europe*, and next to them the *German*, of which the *Lansquenets* form a part. The reader who is curious, may consult on these points *Histoire de la Milice Francoise*, t. 3. p. 532. *Ord. Camer.* part 2. t. 9. *Buxtorf*. ad c. 15. *Bulle Aurea*, with many other authors which it would be tedious to cite.

(1) *Vid. Const. Imper. ad A. 1555.*

keeping

keeping at the same time their ranks intire, by which means the *Swiss* approached the artillery without any resistance. They were on the point of attacking the *French* gens d'arms, when the constable, imagining that the *Lansquenets* had been put in disorder, attacked them in front to cover the *German* infantry while they rallied: this assault was given with such vigour as it required all the intrepidity of the *Swiss* to withstand. Each side maintained their ground without yielding an inch amidst a close fire, when the king came up with the *French* infantry and the *bandes de noir*, to support the constable. The count *de la Mark* headed this body of *Germans*, and advanced to occupy the space which the *Lansquenets* had quitted. Jealous of that contemptuous proceeding, the *Lansquenets* determined he should not acquire honour by their disgrace, and desirous of repairing their error, attacked with incredible resolution the first *Swiss* battalion that presented, while the count *de la Mark* with a laudable emulation supported their efforts. Here the battle continued for two hours with amazing firmness, obstinacy, and conduct, neither side shewing the least marks of weariness or disorder. Night came on before either the *French*, *Germans*, or *Swiss*, thought of sounding a retreat, and the fight still continued with the same impetuosity with which it commenced. It now was almost impossible to quit the field, as the darkness of the night prevented the soldiers from distinguishing their own colours. The *French* advanced-guard had suffered most, and was in great disorder; nor could they rally, as clouds of dust and smoke obscured the little glimmering light the stars afforded, and the roar of cannon drowned all the orders issued. Chance performed actions which by day-light was attributed to valour: the combatants fought hand to hand, and hardly a blow failed of doing execution. The *Swiss*, who as well as the *French* wore white scarfs, could not distinguish each other: their surest attack, therefore, was against the cavalry, which they knew was wholly *French*, they having only four hundred horse belonging to *Sforza*: thus the horse were exposed to the greatest danger. The king's horse was wounded under him, and his armour pierced in several places. In this manner did the battle continue for four hours after sun-set, with the utmost confusion and hazard; when at length both sides, fatigued with action, were forced to desist and draw breath: every man remained under arms in the place where he chanced to stand. The wounded of both sides were tenderly used, and spared by mutual consent. *Francis* found himself within fifty paces of the main body of the enemy; but the impossibility of removing his station, without running into greater hazards,

deter-

determined him to remain in the same critical situation. All the precautions he could take were to extinguish a flambeaux that was lighted near him, and to order all round his person to speak low and omit those terms of respect by which he might be distinguished. His majesty slept upon the ground in his armour, with his head supported by a block of wood belonging to the carriage of a cannon.

AT break of day both armies rallied and charged with fresh vigour. The *Swiss* made their first attack upon the corps where the king stood, with such irresistible impetuosity, that his majesty would have been in great danger had not the *German* infantry interposed, and the artillery played furiously on the enemy with so much success, as put them in some disorder. One discharge of the cannon had swept away an entire line of the farthest advanced battalion, by means of which the *French* cavalry broke in, and soon dispersed the rest. The battle had now continued for five hours without the smallest intermission, when the *Swiss*, despairing of breaking the *German* infantry, sent a detachment to attack the *French* rear-guard. Colonel *Molin* was sent on this command, and acquitted himself with great courage and address: after taking a long circuit he fell upon the *French*, who did not expect him though he found them prepared. The duke of *Alençon*, who commanded the rear-guard, plyed the *Swiss* in front, while *Amand de Prie*, with the cavalry, attacked their right, and *Aubigny*, with some regiments of artillery, their left wing.

Alviana and the Venetians come opportunely to the relief of the French.

Swiss retreat in good order.

IN the mean time *Alviana* with the *Venetian* forces came up, and made his first effort on *Molin's* rear, who after an obstinate resistance was defeated, and the detachment cut in pieces. Penetrating then with his fresh troops to the post where the king charged in person, *Alviana* assaulted the main body of the *Swiss* with so much fury, that they began to give way, but without the least disorder, obstinately fighting for every inch of ground they yielded. At last they founded a retreat, and marched in good order towards the *Milaneze*, rather quitting the field than ceding the victory. Neither the king nor *Alviana* thought proper to pursue them, finding it impracticable to break forces so well disciplined, without which they could expect no considerable advantage; and, indeed, the *French* were too wearied of an engagement which had lasted for almost two whole days, and the greater part of the night, to be able to continue it longer. Both *Swiss* and *French* had lost their best troops and officers, above five thousand on each side being left on the field, besides wounded. On the *French* side fell the duke de *Cholles*, the prince

prince *de Talmont*, *Buffs d'Amboise*, the brave *Imbercourt*, who had eminently distinguished himself in preserving the life of the constable of *France*, the count *de Roye*, with a great number of other officers of valour and distinction. *Claude de Lorain*, count *de Guise*, a young prince but twenty years of age, was killed after giving incredible instances of fortitude and conduct ^w. In short, so hot and bloody was this engagement, that *Trivulcio*, who had been in eighteen battles, said, 'That the battle of *Marignan* was the fighting of giants, all the others but the play of children.'

It is scarcely worth while to inquire how far the *Venetians* contributed towards this victory, if so it may be called; probable it is, that the arrival of ten thousand fresh troops must have considerably changed the face of affairs to the advantage of *Francis*, whatever the *French* authors alledge (C). As the cardinal of *Sion* had been the chief cause of this engagement, in which the *Swiss* suffered so much, they failed not to reproach him in a manner which decency will not permit us to mention. So incensed were they against the prelate, that to save his life he was forced to fly to the emperor, who soon after employed him in negotiations, for which he was extremely well qualified.

AFTER this battle the *French* and *Venetians* marched to *Mi-* Milan, lan, the citizens throwing open the gates to receive them, and giving one hundred thousand crowns to be exempted from being plundered. All the other towns of the *Milaneze* followed the example of the capital ^{Sc. sur-}; but the citadels of *Milan* and *Crema* ^{render to the French} still remained firm. *Leo* the tenth, finding that the

^w GUICE. l. 12. PARUTA. l. 3. FUGGER. l. 6. C. 18. BELCAR. l. 15. SIMBER. Rep. HELVET. l. 15. * PARUTA. ibid. MARIAN. l. 30. p. 126.

(C) *Paolo Paruta*, one of the faithfullest, and, perhaps, the finest historian of his age, scruples not to attribute the victory to the arrival of *Alviana* with his fresh army. He affirms, that this general not only charged *Molin* in the rear, and broke his corps, but that he pushed through to the main body of the *Swiss* opportunely, when the king was hard pressed (1). *Simberus*, in his history of the *Swiss* cantons, speaks to the same effect, and indeed reason confirms the fact (2). The *French* historians do not consider that in ascribing the marvellous to their hero *Francis*, they destroy the credibility of truth. *Francis* requires not fiction to make him appear one of the greatest characters of his time, or indeed that has ever filled a throne.

(1) *Paolo Paruta*, l. 3.

(2) *Simber. Hist. Helvet.* l. 1.

French and *Venetians* carried all before them, began to temporize, and at last was forced to renounce his alliance with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*: he also yielded *Parma* and *Placentia* to the *French* monarch, promising besides to restore *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*, the faithful and ancient ally of *France*. *Francis*, on his part, engaged to assist the church against all her enemies, and to maintain the house of *Medicis* in *Florence*.

THE siege of the citadel, into which *Sforza* had thrown himself, was now undertaken. It went on with so much vigour, that he was forced to capitulate upon such terms as the conquerors chose to impose. Before this siege began, *Alviana* separated his troops from the *French*, in order to fight the viceroy of *Naples*, who retreated upon his approach. Upon this he marched, by the senate's order, to lay siege to *Brescia* and *Verona*, after having requested of *Francis* to assist the republic in the recovery of her territories. The *Venetian* officers were divided in their opinion which of those cities were to be first attacked. Some alledged *Verona* to be of the greatest consequence, since the surrender of that city would be in fact reducing the whole *Veronese*. Others again advised, that *Brescia* might be invested, that a communication might be opened with *Milan*. The senate, not caring to determine any thing, referred the whole to *Alviana*, who marched directly to the latter place, in hopes either of surprizing, or in a short time of reducing the garrison, and then laying siege to *Verona* before the rigour of the winter should oblige him to go into quarters. But close as *Alviana* took his measures, *Icara*, the *Spanish* governor of *Brescia*, suspecting his intention, procured a reinforcement of a thousand infantry before his arrival. *Alviana* was entirely ignorant of this, and relying upon the weakness of the garrison, was surprized at a resistance he did not expect when he gave the assault. However, determined to conquer it by force, he made his approaches with such diligence, and applied himself so closely to directing and overseeing the works, that he was seized with a fever, and died in a few days.

Alviana's death.

IN him the republic lost one of her best officers, equally esteemed by the senate, and beloved by the soldiers, to whom he was profusely generous, and yet a strict observer of discipline. In his youth his fire and courage led him into desperate attempts, the folly of which he saw when judgment ripened with years and experience. He was so much the darling of the army, that they kept his body for twenty-five

days, carrying it about with them in a mournful pomp wherever they marched. His disinterestedness was so great, that, notwithstanding he had long enjoyed some of the most lucrative employments of the republic from his youth, yet he died so poor, that his body was interred at the public charge, and his widow and family supported by the senate ².

ALVIANA's death made the *Venetians* raise the siege of *Brescia*, and attempt the reduction of *Pescara*, in which they succeeded before the arrival of *John Trivulcio*. This officer had been sent by *Francis*, at the senate's request, to succeed *Alviana*. He had no sooner taken upon him the command than he returned to *Brescia*, agreeable to the senate's desire; but against his own judgment. The event justified the prudence of his opinion; for the garrison being little inferior in number to the *Venetian* army, made such furious sallies as rendered his approaches impracticable. While the *Venetians* were besieging *Pescara* it had been strongly reinforced; and *Alviana* found it difficult enough before to erect his batteries. Just as *Trivulcio* had thoughts of raising the siege, a large detachment of the garrison sallied out upon him, killed near three hundred of his troops, and took ten pieces of cannon, with some baggage, which they carried in triumph into the city. This loss forced him to retreat with precipitation as far as *Coccai*, where he waited for a reinforcement from the *French* army. Before the arrival of succours the winter came on; so that the project of again besieging the city was deferred to the following spring ^a.

The siege
of Brescia
raised.

AFTER the conquest of the *Milanese*, *Francis* returned to his own dominions with the greater part of his army, having left no more than six thousand *French* and five thousand *Lansquenets*, under the command of the constable, in *Italy*. The loss of the battle of *Marignan* put the emperor in great pain for his possessions in *Italy*. He was sensible that without the *Swiss* he could not resist *Francis* and the republic; and as these mercenary allies were bought off at a higher price than his finances could support, he formed the project of involving *Francis* at home, by engaging *Henry* the eighth in his quarrel (D) ^b. His first step was to gain over cardinal
Wolsey,

^a PARUTA, *ibid.* BELCAR, l. 15.

^a PARUTA, l. 3. p. 192.

^b MARIANA, l. 80.

(D) *Leo* and *Francis* had an interview at *Bologna* a few days before his majesty's departure for *France*. Their conferences lasted six days, when at last it was concluded, that the king should take upon him the protection of the holy see, the

A. D.
1516.

Wolsey, which he effectually did by some promises extremely flattering to the ambition of that haughty prelate and minister. *Wolsey* artfully represented to *Henry* the danger of suffering *Francis* to grow too powerful, and chiefly applied himself to the passions of that young monarch. In short, *Maximilian* with joy saw his intrigues against the *Venetians* and *French* succeed to his wish. All the young courtiers were strenuous in a rupture with *France*, while the older and more prudent part of the nation represented the injustice of breaking a treaty without the smallest provocation; and advised *Henry* rather to turn his arms against *Scotland*^c.

IN the mean time *Leo* the tenth, being informed of what passed in *England*, was not forward in concluding the treaty on foot with *Francis*: he spent a month at *Florence* quibbling about the expences in which the holy see ought to be reimbursed before he yielded *Modena* and *Reggia*. He was desirous that the duke of *Ferrara* should receive his investiture from the church, though all his predecessors had received theirs from the empire; but the duke nobly rejected both propositions, although he was acquainted with the combination formed against *France*, yet he refused to desert his ally^d.

Brescia
and Ve-
rona be-
sieged by
the French
and Vene-
tians.

THE winter having been wholly employed in negotiations and state intrigues, early in the spring the *Venetian* army took the field. *Trivulcio*, who commanded at the siege of *Brescia* the preceding autumn, lost some reputation by having so suddenly abandoned the works, and for the defeat sustained, together with the loss of his cannon. The army, however, had quartered in the *Brescian*, in order to resume the siege when the season permitted: it was accordingly entered upon under the conduct of *Lautrec*, who succeeded *Trivulcio*; and another army was at the same time sent to invest *Verona*^e. Things were in great forwardness, notwithstanding all *Leo*'s intrigues, when news arrived that *Maximilian*'s army was in full march towards *Verona*: he had drawn together a number of troops levied in his hereditary dominions to resist *Selim*, who it was imagined proposed entering *Germany*. Besides this each circle of the empire had given him five thousand horse and six thousand foot; and the five lesser cantons of *Switzerland*,

^c RAPIN. vid. Hist. Eng. etiam Negotiationes et gesta C. Wolsey. ^d GUICC. l. 12. ^e PARUTA, l. 3.

pope's person, and of the family of *Medici*; the pope, on his part, consenting to recal the troops sent to the assistance of *Maximilian*, and to with-

draw his garrison from *Verona*. How well he performed his contract will appear in the sequel. *Spalatin*, Viti. *Leo*.

who

who refused to treat with *Francis*, sent their quota of five thousand infantry to *Maximilian*. With this formidable army, his march was so expeditious and secret, that neither the *French* or *Venetians* suspected he had moved out of quarters, until he descended the mountains of *Trente*^f (E). The approach of the imperial army obliged the allies to raise the sieges of *Brescia* and *Verona*, with a precipitation that more resembled flight than a retreat. *Lautrec*, who commanded in chief at both, shewed at first great magnanimity : he sent the king word, that he would prevent the emperor's crossing the *Oglio* ; but he did not keep his promise, having been misinformed concerning the strength of the imperial army, and likewise the depth of the river, which happened to be lower than it usually was at that season of the year. The Imperialists passed the *Oglio*, marching to *Cremona*, where they encamped : there they were joined by *Mincio* with the forces quartered at *Verona*, upon which they proceeded with little obstruction to *Milan*. The imprudent conduct of *Maximilian*, in wasting time in the siege of *Asola*, gave the *Venetians* time to recover themselves, and take the necessary measures for the defence of *Milan*^g. They had received ten thousand *Swiss* into their pay, raised in those cantons in treaty with *France* by the baron *Alt Saxe*. *Trivulcia* had thrown three thousand men into *Cremona*, and had passed the *Alda* to meet the *Swiss* and oppose *Maximilian's* crossing

The emperor's approach raises both sieges.

^f PETR. JUSTIAN. l. II.

^g STEVINS. Period. l. 10. p. 961.

(E) *Colonna*, who was governor of *Verona*, took every measure to distress the *Venetian* and *French* army. To cut off their provision and forage he kept parties of light horse at *Legnano*, with which he scoured the country, greatly distressing the inhabitants, as well as the army. *Lautrec* sent a detachment of four hundred men at arms and five hundred light horse, to put a stop to those incursions; but *Colonna*, receiving intelligence of their march, not only reinforced the parties at *Legnano*, but likewise placed an ambuscade so judiciously, that the *Venetian* proveditor fell into it, and was defeated. Another

detachment, under *Ursini*, was more fortunate ; for having encountered a body of three thousand Imperialists, he defeated them with the loss of eight hundred of their best troops (1). It may not be unseasonable to mention, that *Leo*, seeing the progress and strength of *Maximilian*, thought he could not too early make his court. The emperor had no sooner obliged the enemy to raise the sieges of *Verona* and *Brescia*, than he sent a nuncio to congratulate him on his arrival in *Italy* (2); though according to the treaty of *Bologna*, he ought to have taken every measure to stop his progress.

(1) Guicc. l. 12.

(2) Petr. Justinian. l. II.

Maximilian lays
siege to
Milan.

this river. Accordingly the emperor was repulsed at *Picighion*; after which he made a feint, as if he intended passing at *Cassan*, and in the mean time throwing a bridge over the *Adda*, detached a body of infantry to defend it, by which means he at last succeeded. Then marching strait to *Milan*, he sent a herald to demand the keys of the gates, threatening the inhabitants with the most rigorous treatment, if they refused to comply. By this time *Trivulcio* was returned to the city, and his army was a seasonable reinforcement to the constable, who had the utmost difficulty to keep the inhabitants, terrified with the emperor's menaces, from surrendering. The nearer *Maximilian* approached the more tumultuous were the *Milanois*, either from a fickleness natural to them, or dread of the imperial power; nor could the commotions be fully quieted until the arrival of the *Swiss*. So powerful a reinforcement inspired them with courage, and now they became no less insolent than they had been humble but a few hours before. Other happy consequences to the *French* immediately followed the arrival of the *Swiss*^a: their countrymen in the imperial army began to murmur, and demand their pay with a boldness that terrified *Maximilian*. *Staffler* their colonel came to the emperor's bedside, and demanded their pension in terms so disrespectful, that *Maximilian* could not help reproaching him with ill manners, to which *Staffler* answered, 'That the *Swiss* wanted florins not breeding; and that if their engagements were not instantly fulfilled, they would embrace the offers of the constable of *Bourbon*.' This declaration the emperor received as extremely probable; he feared lest the *French* might have money enough to corrupt the *Swiss*; and he was too well acquainted with the disposition of those republicans to have any doubt of their receiving their money upon any terms. To appease *Staffler* he told him that by the next day he might depend on the payment of the arrears, and also a sum in advance. After the departure of the *Swiss*, *Maximilian* removed his quarters to another part of the camp, where he thought he might be protected by the *Germans*; but apprehending danger here likewise, he raised the siege, and retired to the *Bergamasco* with the *Germans*, where he encamped. The *Swiss*, following his example, decamped likewise and took the rout of *Lodi*, pillaging every place in their way. They were proceeding on their march homeward, when the cardinal *Sion* came up with them, bringing with him six thousand crowns, which the emperor had raised in the *Bergamasco* by way of contribution.

His army
disperses.

^a BARUTA. l. 3.

Moreover,

Moreover, he assured them of an immediate advance of fifty thousand crowns, *Spanish* money, deposited in the city of *Trente*; upon which they suspended measures, and had some thoughts of returning to the siege, when fresh difficulties occurred. In short, *Maximilian* not having performed his promise, the *Swiss* returned home, the *Germans* encamped in the *Veronese*, the other auxiliaries repassed the *Alps*, and three thousand *Lansquenets* went over to the *Venetians*. Thus ended the formidable expedition of *Maximilian* in the total dispersion of an army, which under proper authority and discipline was sufficient to conquer all *Italy*¹.

BUT neither the *Venetians* or *French* profited much by the *Divisions* disorder in the imperial army: the former thought of nothing *arise be-* more than establishing themselves quietly in the dutchy of *tween the Milan* by a firm peace; while the *Venetians* in vain complained *French* of a breach of contract in not assisting them in the recovery *and Vene-* of their dominions. *Gritti* the proveditor made strong re- *tians.* monstrances to *Lautrec* upon his refusal to undertake the siege of *Verona*; but they were ineffectual: he even proposed, in a council of war, that the *Venetians* alone should enter upon the enterprize; in which he had the concurring sentiments of the other officers. *Lautrec*, seeing their resolution, agreed to join them, and they were on their march to the *Veronese*, when the *Lansquenets* refused to attack a town belonging to the emperor: here they were a second time disappointed, and at length forced to lay aside the design².

AN account of these transactions coming to the senate, they immediately sent a reinforcement of four thousand men, money, and stores, with orders for the army to proceed directly to the siege. Accordingly *Verona* was invested, and the siege *Verona* carried on with vigour on the part of the *Venetians*, but not *besieged by* so on the side of *Lautrec*. The proveditors used all their *the Vene-* endeavours to engage the *French* heartily in the cause; but *tians.* perceiving they were put off by frivolous excuses, they began to suspect that *Lautrec's* conduct was the effects of some secret orders from court. Intelligence having arrived at the same time in the camp of a body of *Germans* that were on their march for the relief of the place, *Lautrec* sent the proveditor notice that he would not hazard a battle, and of his intention to decamp. This he immediately effected, leaving the *Venetians* alone to conduct the siege, and encounter the approaching enemy³.

¹ Ibid. etiam. HEUTERUS. l. 7. c. 12. FUGG. l. 6. c. 18. MARIAN. l. 30. ² Foug. d. 3. l. 5. PARUTA. l. 3. ³ PARUTA. l. 3.

WE must now inquire into the occasion of this remissness in the *French* general, and the reasons which induced him so obviously to break the treaty with the republic. *Francis* having recovered the *Milanesè*, had formed new projects, in consequence of the death of *Ferdinand*, which happened this year. He had planned the design of adding *Naples* to the crown of *France*, in hopes that the archduke *Charles* would not be in a capacity to lay claim to *Aragon* before he was well established in his *Spanish* dominions. *Leo*, eager for the expulsion of the *French* from *Italy*, kept emissaries at the courts of the emperor, *Henry* the eighth, and the archduke *Charles* : he likewise used all his endeavours by clandestine measures to prevail on the *Swiss* cantons to break their treaty with *France* ; but his intrigues could not be kept so secret as not to come to the ears of the *French* monarch ; upon this *Francis*, at once abandoning his schemes upon *Naples*, resolved to treat with *Spain* ; nor was that crown less disposed to terms of amity. The result of this mutual inclination was a treaty, struck up at *Noyon* by the plenipotentiaries of each, in which *Francis*, for certain considerations, renounced his claim to *Naples*.

Treaty of
Noyon
between
Francis
and the
archduke
Charles.

THIS treaty was soon followed by another signed at *Brussels*. According to this, *Charles* engaged to prevail on his grandfather to consign the city of *Verona* into the hands of *Lautrec*, to be delivered by him to the *Venetians* upon their paying to *Maximilian* for that restitution the sum of two hundred thousand ducats, and to *Francis* the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, due to him from *Maximilian*. Both these treaties were diametrically opposite to the inclinations and views of *Leo*, *Maximilian*, and *Henry* the eighth. The pontiff passionately wished the decline of the *French* power. *Maximilian's* chief view was to raise enemies to *Francis*, to prevent his assisting the *Venetians* : he foresaw that he either must ratify the treaty of *Brussels* and yield up *Verona*, or else defend his *Italian* conquests, without a single ally against a powerful enemy. In this extremity he thought the most adviseable measure would be to embroil the affairs of *Europe* in such a manner, that the new war might stir up a league against *France* ^m.

THE senate of *Venice*, sensible that the emperor would object to the terms of the treaty of *Brussels*, continued their remonstrances so assiduously to *Lautrec*, that not knowing how to excuse himself without an open violation of the treaty, he returned to the siege of *Verona* : but in the mean time *Maxi-*

^m GUICC. l. 12. HEUTER. l. 7. c. 12. PARUT. *ibid*.

milian

milian thought fit to ratify the treaty of *Noyon*, and conclude a truce for three months with the *Venetians*, during which preliminaries for a peace were to be settled. Thus *Verona* was put into the hands of *Lautrec*, which was delivered to the *Venetians* on their paying the sum stipulated in the treaty of *Brussels*. *Gritti* and *Gradonico* received the city from the *French*, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, and of the senate and people of *Venice*. Demonstrations of joy were made in every city belonging to the republic; presents were sent to *Lautrec*, and *Gritti* was ordered to escort him to *Milan*.^a

Maximilian accedes to the treaty; so do the Venetians.
A. D. 1517.

PEACE being now established, and the republic reinstated in the quiet possession of her dominions, by a prolongation of the truce to the term of five years, the senate's attention was turned wholly to pacific measures. They began with easing the people of the burthensome taxes imposed for the support of the war; enlarging their commerce, and promoting industry, trade, and manufactures: nor did this wise body neglect the study of arts and sciences, which could not be supposed to flourish amidst a ruinous and bloody war: for this purpose the university of *Padua*, which had been shut for the space of eight years, was opened, and particular immunities and privileges conferred on this ancient seat of the muses.^o To provide the more effectually for the security of science, which ever blows strongest under the shade of peace, they added to the fortifications of the city, taking every measure which could prevent any farther inconveniencies to learning, or impede the education and studies of youth.

THE senate was sensible of what consequence to the republic it was to live upon terms of amity with the Grand Seignior: they had often experienced his power; and the traffic to his coasts was, perhaps, the most beneficial branch of their commerce. In order, therefore, to preserve the friendship of *Selim*, two of the chief nobility, *Lodovico Mocenigo* and *Bartholomeo Contareni*, were sent to congratulate him on his late victory over the sophi of *Persia*, and request the continuance of his friendship to the republic. *Selim* received the ambassadors at *Damascus*; professed great esteem for the republic; granted the *Venetian* factories at *Tripoli*, *Alexandria*, *Bareth*, *Damascus*, and elsewhere within his dominions, all the exemptions, privileges, and immunities they desired. In short, so kindly did he receive the ambassadors, that they returned loaded with presents, and highly satisfied with the magnificence, generosity, and friendship of that monarch. A treaty of commerce with *Spain* was likewise concluded, by

A. D. 1518.

^a BARRE. Hist. Allem. t. 8. p. 1054.

^o PARUTA. ibid.

which

which some difficulties to the *Venetian* trade, which occurred upon the accession of *Charles* to that crown, were wholly removed^p.

THE pope, the emperor, and the *Venetians*, were all equally desirous to preserve the sweets of peace which they had just tasted. To this end a prolongation of the truce was wished for by all parties, though two years were yet unexpired. The emperor was for referring matters to *Leo*, and proposed him as an arbiter of the terms on which it should be extended; but the republic chose to consult with *Francis*, and to put her interests in the hands of that powerful and ancient ally. *Leo* was prompted to establish tranquility among the christian princes, from a desire of uniting them against *Selim*, whose power became formidable. *Francis*, having confirmed the truce between the emperor and *Venetians*, the pope then set to work to engage them in a new holy war: his utmost endeavours were used with the republic, whose marine he knew would be absolutely necessary to his design; but the *Venetians*, sensible of the benefits they drew by their commerce from *Selim*'s friendship, returned answer, that his holiness might depend on them when the other princes were ready to take the field; sooner to equip fleets and raise armies would only expose them to the resentment of a monarch able at one blow to crush the republic. It was plain to the senate that such an answer laid them under no hazard of quarrelling with *Selim*, since they were aware of the impracticability of uniting in one design the strength of so many contending and opposite interests as were required to complete *Leo*'s scheme^q.

A. D.
1519.
Death of
Maximilian.

Francis
the first
and
Charles
of Austria
form pre-
tensions to
the empire.

SOON after the conclusion of the treaty with the republic, the emperor *Maximilian* died, after a reign of twenty-five years and five months: his death being known to the frontier garrisons, they began to make incursions into the *Venetian* territories, and to commit acts of hostility, as if the treaty was extinct by the decease of one of the parties; but these irregularities were soon prevented by remonstrances the senate made to the princes of the empire. In the mean time *Francis* the first and the archduke *Charles* of *Austria*, now king of *Spain*, made preparations to support their mutual pretensions to the empire. *Italy* in general was more disposed toward the election of the former, and particularly the *Venetians*. *Francis* sent *Taligni* in quality of plenipotentiary to the senate: his commission was to borrow a sum of money to support his master's election; to procure a body of troops to

^p PARUTA. b. 4. p. 251.
An. 1519.

^q SPALATIN. vit. LEON. BARON.

give weight to his pretensions ; and to consult the necessary measures in case *Charles* sent an army into *Italy*, to compel *Leo* to absolve him from the oath made to *Julius* concerning the investiture of *Naples*. The senate answered *Taligni* in terms of affection and friendship for *Francis* : as to money they told him of the low condition of the treasury, exhausted by long wars, notwithstanding which they would raise for his use one hundred thousand ducats : with regard to the forces required, they apprehended they would not be granted a passage ; or if they were, that they could be of little consequence to the king's affairs, and might involve the republic in a war : however, as to the third article of his request, the senate assured his majesty that any attempts to enter *Italy* in a hostile manner, would be opposed with all their forces and influence ; for that the republic had ever made a point of protecting the holy see, and their obligations to *Francis* would induce them to be no less regardful of his dominions^r.

IN the mean time the archbishop of *Mentz*, having convoked the diet at *Frankfort* on the twenty-eighth of *June*, *Charles* was there proclaimed emperor by the name of *Charles* the fifth. The disappointment of *Francis* is attributed, by the marshal *Fleuranges*, to his refusing to take into his pay the troops of the circle of *Suabia*, after their making some overtures to that effect.

SOON after the accession of *Charles* to the imperial dignity, *Selim* died, and was succeeded in the *Othoman* empire by *Solyman*, his only son, an enterprising, ambitious, and courageous prince. *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, knowing the young emperor's extensive projects, and hatred of Christianity, prepared for war, inviting all the other christian princes to unite with him, and particularly the republic. Instead of acceding to the proposals of *Lewis*, the senate sent *Marco Rinco* to *Constantinople* to congratulate *Solyman* upon his accession, and procure a confirmation of the treaty with his father, which was readily granted. *Solyman* even consented to join a squadron to the *Venetian* fleet for the security of their commerce, at that time infested by pirates : and he so far honoured the republic as to send a plenipotentiary to the senate, to notify his accession, and grant the *Venetian* merchants all the privileges they required. This confirmation of peace with so powerful a monarch, afforded the utmost joy to the republic ; their commerce was thereby secured, and the state freed from the apprehensions of a war it was in no condition to support. In

^r PARUTA. l. 4. p. 125.

consequence, their fleet sailed to the coast of *Barbary*, where it was extremely successful against the pirates^a.

NOT to trace all the causes which occasioned a rupture between the emperor and *Francis*, sufficient it is, that *Francis*, aware of the approaching storm, prepared accordingly. He sent ambassadors to *Rome* and *Venice*, to endeavour to draw the pope and republic into a league for the defence of *Italy*, and to prevent *Charles* from going to *Rome* to receive the imperial crown from the pope. His minister at *Rome* had no satisfactory answer from *Leo*, who was resolved to wait conjunctures, and be determined by circumstances. At *Venice* his ambassador received a promise, that the senate would provide for the safety of *Italy*; yet did the republic harbour suspicions that a secret treaty between *Charles* and the king was in agitation. This arose from intelligence they had of *French* and *Spanish* envoys meeting at *Montpelier*, for a final discussion of all differences.

THE negotiation at *Montpelier* coming to nothing, *Charles* sent an ambassador to the senate to negotiate an alliance with the republic, whose friendship he perceived would be necessary to his designs on *Italy*. As the senate insisted upon the entire restitution of all the places they possessed taken by *Maximilian*, the ambassadors took their leave, without bringing things to an issue^c.

THIS year was entirely consumed in negotiations; in all of which the republic kept aloof, not caring to break with *Charles*, and yet eager to preserve the alliance with *Francis*. Nor did the following year produce any open violence, although *Europe* was threatened with a terrible storm from an army *Solyman* had levied, with intention, as was supposed, to invade *Hungary*, and extend his conquests on that quarter. Near two hundred thousand men had been raised in the *Asiatic* provinces and *Greece*; an armament which struck the *Hungarians* with terror, and compelled them to solicit the succour of all the neighbouring powers. *Philippo Morosoffrat*, of *Agria*, was sent to *Venice* to request the aid of the republic. His speech in the senate was so affecting and pathetic, that this wise body, unmindful of their commerce, and the true interest of the commonwealth, consented to send ambassadors to the courts of *Vienna*, *Paris*, and *London*; and at the same time to furnish *Lewis* of *Hungary* with a sum of thirty thousand ducats^d.

The king of Hungary solicits the assistance of the Venetians against the Turks.

A. D.
1521.

A FEW days after the departure of the *Hungarian* minister, died *Loretano* the doge, after a glorious, but troublesome,

^a PARUT. l. 4. ^b GUIC. l. 13. ^c PARUT. ibid. Foug. l. 4. d. 4.
reign

reign of nineteen years and eight months. As he was a prince endued with every human virtue, was wise, brave, and generous, his death was much lamented, and no less felt by all degrees of men. "He was, says *Sanfovino*, not only "learned; but, by his liberality and taste, the cause of learning in others." After an elegant funeral oration pronounced over his body by *Andrea Navagiro*, he was buried with great solemnity, and attended to the grave by the unfeigned tears of his affectionate and sorrowful subjects *.

ANTONIO GRIMANI, Doge LXXVI.

THE great assembly now met for the choice of a successor, *Antonio* when *Antonio Grimani*, father of the cardinal of that name, was elected by universal consent. *Antonio* was rich, ^{doge} had borne the highest offices of the state, and passed through a life strangely chequered and variegated with good and bad fortune. It was but lately he was recalled from banishment, in which he lived since the last *Turkish* war, where he was supposed not to have discharged his duty. At his accession the republic was in peace, it is true; but the seeds of war were so plentifully sown every where, that a rich crop of misfortunes and the evils necessarily attending might soon be expected. Proposals were still making to the senate by *Charles* the fifth, extremely advantageous to the interest of the republic; yet so faithful were the *Venetians* to *Francis*, that they declined every overture, and even sending an ambassador to congratulate the emperor on his accession. *Charles*, perceiving their fidelity to their ally, thought of a measure which he doubted not would excite jealousies, and oblige them to have recourse to him: it was the sending a plenipotentiary to the court of *France*, as if he intended to settle the affairs of *Italy* without concerning himself with the *Venetians*. This in some measure answered the intention: however, a treaty he soon after concluded with the pope, and a plan formed for expelling the *French* out of *Milan*, being accidentally discovered, more closely cemented the republic with *Francis* *.

THE policy of the senate was to preserve peace, but this was found impossible amidst the intrigues of *Charles*, *Lea*, and the *French* monarch: they endeavoured to mend the breach between his holiness and the king; but finding their endeavours ineffectual, the army was put in readiness to march to the relief of *Milan*, knowing that upon its safety depended the security of their own dominions. Things now being ripe

* SANSOV. del. vit. Princip. p. 272.
RUTA. l. 4.

* GUICC. l. 13. PA-

for action, the imperial army, joined by the pope's forces, marched to besiege *Parma*. The trenches were not opened when *Lautrec*, after receiving a reinforcement of *Swiss* and *Venetians* came to its relief, and forced *Prospero Colonna*, the imperial general, to abandon his design. *Prospero* was, indeed, in a condition to defeat *Lautrec*, had not the sudden assault the duke of *Ferrara* made upon *Reggio* and *Modena* obliged him to divide his forces.

LEO began to harbour suspicions of the emperor in consequence of this disappointment : he had supported the whole expences of the siege, and attributed the want of success to secret orders *Colonna* had received. *Charles*, chagrined with the pope's jealousy, was more than ever desirous of engaging the *Venetians* in his party ; but all his endeavours could not alter the senate's purpose ^r.

BOTH armies were strongly reinforced by large bodies of *Swiss* in the service of each ; and *Charles*, having no hope from the *Venetians*, ordered *Colonna* to march directly for *Milan*. The *French* and *Venetians* were commanded by *Lautrec*, who, hearing of *Colonna's* intention, set out directly for *Cassan*, in order to prevent his crossing the *Adda* : but *Colonna* forcing a march got thither before him, and pursued his rout to the capital of the dutchy. *Lautrec* still determined to give him battle, had he not in his march been deserted by the *Swiss*, who mutinied for want of their pay. This circumstance threw the affairs of *Francis* and the republick in disorder, and compelled *Lautrec* with the remainder of his forces, to throw himself into *Milan*, and provide for a siege. In the mean time *Colonna* was advanced, and measures taken for investing the city : *Pescara* made an attack upon that quarter where *Trivulcio* and the *Venetians* were on guard. As the fortifications here were not completed, the garrison was soon defeated ; but *Trivulcio*, who was then sick in bed, instantly getting up, marched against *Pescara* with a few troops he had collected, not doubting but honour and reason would prevail on the rest to return. In this, however, he was disappointed, and after fighting bravely with a handful of men against a multitude, he was made prisoner, with several *Venetians* of distinction. *Lautrec* upon this, despairing of being able to preserve the city, put a strong garrison in the citadel, and retired with the remaining forces to *Coma*. *Milan* was sacked and plundered for ten days successively ; nor was there an insult or cruelty which the inhabitants did not sustain from the rapaciousness of the *Swiss*, and brutality of the Imperialists ^z.

Colonna
invests
Milan.

Trivulcio
taken pri-
soner, Mi-
lan surren-
ders.

^r Hist. citat. ibid.

^z Guice. l. 13. PARUT. l. 4.

FROM hence *Colonna* marched to *Cama*, which he besieged, and took after a short but brisk assault. The success of *Colonna* procured *Charles* the surrender of *Lodi*, *Pavia*, *Placentia*, *Parma*, and soon of *Cremona*, without striking another blow. Thus did the *French* lose *Milan*, without one battle, or memorable effort, when the approach of winter put a stop to the conquests of *Colonna*, and preserved the remains of *Lautrec's* army in *Venetian* quarters. The pope's death likewise impeded farther military transactions. This event changed the face of affairs, and reduced *Colonna* to as weak a situation as *Lautrec*^a. Intelligence of *Leo's* death was no sooner received in the army, than of twelve thousand *Swiss* he had in pay, no more than five hundred remained : the *Florentines* likewise withdrew ; and though the *Germans* kept the field, yet was their number too inconsiderable to undertake any enterprize, or even to resist the enemy, if seasonably reinforced. *Francis* imprudently neglected his affairs in *Italy*, and the *Venetians* alone were not able to seize the opportunity, when *Milan* might as easily be recovered as it had been lost. However, they took every possible measure : they levied troops ; they ordered their garrisons to march into the field ; and they tampered with the *Swiss* cantons, who seemed disposed to receive their pay, and assist *Francis*. Upon this *Lautrec* was induced to enter upon action in the depth of winter ; but the misconduct of *Bozoli*, whom he had sent with a strong detachment into the *Parmesan*, obliged him to relinquish his designs^b.

STRONG bodies of *Swiss* and *Venetians* having joined him A. D. about the month of *April*, *Lautrec* resolved to invest *Milan*, 1522. and take the advantage the low condition of the enemy afforded. His intention was to take it by assault ; but the French besieged Milan. strength of the garrison, and the enmity of the citizens to a *French* government, of which they were heartily tired, obliged him to turn the siege into a blockade. *Maximilian Sforza* in the mean time returned to *Pavia* with six thousand *Lansquenets*. Hence he passed through the *Veronese* to *Cassal-Major*. Crossing the *Po*, he arrived at *Placentia*, where joining the marquis of *Mantua*, he proceeded to *Milan* ; upon which *Lautrec* removed his camp to the distance of five miles from the city.

A DETACHMENT from *Lautrec's* army had besieged and *Lautrec* taken *Novara* ; after which he marched with the main body invests *Pa-* and invested *Pavia*, where the marquis of *Mantua* was left via. by *Sforza* to command : his batteries played with fury upon

^a GUTH. vit. LEON. BELCAR. l. 17.^b PARUTA. l. 4.

The siege
raised.

the walls, nor did the marquis neglect any thing necessary to a vigorous defence : the city, however, must soon have surrendered, had not *Colonna* found means to convey a reinforcement into it of two thousand infantry, chiefly *Corficans*. This obliged *Lautrec* to raise the siege, as he perceived by the strength of the garrison that the issue must be precarious, and the execution bloody and tedious. Retiring to a village called *Monce*, he resolved there to wait the arrival of a sum of money he expected from *France* : *Colonna* having intelligence of this convoy sent a detachment under *Anchises Visconti* to intercept it, which obliged the treasurer to secure himself in *Aroné*, sending from thence advice to *Lautrec* of his situation. *Visconti* posted himself so advantageously, that it was impossible for the convoy to pass or be reinforced but by forcing a passage, which the detachment sent by *Lautrec* was too weak to attempt.

In the mean time the *Swiss*, for whom this money was intended, became impatient : three days they waited ; but on the fourth sent one of their principal officers to *Lautrec* with three propositions, viz. that he would instantly pay them, discharge them, or lead them against the enemy ; propositions equally whimsical and difficult. The Imperialists were encamped at *Bico*, a village three miles from *Milan*, or rather they were cantoned in a large park, surrounded by a deep ditch, which rendered an attack extremely hazardous. *Lautrec* remonstrated with the *Swiss* ; but all the answer he could procure was *Money*, a *Discharge*, or *Battle* : however, he obtained from them some little time to reconnoitre the enemy ; after which he divided his army into three bodies for the attack, as this was the only alternative he could embrace. Before the engagement began *Sforza* joined *Colonna* with six thousand *Lansquenets* ; upon which *Lautrec* a second time remonstrated to the *Swiss*, but they were obstinate. No sooner did the trumpets sound than the *Swiss*, despising danger, flew over the ditch and prepared to mount the counterscarp in the face of cannon and volleys of small arms : the consequence was, that in the space of half an hour they lost one thousand of their best troops. The second line, not daunted with the destruction of the first, marched on with equal intrepidity, and met with the same fate, leaving in the fosse about two thousand soldiers, *Albert de la Pierre*, their general, and four other officers of distinction. The *French* and *Venetians* on the other side were not more successful, though less unfortunate as to their loss : *Lautrec's* brother attacked the bridge, which,

French
defeated.

after a vigorous action, he was forced to quit, having lost about seven hundred of his troops : such was the issue of the affair at *Bico*, which happened upon the twenty-eighth of *April*, A. 1522. Some historians alledge, that *Lautrec's* loss next day amounted to five thousand men, of which, on the part of the *Swiss*, three thousand fell. Next day he retired to *Trezzo*, and the day following the *Swiss* returned to their cantons : the marquis of *Pescara* was for pursuing them, but was dissuaded by *Colonna* to run any farther hazards, since the sure consequence of their victory already acquired, would be the total conquest of the *Milanese*, and disbanding of *Lautrec's* army^d. Before the end of the autumn, the Imperialists were intirely masters of the *Milanese*, *Cremonese*, and all the other appendages of the dutchy of *Milan*.

In the mean time *Charles* the fifth, knowing of the great preparations the *French* monarch was making for the recovery of the *Milanese*, made one more attempt to gain the *Venetians* ; but with as little success, it being the intention of the republic to keep well, if possible, with both parties, although a body of their troops acted in conjunction with the *French*.

THIS year *Adrian* the sixth, who succeeded *Leo* in the pontificate, laboured with all his might to bring about a truce for three years among the christian potentates. The great progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, as well as their conquest of the island of *Rhodes*, gave his holiness great apprehensions about the fate of *Italy*. *Charles Lennox*, his intimate friend and viceroy of *Naples*, persuaded him that *Francis* alone opposed his pious designs ; and the emperor and king of *England* had filled him with notions of the great authority and power of the head of the church. Flattered with these hopes, *Adrian* published a bull, by which, in virtue of the power delegated to him by the Almighty, he ordered all christian princes and states to observe a truce of three years, under the penalty of interdiction and excommunication. *Francis*, paying no regard to the sacred mandate, and continuing his preparations against *Italy*, the pope joined in the new formed league against this monarch, and omitted nothing to gain the *Venetians*. New envoys were every week coming from *Charles*, with different proposals and terms. At last the affair was debated in the senate with great warmth, some advising to embrace the emperor's party and the league, others to continue their alliance with *Francis*, a prince of valour equal to his power^e. The senate would seem to be divided

A. D.
1523.

Adrian the sixth joins in the league against France.

^d Memoire de Ballai. l. 2. BELCAR. l. 17. PARUTA, ibid.
^e GUIC. l. 15. PARUTA, l. 5. GUTHER in Vit. Adrian VI.

into two factions ; one in favour of *Francis*, headed by *Andrea Gritti*, a man of great authority and merit; the other by *Georgio Cornari*, no less respected for his prudence and wisdom than his opponent. These two noblemen supported their different sentiments with great vehemence and warmth, each producing so many strong and specious arguments as rendered it next to impracticable to decide upon their merit. The arrival of the bishop of *Bayeux*, ambassador from *Francis*, and of an envoy from *Henry* the eighth, still more, if possible, perplexed their deliberations. The first intreated they would suspend their determination, until the arrival of the *French* army, which he asserted would enter *Italy* in less than a month. This was reason enough for the *English* and imperial ministers the more pressingly to solicit them to an immediate resolution ; though at the same time they pretended to disbelieve the assertion of the *French* ambassador, under the notion that *Francis* could spare no such army at a time when his own kingdom was in danger.

The final
resolution
of the se-
nate, and
conclusion
of a treaty
with the
emperor,
&c.

AT length, by the intrigues of *Charles*, of *Adrian*, and the *English* ambassadors, a perpetual peace and alliance between the emperor, *Ferdinand*, the archduke of *Austria*, and *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, on the one hand, and the republic of *Venice* on the other, was concluded. The conditions were, that the senate should send, if necessary, twelve hundred horse and six thousand foot for the protection of the *Milanese* : that they should have the same number ready to oppose the invasion of *Naples* by any christian potentate : that *Charles* should provide an equal number of forces for the defence of the *Venetian* dominions against all enemies without distinction : that the republic should, in the term of eight years, pay to the archduke the sum of two hundred thousand ducats, as an indemnification of former losses : that the republic should possess all her cities, towns, forts, and territories on the continent, with the same jurisdiction, power, and authority, as at the signing of this treaty : that all persons banished their country, and expelled the senate for having engaged in the emperor's cause, should be recalled and reinstated in their former possessions ; and that besides, they should for life enjoy an annual pension of five thousand ducats, in recompence of their sufferings (A). The pope and *Henry* the eighth were guarantees of this treaty, and the kings of

(A) As the *Venetians* were in treaty with *Solyman*, and from thence drew very extraordinary advantages, they did not chuse

to run the hazard of offending him by having his name mentioned in this new treaty of alliance. *Hist. Med. I. 13.*

Pa-

Poland, Hungary, Portugal, the duke of *Savoy*, with a number of petty princes, were admitted as associates^f.

No sooner was the treaty concluded than the republic sent an embassy to the emperor, to compliment him on the occasion. Their next measure was to provide a general to conduct the intended armaments. *Trivulcio* was supposed too much attached to the *French* interest; yet as he had always behaved with a scrupulous regard to honour, it required some delicacy to dismiss him without giving offence. It was therefore proposed, that a pension of three thousand ducats should be settled on him for his support as a private citizen, on presumption he would not chuse to draw his sword against his king and country. The terms were offered, but rejected by *Trivulcio*, who preferred returning into *France*. In his room, the senate appointed *Francisco Maria*, duke of *Urbini*, commander in chief of all their forces^g. Such a change in the policy of the senate made most people imagine, that *Francis*, deprived of so powerful an ally, would forbear his intended expedition. Instead of which, he, undaunted by the league, remained firm in his resolution, and made greater preparations than before for the execution. The constable of *Bourbon's* defection somewhat retarded his operations; but upon his flight every thing went on for the march of the army. However, the king contented himself with sending *Bonivet* with the troops, amounting to twenty thousand horse and foot.

BONIVET passed the *Alps* in the end of *August*, or beginning of *September* this year; and coming to the frontiers of the *Milanese*, soon reduced *Navarra* and all the country on the farther side of the river *Mesin*. *Prospero Colonna* had neglected to fortify and garrison the places of most importance, not imagining that *Francis*, who had so many enemies to combat in his own dominions, could spare an army to *Italy*. But finding his conjecture false, he was compelled to retire in great disorder to *Milan*. He had but five thousand men; a body insufficient to defend so large and ill-fortified a city. Experience, however, had taught him, that he was not to conclude what an enemy would do from what he himself, in their circumstances, might think convenient: instead therefore of abandoning the dutchy, he began with all diligence to repair his former error, thinking it time enough to retire when the enemy made him unable longer to resist^h.

^f PARUT. *ibid.* FUG. l. 5. d. 5. ^g PARUT. l. 6. ^h GUICC. l. 15. PARUT. *ibid.*

Bonivet's
error and
Colonna's
diligence
the cause
of the ill
success of
the
French.

HAD *Bonivet* marched directly to *Milan*, without waiting to reduce the country as he proceeded, the gates would have been opened; but he injudiciously esteemed a day more or less of little consequence. Thus he lost four or five days, which afforded *Colonna* time to put the capital in a state of defence. The republic, having notice of their approach, ordered their army to assemble on the banks of the *Oglio*: they also reinforced the garrisons of *Crema* and *Bergamo*, sending a body of troops likewise to join *Colonna*. When *Bonivet* came before *Milan*, he found the city so well prepared for a defence, that without attempting to form the siege, he took the resolution of encamping at *Chiaraballa*, to cut off the convoys from the allied army; but his measures were so ill concerted, that, after persisting in the design till the end of *November*, he was forced to remove at a greater distance, his army being in want of provision and forage¹.

Bonivet
retires
from Mi-
lan, and
takes Lodi.

BONIVET, unsuccessful here, found means, however, to take *Monza*, *Lodi*, and to relieve the city of *Cremona*, which was in great distress, the city being in the hands of the Imperialists. The *Milanois* and *Germans*, apprehending that *Bonivet* might lay siege to *Cremona*, pressed the senate to order their army into the *Cremonese*; but they chose to refer the whole to the discretion of the general. *Francisco Maria*, unwilling to endanger the army committed to his care, encamped between *Romano* and *Martinenga*, with which the Imperialists were dissatisfied. Some reports of a secret treaty between the imperial and *French* monarchs, gave birth to the cautious measures of the *Venetians*, who were apprehensive of entering upon hostilities and wasting their troops, while it was doubtful whether an alliance, planned for their destruction, might not be in agitation: their general, therefore, kept aloof, until the storms which threatened the republic were dispelled; and the senate used the utmost diligence in forming new levies, and preparing against the doubtful events of fortune, and policy of the imperial and *French* councils².

DURING this state of affairs and suspense of action, from the mutual jealousy and distrust of the parties, as well as the approach of winter, pope *Adrian* the sixth died on the fourteenth of *September*, A. 1523. His death was a fatal stroke to the confederacy, depriving it not only of the pontifical authority, but of large pecuniary supplies. *Julius de Medicis*, who was chosen in his stead, by the name of *Clement* the seventh, assumed a conduct totally different from that of his

¹ CAPELLA. Hist. Med. 1. 3.
GUICC. 1. 15.

² PARUTA. 1. 6.

predecessor. This prelate, perfectly acquainted with public affairs, observed that *Adrian* had too easily acknowledged the weakness and fallibility of the church; a practice contrary to the politics of former popes, who never assented to the reformation of abuses, but to obtain some very important object. *Charles* had incurred the displeasure of many of the princes of the empire, by making too great concessions to the court of *Rome*; yet would not *Clement* renew the truce his predecessor had made with the head of the empire. He gave the emperor to understand, that his intention was to observe a strict neutrality; nor must his imperial majesty resent this conduct, which resulted from his sense of the duty of the common father of *Christendom*; his desire of uniting christian princes, and of opposing the quick growth of the *Othoman* power¹.

THE conduct of *Clement* extremely embarrassed the duke of *Bourbon*. The emperor had given him, after his escape from *France*, the command of his forces in *Italy*; but he sent him no money for the payment of the troops, nor was it possible for the duke to satisfy their demands, as neither the pope or the republic of *Florence* furnished their stipulated subsidies: he found means, however, to draw some money from the inhabitants of *Milan*; and at last he engaged the pope to give him twenty thousand ducats, and to use his influence with the *Florentines* to remit fifty thousand crowns, on condition that the duke kept the transaction a profound secret^m.

MEAN time the *Venetians* had appointed eight of their chief citizens to compliment *Clement* on his accession to the papal dignity. The senate was sensible of the importance of being on good terms with his holiness: his abilities were unquestionable, and it was reasonably presumed that his policy would vary in many particulars from that of *Adrian*. The ambassadors assured the pope of the republic's esteem of his private as well as public character; of their desire of being united in interest with him; and of implicitly following the measures his holiness would prescribe. They were well received at *Rome*; but during their residence *Grimani*, the doge died, after having governed for near two years (B), and was succeeded

¹ GUIC. l. 15. ANTON. DE VERA. Hist. de Charles, p. 124.

^m BELCAR. l. 18.

(B) The government of this prince was too short to afford instances by which to judge properly of his character. He is represented by *Sanfrovino* and other historians, as a person of great

succeeded by *Andrea Gritti*, unanimously elected on account of his experience in public affairs, and the ability and integrity with which he had always conducted several of the highest offices^a.

ANDREA GRITTI, Doge LXXVII.

Andrea
Gritti,
doge
LXXVII.
A. D.
1524.

IN this manner concluded the year 1523. In the beginning of the following, the duke of *Bourbon*, having been reinforced with six thousand *Germans*, and joined at length by some *Venetians*, put himself in motion, at the head of thirty thousand men. *Bonivet*, the *French* general, was now in his turn greatly perplexed how to act: he had but twenty thousand men, and no money, which was a circumstance common to both sides. He had, indeed, engaged ten thousand *Swiss* and five thousand *Grisons*; but could derive no great advantage from auxiliaries, whose courage was proportioned to the subsidy received. In this conjuncture he resolved to give battle to the Imperialists, before they became acquainted with his situation; but the duke of *Bourbon* wisely declined an action, though he was superior in number, determining either to famish or disperse *Bonivet's* army by procrastination^o.

IN the mean time the Imperialists recovered *Vercelli*, by means of a secret correspondence with *Tecti*, the chief of the *Gibelline* faction. *Bonivet*, finding himself almost surrounded, had thoughts of retiring; but was prevented by *Rencà de Ceri*, who promised to bring him five thousand *Grisons*. The imperial general, receiving intelligence of their march, sent *Jean de Medicis* with three hundred lances, six hundred chosen horse, and seven thousand foot, to intercept the detachment^p; and he so harried the *Grisons* with perpetual skirmishes before they reached *Gravina*, that, finding no *French* escort or money on their arrival, they returned home, giving *Jean de Medicis* a promise not to attempt any thing, unless they were pursued. *Bourbon*, being informed of this success, wrote to *Medicis* to invest *Biagrasso*, the only town the *French* now held upon the *Thestin*. *Medicis*, after destroying the bridge which *Bonivet* had thrown over that river, attacked the town defended

^a PARUTA, l. 5. ^o GUIC. l. 15. CAPELLA. l. 3.
^p PARUTA, *ibid.* Foug. l. 6. d. 5.

great prudence, gravity, and experience in public affairs. He was buried with great pomp, and an elaborate oration was pronounced on the occasion;

though we cannot venture to ascribe to him all the virtues mentioned in a professed panegyric.

by

by one thousand *Italians*, and took it in four hours: here he found some rich booty, of which the *French* had pillaged the *Milanois*. *Bonivet's* measures being entirely disconcerted by the success of the enemy, he returned to *Novara*, to facilitate his junction with ten thousand *Swiss* then on their march. *Bourbon*, to prevent his junction, encamped between *Vercelli* and the *French*, which motion obliged *Bonivet* to advance to *Romagnano*, where he threw a bridge of boats over the *Secchia*, and crossed without opposition. The next night he joined the *Swiss*, who charged him with a breach of promise, not only refusing to act in conjunction with him before their subsidy was paid, but drawing off others of their countrymen, by their disaffection^a. Alarmed with this accident, *Bonivet* thought of nothing but repassing the *Alps*, and getting clear of *Italy*. The Imperialists stuck close to his rear, and charged him with great vigour. *Bonivet* being wounded was carried off the field, the chavalier *Bayard* commanding in his room, and resisting the enemy with great intrepidity, until he lost his life. After this action the Imperialists laid siege to *Lodi*, where *Bussi d'Amboise* commanded, and had it soon delivered to them by capitulation. The *Venetians* bore no share either in the pursuit or siege, the proveditor refusing to exceed the articles of the treaty, saying, that the senate had engaged only for the defence of the *Milanese*. *Solyman's* great preparations, his ambitious spirit, together with the pope's equivocal-conduct, made the senate resolve upon keeping as much aloof as was consistent with the terms of their engagement with the emperor. It was apparent that, either for fear of the power of *Francis*, or distrust of the emperor, *Clement*, ever since his accession, inclined to the *French* interest. Though the republic had no doubt of the pontiff's intentions, yet not caring to quit the emperor's alliance before they were assured of the friendship of the *French* monarch, they kept their army in a state of inaction, waiting the issue of the duke de *Bourbon's* expedition into *Provence*. The fruitlessness of this scheme, and the sudden march of *Francis* into *Italy*, his laying siege to *Pavia*, and at the same time, by another army, invading the kingdom of *Naples*, threw the republic into great perplexity. Both sides solicited her friendship: she was already in treaty with the emperor; but the *Venetian* forces in *Italy* were too weak to protect the *Milanese*, much less their own dominions, if, by her adherence to her engagements, the republic should incur the resentment of *Francis*. In short, the senate entrusted the direction of their affairs to *Clement*, who

Swiss re-volt from Bonivet.

Rear of the French defeated.

^a GUIE. l. 15. CAPELLA. l. 3.

secretly concluded a treaty between *Francis* and the *Venetians* ¹.

By these temporizing measures, and political balancing, the senate procured some advantages, but little honour to the republic. The *Venetian* army still continued inactive: their intentions were not known to the duke *de Bourbon*; so little, indeed, that he was soliciting the senate to send the army to his relief, as he was retiring before *Francis*: nor was the senate well determined whether they should not comply with his request at the very time when they had concluded a treaty with the enemy. In the battle which soon after ensued at *Pavia*, we do not find that the *Venetians* had any share (C) on either side, or that their forces were at all present.

A. D. 1525. THE victory at *Pavia* filled with consternation and fear all the states not in alliance with the emperor: upon this the *Venetians* proposed to *Clement* the forming a league against the power of this monarch, who, by his victorious army, might soon render himself master of all *Italy*; but, during their negociations with his holiness, the senate thought it advisable to tamper with the emperor, and prevent an open rupture with that monarch before they were in a condition to resist his power: for this purpose, *Lorenzo Priuli* and *Andrea Novagiaro*, were sent to congratulate him upon his victory, and to excuse their delay in not sending forces to join his army. Mean time a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between the pope, the *Venetians*, *Francis Sforza*, and *Pescara*, who soon after treacherously revealed the whole to the emperor. *Moron* appeared in behalf of *Sforza*, *Montiban* represented his holiness, and *Santi* had full powers to transact the affairs of the *Venetians*. The contents of the treaty were an

¹ PARUT. l. 5. GUIC. ibid. Foug. d. 5. l. 6. Hist. citat. ibid.

(C) It would occasion repetitions were we here to give the progress of this campaign, which will more properly be treated elsewhere. Sufficient it is, that, previous to the siege of *Pavia*, *Francis* desired that the treaty with the pope and *Venetians* might be made public, which the former refused. The historians of the republic affirm that the senate assented to this request; but no where do we find consequences of their assent any way advantageous to *Francis*. The siege of *Pavia* was conducted solely by *French* troops, and the battle which followed, wherein that monarch was made prisoner by the Imperialists, was unfortunate chiefly on account of his inferiority. In short, to the irresolute conduct of the republic may be ascribed the misfortunes of that hero, and the success of the emperor.

alliance

alliance to expel the Imperialists out of *Italy*, to which the *French* were invited to accede: it was stipulated that the marquis of *Pescara* should be placed at the head of this alliance, and should separate himself with all convenient expedition from the imperial forces, in order to oppress them the more easily, if they refused to assist him in the conquest of *Naples*.*

League be-
twixt the
pope, Ve-
netians,
Pescara,
and *Sfor-
za* against
the empe-
ror.

IT was soon after that *Pescara*, imagining he might draw considerable advantages from so important a discovery, sent his chief confident *Castello* to the emperor, to acquaint him with the whole transaction, and to assure *Charles*, that he had no other design in becoming a confederate in the alliance, than to procure the more certain intelligence. *Charles* wrote him back, to continue the correspondence with the *Venetians*, the pope, and *Moron*; but a few days after returned *Castello*, with orders to seize on the chancellor, and employ all means for the immediate reduction of *Milan*. The orders were punctually executed, and *Moron* imprisoned in the citadel of *Pavia* on the fourteenth of *October*; a circumstance which entirely disconcerted the *Venetians*, who now found themselves exposed to the emperor's resentment, without being able to rely on the constancy of the pontiff. *Pescara* demanded, that *Milan*, *Cremona*, and all the places situated on the *Adda*, should be delivered to the emperor: to which *Sforza*, who was then ill of a fever, agreed, excepting *Milan* and *Cremona*; which, he said, he could not surrender but to his imperial majesty in person. He added, that *Moron* had taken upon him to negotiate this alliance upon his own authority. *Pescara*, upon this answer, threw off the mask; revoked the estates of the *Milanese*; accused *Sforza* of high treason; and obliged the inhabitants of the duchy to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. He even laid siege to the citadel of *Cremona*, and invested the city of *Milan*.

Emperor
seizes on
the duchy
of *Milan*.

THE *Venetians* were no less embarrassed than the pope and *Francis Sforza*. *Martin Caraccioli*, ambassador of *Charles* the fifth at *Venice*, was then negotiating a peace, or rather an alliance between his master and the republic. By accepting the terms offered, the senate foresaw their liberty would be in imminent danger; and by rejecting them, their territories on the continent would be exposed to all the horrors of war, as soon as *Milan* and *Cremona* were reduced. Less timid, and more penetrating than *Clement*, they told *Caraccioli*, that the late league was formed with no other purpose than to reinstate *Sforza* in his dominions: that it was evident the emperor had no intention to accede to it, because

* PARUTA. l. 5. GUICCI. l. 16. FUG. d. 5. l. 6.

he deprived that prince of his dominions: that they could think of no alliance with his majesty before *Sforza* was restored; and however great their respect was for the emperor, it was still greater for truth, fidelity, and their promise. Had *Clement* the seventh given an equal proof of his constancy, the emperor would have been greatly perplexed how to act; but his holiness, desirous of shewing his refined policy, fell into the same snare in which he had been lately taken. *Salviati*, his legate in *Spain*, was negotiating with *Charles*, at the same time that another of his ministers was treating with *France* and the republic, to engage them in an alliance against that monarch. *Clement* attended with impatience for the issue of the legate's intrigues; and he had fixed the day for signing the treaty with the *French* and *Venetians*, when he received intelligence that his other legate had concluded affairs at *Madrid*^t, the emperor having agreed to oblige the duke of *Ferrara* to restore *Reggio* and *Rubiera* to the holy see. Notwithstanding this, upon *Francis's* refusal to ratify the oppressive treaty of *Madrid*, by which he was set at liberty, the pope was no less eager than the *Venetians* to congratulate him on his return to his kingdom. He even commissioned his legate to conclude an alliance with *Francis*, the *Venetians*, and *Sforza*, against the emperor^u.

A. D.
1526.

ONE does not know what to make of the politics of *Rome* and *Venice* during this period. *Clement* and the republic were every month changing sides, forming new schemes, and entering into new engagements, which they never executed; they perceived that whether *Francis* or *Charles* became superior, their power must sink in proportion to the increased influence of either of those monarchs in *Italy*. As their conduct, therefore, depended upon conjunctures, the event of a battle or treaty between those great rivals, it was necessarily unsteady, fickle, and changeable. Two things contributed to hasten the conclusion of this league with *Francis*: the first was, that the citadel of *Milan*, which the Imperialists were then besieging, must soon surrender without reinforcements, which neither his holiness or the senate would venture to send, until they were assured of the assistance of the *French* monarch: the other was, that *Francis* imagined the equivalent of two millions for the dutchy of *Burgundy*, which he offered the emperor, would have more weight after the publication of this alliance. Certain it is, that he signed the treaty of *Cognac* with this view chiefly.

Treaty of
Cognac
between
Francis
the first,
Clement
the seventh
and the
Venetians

^t ANTON DE VERA. Hist. de Charles, p. 130.
DE VERA. ibid.

^u ANTON

MONCADA, the emperor's ambassador at *Rome*, laboured with great diligence to detach his holiness and the republic from *Francis*; but the senate kept *Clement* firm to his engagements: and as for themselves, they told the ambassador, that when his imperial majesty was inclined to treat of peace upon reasonable terms, he would always find the republic well disposed to an union; but that it became his imperial majesty to declare his serious intentions by actions rather than mere professions; that if he would raise the siege of *Milan*, reinstate *Sforza* in his dominions, and perform the articles of their last contract with him, it would then be proper time to talk of laying down arms, and the tranquility of *Italy*. *Moncada's* answer being couched in general terms, it was evident that *Charles* had nothing less in view than to accede to those proposals. The confederates in the mean time sent an embassy to *England*, to invite that monarch into the league, or at least to use his influence with the emperor to release the hostages given by *Francis*, and renounce the article of the treaty of *Madrid*, which regarded *Burgundy*, for a valuable consideration.

BEFORE the event of his embassy was known, the league was published; and the *Venetians* sent into the field an army of ten thousand foot, nine hundred lances, and eight hundred light horse, taking at the same time a strong body of *Swiss* into the pay of the republic. Upon the junction of this army with the *Swiss*, it was determined to undertake the relief of *Milan*, while the marquis of *Salusses*, with one thousand *French* infantry, and a proportionable number of cavalry, was to lay siege to *Navarra* and *Alexandria*. A general rendezvous was appointed at *Chiari*, from whence the army was to march as conjunctures might require.

WHILE the army was getting ready, *Malateste Baillon*, with *Venetians* a detachment of *Venetians*, entered upon action, having *take Lodi*, found means to seize upon *Lodi*, although defended by a numerous garrison, and provided with all the necessaries to sustain a siege. Immediately upon this success, the whole army, crossing the *Po*, joined the pope's forces, and marched towards *Milan*. The city was in the hands of the Imperialists; but the exorbitant contributions they had raised for the support of the army, had so alienated the minds of the citizens, that the duke d' *Urbini*, who commanded the *Venetians*, had no doubt of an insurrection in his favour. *Milan* was accordingly invested, and the siege carried on with great vigour, when *Urbini* received intelligence that the duke

de Bourbon had thrown himself, with a considerable reinforcement, into the city; that he had brought money for the payment of the troops; and that the Imperialists were assembling a powerful army * (D). After weighing circumstances,

* PARUT. *ibid.* FONO. d. 5. l. 6.

the

(D) It must be observed, that *Baillon's* success at *Lodi*, was sufficient to reduce all the other towns of the *Milanese*, had the *Italians* either conduct or courage to pursue the advantage. This city opened a passage more commodious than the river *Ad-da*; it prevented the emperor's troops from all communication with the garrison of *Cremona*, and from ravaging the *Parmesan* and *Placentin*, and furnished the confederates with supplies from the fertile country of *Milan*, as far as the gates of the capital. Had *Urbini* marched directly thither, he would have foiled all the vigilance of *Levè*, the governor. That general had under him but three hundred lances, three thousand *Germans*, and five thousand *Spaniards*; an army insufficient to carry on the siege of the citadel, to restrain the citizens, extremely incensed against the Imperialists, and defend themselves against a superior army. But the duke *d' Urbini*, overlooking those advantages, declared he would not invest *Milan*, until he was joined by a body of *Swiss*, to support the shock of the enemy's infantry. The pope's officers remonstrated in vain, that the opportunity would be lost; that *Levè* would receive succours; that they could not fall out, for fear of being attacked in the rear by the garrison of the citadel, with every other argument

that could possibly engage him in the undertaking: but he persisted in his resolution to run no hazards; and the officers of the holy see were compelled to desist, the pope having subjected them to the authority of the duke. Thus the fair occasion elapsed without an attempt made, when two hundred of the citadel garrison made their way sword in hand through the lines of the Imperialists, and acquainted the army, that the citadel was at the last extremity, they having made their escape for want of provisions. This at length determined the duke to advance within a league of the city, where he was joined by a body of *Swiss*. He then called a council of war, to deliberate on which side he should make the attack; but during the sitting of the council, the duke of *Bourbon* reinforced *Levè* with eight hundred *Spaniards*, and a sum of money. The next day *Urbini* planted a battery against the *Roman* gate of the city; and the siege was going on briskly, when the succeeding night the Imperialists made a furious sally upon his artillery; but after a warm dispute were repulsed. Upon this it was that the duke *d' Urbini* resolved to raise the siege, as if he had actually been defeated, and had lost his artillery. When the retreat was sounded, *Guicciardin*,

the duke determined to raise the siege; which he did accordingly, retiring unmolested to *Marignan*. The senate had conceived great expectations from this enterprize; now they were chagrined upon the retreat of the army. The duke *d' Urbini* sent *Lodovico Gonzaga* to justify himself at *Venice*; and his reasons appeared so convincing, that the senate was perfectly satisfied with his conduct. But the case was otherwise with the pope, who greatly resented not only this particular action, but the general behaviour of the duke. His holiness was outrageous that his officers should be so intirely neglected by *Urbini*, and never consulted upon affairs of the greatest moment. To appease *Clement*, and prevent divisions in the army, the senate ordered *Urbini*, for the future, to hold a council with the pope's chief officers, particularly his general *Francisco Guicciardini*, and to undertake nothing without his concurrence.

AT this time a fleet was equipped to annoy, in conjunction with the pope's gallies, the coasts of the enemy. Divers proposals were made concerning the course they should steer, and their first effort. The pope urged the fleet's sailing to *Apulia*, to frustrate the designs of the *Coloneffi*, who had there assembled an army. *Francis* and the *Venetians* joined in a contrary opinion, imagining an attack upon *Genoa* of more consequence to the common cause. As *Francis* agreed to strengthen this armament by a powerful squadron, the admiral was appointed by his recommendation, and *Pedro Navaro* made commander of the combined fleet. After various delays on the side of *Francis*, and suspicions on that of the pope and republic, at length *Armiero* the proveditor sailed from *Corfu* with thirteen gallies to *Teracino*, where he met with *Doria*, and eleven of the pope's gallies. Hence they proceeded to *Leghorn*, where

The confederates equip a fleet.

¶ PARUT. l. 5. GUICC. l. 19.

an officer in the pope's service, ran to his tent, and told him, the confederates would for ever lose their reputation if they retired for so slight a cause, especially as the enemy were repulsed: he said, the consequence of a retreat would be the immediate surrender of the citadel. But he was answered coldly by the duke, that it was a general's duty to be careful of the army committed to his

charge, and to place it beyond the reach of danger. *Jean de Medicis*, however, did not decamp before sunset. He commanded the pope's infantry, and had once thoughts of continuing the siege; but finding his force too small, he retreated with drums beating, without being pursued by the Imperialists. *Guicc. l. 17. Heuter. l. 5. c. 6. Spond. ad An. 1526. No. 7. 8.*

they

Block up
Genoa.

The forces
landed,
and the ci-
ty invested.

they joined *Pedro* with four *French* galleons and sixteen light gallies : here it was determined to reduce *Genoa* under the subjection of *France*, for the benefit of the confederacy : first they sailed to *Porto Veneri*, which, with all the other towns to *Moneco*, they soon reduced. The fleet divided, the *Venetian* and pope's gallies steering to *Porto Fino*, and *Pedro Navaro*, with the *French* squadron, to *Savona*, which immediately surrendered. Their first design was to prevent succours by sea from being sent to *Genoa*, knowing the city was ill supplied : by this means they expected soon to compel the inhabitants to accept an easy capitulation. In all probability the admirals must have succeeded, so well had they taken their measures, had not jealousies among themselves arisen : *Navaro* accused *Doria* of treachery, and permitting ships laden with provisions to enter the city ; and *Doria* envied the superiority given *Navaro*. *Genoa* likewise received small succours from the continent, but nothing equal to the exigencies of the city. For their security towards the sea, the inhabitants had stationed some large ships with heavy artillery at the mouth of the harbour : besides these, they gave *Guistiniani* the command of six light gallies, to skirmish with the confederate fleet, within reach of the cannon of the larger ships, in order to divert their attention from the expected convoys. The confederate troops being landed, the city was invested on all sides, and the batteries played with great fury on the walls. To secure themselves from the attacks of the peasants from without, *Navaro* ordered a trench to be formed round the camp. The garrison, finding itself thus cooped up, determined upon making a sally ; but the confederates, having intelligence or suspicion of their design, landed *Doria* and *Grimani*, with eight hundred more troops and some pieces of artillery : besides, their light gallies were drawn up along shore in such a manner, as to bring their cannon to bear on the garrison, if they stirred. However, without being discouraged, the *Genoese* made a vigorous sally, and were bravely received : the combat continued obstinate for some time, when at length the besieged were driven back within their walls with great loss². Notwithstanding this defeat, the count *Gabriel Martinenga* bravely defended the city, until the following year, when *Lautrec* sent *Cæsar Fregosa*, with a strong reinforcement to the besiegers, which obliged the count to surrender. *Martinenga*, captain-general of the *Genoese*, was made prisoner, *Theodore Trivulcio* appointed governor in the

² Ibid. etiam FOLIST. Hist. Gen. l. 12.

name of the *French* king, and the citadel, into which *Adorni* the doge had retired, was surrendered a few days after^a.

MEAN time the retreat of the duke *d'Urbini* with the confederate army was attended by the surrender of the citadel of *Milan*, three days after *Sforza* had obtained terms more reasonable and easy than he could expect, considering the condition of the garrison at the time he signed the capitulation : he was in want of ammunition, provision, and men, while those that remained were quite exhausted and spent with the tediousness of the siege. The pope had also been unfortunate in his design upon *Sienna* : but besides the retreat of *Urbini*, and the ill success of the enterprize against *Sienna*, two other circumstances contributed to disappoint the hopes, and reverse the former success of the confederates : the one was the disturbances excited by the *Colonna* at *Rome*. *Clement* the seventh, by the mediation of *Moncada*, the imperial minister, had been reconciled to this family, having consented to an interview with *Vespasian Colonna*, for this purpose. An agreement was signed, in which the pope engaged, for certain considerations specified, to protect them against their rivals the *Ursini* : but about a month after, *Vespasian* permitted his cousin, the cardinal *Colonna*, to advance with eight hundred horse and three thousand foot, and take possession of three of the gates of the city. *Clement* had only time to retire to the castle of *St. Angelo*; upon which *Moncada*, who was privy to the design of the *Colonna*, went to him, and after representing his danger, advised him to a truce for four months with the emperor, to which the other confederates might accede if they pleased. No sooner was this truce signed, than *Clement* recalled his troops under the duke *d'Urbini*; which greatly diminished his strength, and gave the first fatal blow to the confederacy^b. Another cause of its decline was the arrival of *George Fronsperg*, with a body of four thousand *Lansquenets*, levied at his own expence in *Germany*. This corps the archduke *Ferdinand* joined with a considerable corps of cavalry : *Fronsperg*, at their head, passed the mountains of *Trent*, and arrived in the *Mantuan*, in spite of all the opposition made by the *Venetians*. But before we mention this expedition, it may be proper to speak of the motions of the *Venetian* army after the retreat from *Milan*, and taking of *Monza*:

DUKE *d'Urbini* had taken the resolution to return once more for the relief of the citadel, when intelligence was received of its surrender. Upon this he turned his thoughts to the siege of *Cremona* ; to invest which city he sent a strong

^a PARUT. l. 5.

^b GUICC. l. 17.

detachment under *Baillon*, who acquitted himself so well at *Lodi*. *Baillon* found the city fortified with a double trench, and well provided; nevertheless, he invested it with great diligence and vigour: but finding his troops unequal to the undertaking, he sent to *Urbini* for a reinforcement of infantry, which was complied with. After the siege had continued for some days, the duke grew impatient about the consequences: he knew how much a second disappointment of this nature would prejudice his reputation and hurt the cause, and therefore resolved to direct the siege in person. Leaving the *Venetian* cavalry, and the *Swiss* to the number of thirteen thousand, to proceed to *Milan*, he marched with all the *Venetian* infantry to *Cremona*: his batteries played with great fury for several days, but without effecting a breach, upon which he determined to undermine the walls: by this means several large breaches were made, which he stormed with so much success, that the garrison hung out a flag of truce, and the city was surrendered upon moderate conditions.

The Venetians besiege and take Cremona.

The pope's forces recalled, in consequence of a truce with the emperor.

NOTWITHSTANDING this success, the above circumstances weighed down the balance against the republic: *Urbini's* army was much diminished by the retreat of the ecclesiastical forces, while the duke of *Bourbon* was in a fair way of being greatly strengthened by the junction of *Fronspurg*. Before the truce between *Clement* and the emperor was concluded, *Fronspurg* had arrived in the *Mantuan*: here *Jean de Medicis* was detached against him, who imagining the *Lansquenets* had no artillery, approached in reconnoitring them so near, that he was shot in the knee by a cannon-ball, of which he died. After the death of the brave *Medicis*, no one presumed to oppose the march of the *Germans*, who arrived without farther obstruction in the *Placentin*, where they joined the duke of *Bourbon*.

ON this junction the duke proposed going directly to *Milan*, to prevent the designs of *Urbini*; but *Fronspurg* answered fiercely, that the *Germans* would not move an inch farther till their subsidy was payed: to appease him *Bourbon* was under the necessity of coining the church-plate, and putting the rich inhabitants to the torture to extort their money. After this he proceeded on his march; but as he made several turnings from the direct road, the pope began to entertain apprehensions lest he might enter the territories of the holy see, or strike off towards *Bologna*, and from thence to *Tuscany*. With these suspicions he requested the senate that they would order *Urbini* to cross the *Po* with all expedition, to secure

Tuscany and the ecclesiastical territory; but as the senate was under some fears for their own dominions, they did not chuse to comply wholly with his desire: yet, willing to give his holiness all the satisfaction they could consistently with their own safety, *Lodovico Pisani* was sent with a strong detachment for the defence of the pope's dominions; the marquis of *Salusses* with the *French* and *Swiss* followed, after which *Vitturi* the proveditor crossed the *Po* with the rest of the army. To prevent the *Florentines* from entering into precipitate measures out of dread of an enemy who seemed ready to fall upon *Tuscany*, the senate sent *Marco Foscarei* to acquaint that republic with the steps taken for their security, and to keep them firm in their interest^d.

BEFORE we conclude the transactions of this year, we must take some notice of the naval affairs. A great fleet of forty men of war was fitted out at *Carthage* for the relief of *Genoa*, which was reduced to the greatest extremity, and at last taken by *Navaro* before this fleet put to sea. As intelligence of the surrender of the city was not yet received in *Spain*, the viceroy of *Naples*, who commanded the armament, steered directly for the gulph of *Genoa*, where he fell in with *Navaro*, who bravely attacked him with seventeen gallies, with fleet and obliged him to sheer off. Towards the end of the engagement a storm arose, and soon effected what *Navaro* had left *Navaro*, undone; for the *Spanish* navy was totally dispersed, and many of the ships perished. As only the *French* squadron was engaged in this rencounter, the council of ten recalled *Armiero* the *Venetian* admiral, for not assisting *Navaro*; but he cleared himself to the satisfaction of every one, it being impossible for him to beat up against the wind. The viceroy arrived with a part of his fleet in the port of *Sienna*; some vessels got safe to *Cayetta*, and a few made the ports of *Sicily*. As they had a strong body of infantry on board, their arrival in *Italy* greatly disturbed the *Venetians*; but their courage revived on the arrival of *Marco de Cere* and *Vitelli* with the pope's forces. Previous to this, the viceroy, having joined the *Celoneffi*, who were again in arms, laid siege to *Frossolona*: he was battering the town, and ready to give the assault, when the confederates arrived opportunely, and obliged him to decamp with such precipitation, as to set fire to his magazines.

So desirous were the confederates of pushing the good fortune with which the preceding year concluded, that they determined upon the invasion of *Naples* in the depth of winter, amidst extreme cold, and every inconvenience of a rigorous

A. D.
1527.

^d GUIC. l. 18.

season. About the end of *January*, the senate sent orders to *Augustino de Nulla*, appointed proveditor in the room of *Armiara*, to sail to *Civita Vecchia*: here he was to join the pope's fleet, and from thence proceed in concert to *Naples*. While the *Venetians* were embarking the land forces, the earl of *Vaudemont* arrived from *France*, and engaged as a volunteer in the expedition. *Renca de Cerè*, mean while, entered the *Abruzzo* with six thousand men, where he soon made himself master of *Aquila*. *Doria* sailed with part of the fleet to *Penzuola*, which he attacked with great vigour; but, finding a stouter resistance than he expected, he abandoned the enterprize, although his success would have been attended with very signal advantages to the allies, on account of the harbour of *Baia*. When *Doria* was reinforced he attacked and took *Stabia*, in less than two days, with *Corassa*, and five hundred men prisoners. On the tenth day after the arrival of the fleet in the gulph of *Naples*, *Sorrento* was stormed and taken; in consequence of which several other sea-port towns and forts surrendered without exchanging a blow.

Now the confederate fleet, meeting with no obstruction, approached so near the pier of *Naples*, that their cannon played with some success upon the walls. Various opinions were delivered among the officers concerning the expediency of besieging the capital, some affirming, that the surrender of *Naples* would be followed by the reduction of the whole kingdom. No time, they said, should be lost while the city was under the consternation their sudden appearance must have occasioned, and so ill provided. Others, on the contrary, were of opinion, that they ought to wait for the arrival of *Renca de Cerè*, their forces not being sufficient to invest so large a city. As to the delay, they said, it would be an advantage, since the garrison was in great want of bread, which alone might produce a revolution in their favour, the inhabitants being in general disaffected to a *Spanish* government: however, the former sentiments prevailing, an herald was sent to summon the city. *Moncada*, who commanded for the emperor, instead of yielding to this summons, marched out with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, to obstruct the enemy's approaches. This brought on a skirmish to the advantage of *Baillon*, who commanded the *Venetians*, and took some field-pieces belonging to the besieged, driven back to the city. Notwithstanding this fortunate beginning, the enterprize failed, either from want of money, or, what is more probable, in consequence of the late truce between the pope and the emperor. Certain it is, that the ecclesiastical forces not only refused

to act in concert with the *Venetians*, but many went over to the enemy. It is likewise affirmed, that the former truce was extended by a new agreement between his holiness and the viceroy, which obliged the *Venetians* totally to give up thoughts of the siege. The pontiff was greatly over-reached in this new convention; for having disbanded his army, he was left exposed to the mercy of the enemy: the consequence of which was the taking of *Rome*, the imprisonment of his person, and the intire ruin of his affairs *.

THE senate of *Venice* remonstrated to *Clement* upon the imprudence of his conduct, which he disregarded, as proceeding from private views: but that they might not be wanting to themselves, orders were dispatched to the duke of *Urbini* to join the marquis of *Saluzzes*, and oppose the duke of *Bourbon*, who, with the imperial army, was in full march to *Rome*. The imperial army had, for some time, taken up free quarters in *Tuscany*, and this oppression, together with the apprehensions he was under for the lands of the church, it was that induced *Clement* to hasten the agreement with the viceroy, which he thought would perfectly secure his territories. He perceived, when too late, his error. The duke of *Bourbon* marched with prodigious expedition to *Rome*, destroying all the country, to prevent his being pursued by the *Venetian* army. This had its effect; the duke d'*Urbini* could proceed no farther than *Viterbo*, for want of provision and forage. *Bourbon* advanced to *Rome*, attacked it, and was killed: but the prince of *Orange* taking the command, the city was reduced, pillaged, and given up a prey to the cruelty and rapaciousness of the Imperialists †.

THE duke of *Urbini's* conduct is deservedly blamed on this occasion; had he advanced, he might, with the greatest facility, have ruined the imperial army, unmindful of every thing but plunder. 'Tis true, he pretended the want of subsistence for his army, and the truce the pope had made with the emperor, by which he forfeited the protection of the republic. But his first objection might be obviated by making a small circuit into a more fertile and better provided country; and the other had no weight, since his business was to destroy, if possible, the imperial army, without regarding the advantage the pope might deduce from it, as long as the republic was benefited. It must be owned the duke d'*Urbini* lost several advantages during the course of this war, either through want of courage, or at least from too cautious and secure a conduct. His mea-

* PARUT. l. 5. GUICC. l. 18.
SLEIDAN. l. 6. MEM. du BELLAI. l. 5.

† GUICC. et PARUT. ibid.

*The senate
sends or-
ders to Ur-
bini to
march to
the relief
of Rome.*

asures wanted vigour, and the opportunity was often lost in the time he took to deliberate. The senate, grieved at the success of the Imperialists, the captivity of *Clement*, and the pillage of *Rome*, dispatched immediate orders to *Urbini* to advance towards the city, and, by his army, give weight to their negotiations to procure the liberty of the pontiff. But it was now too late; the pope and *Rome* were in the power of the emperor, and his victorious army elated with plunder and success. A new levy of troops was likewise made to oppose *Antonio de Leva*, upon the confines of *Crema* and *Lodi*; while their ambassadors in *France* and *England* took every measure to make the first proceed with vigour in the war, and the latter to break with the emperor. It must be owned, that the spirit of the republic seemed to be exerted, upon this occasion, in a manner worthy of their ancient fame, their free constitution, and their constant regard to the liberties of *Italy*. The fleet being greatly weakened by sickness, which prevailed among the seamen and land forces, an augmentation of the marine was decreed. Besides the ten thousand *Swiss* which they had persuaded *Francis* the first to engage, the senate took an equal number into their own service. The best officers were received into their pay; among the rest the count *Gaiazzo* and the marquis *de Palavicini*. To *Francis Sforza* they lent ten thousand ducats, to reinforce the body under him by new levies; and garrisons were put into the towns of *Romagnia* and *Ravenna* &c.

*The vigo-
rous mea-
sures of the
Venetians*

IN this manner did the republic take her measures for opposing the power of *Charles* the fifth, and procuring the liberty of *Clement*. In the mean while, the duke of *Urbini* was preparing for executing the orders of the senate: he sent *Baillon* with a detachment to reduce *Perusia*, which he soon performed, placing in it a *Venetian* garrison. Thence he marched to *Orvietto*, where he was strengthened by an addition of some *French* and ecclesiastical troops: upon this he assembled a council, read the senate's instructions for the relief of the pontiff, and desired the advice of the principal officers concerning the possibility of the enterprize. It was the opinion of the proveditor *Pisani*, and all the other officers, that the senate should be obeyed, and even a battle hazarded, if necessary. *Vitturi* alone opposed this advice, affirming that their army was neither numerous enough, or sufficiently disciplined to engage the imperial forces, who were old experienced soldiers, now elated and flushed with victory. *Urbini*, who was not of an enterprizing genius, was easily persuaded

into an opinion which had less danger, though less honour, than that of *Pisani* and the council. Without farther deliberation the senate's instructions were laid aside, as impracticable and hazardous in the present conjuncture: he contented himself with sending *Bazolo* with a body of horse towards *Rome*, to assist any opportunity which might offer to the pope of making his escape, and conduct him to the army: but *Bazolo* soon returned without effecting any thing, having found that the Imperialists had surrounded the castle of *St. Angelo* with strong trenches^h.

INCENSED at these delays the senate recalled, superseded, and imprisoned *Vitturi* for the advice he had given *Urbini*, while that noble officer found means to justify his own conduct. More peremptory orders were then sent to the duke, to attempt, at all events, the setting *Clement* at liberty; but this he absolutely refused; insisting that his army was unequal to such an undertaking, and offering rather to resign than occasion such a calamity to the republic, as must necessarily attend his defeat. So speciously did he cover his timidity with the cloak of prudence, that the senate was appeased, and he confirmed two years longer in the commandⁱ.

FRANCIS the first was making great preparations by sea and land for the relief of *Italy*, and the *Venetians* taking every possible measure to oppose the emperor; but the prince of *Orange* was, in the mean while, encreasing his forces, and living luxuriously upon the spoils of *Rome*, and, indeed, the riches of all *Europe*, which the popes had amassed in that capital. The retreat of the duke *d'Urbini* to the frontiers of *Sienna*, left the Imperialists in full security; a circumstance which *Urbini* might have improved to his advantage, had he been of a less timid disposition^k. His army consisted of two thousand men at arms, one thousand three hundred light horse, two thousand *Lansquenets*, an equal number of *Swiss*, and ten thousand *Italian* foot: besides these, the marquis of *Salluses* had with him seven thousand *French* and *Swiss* infantry, with a proportionable number of horse; yet was nothing attempted either for the honour of the republic, the pope's enlargement, or the freedom of *Italy*. True it is, that pestilence and famine greatly afflicted the troops; but if the enemy suffered less by the latter, they were, at least, equally miserable in the former respect. The whole seemed now to depend on the *French* and *English*, between whom and the emperor negotiations had been carrying on for several months. As

Pestilence and famine prevail among the troops.

^h Ibid. etiam Guicc. l. 18. ⁱ Foug. l. 7. d 5. PARUT. l. 6.

^k HEUT. l. 9.

neither side would recede from the terms proposed, *Francis* and cardinal *Wolsey* held a conference at *Amiens*, upon the means of prosecuting the war with *Charles* the fifth, which was now deemed unavoidable: here they signed three different treaties, which were little more than explications, modifications, and enlargements of a former treaty, concluded the thirteenth of *April* immediately preceding¹.

At this time *Francis* sent *Lautrec* at the head of an army into *Italy*, with which he crossed the *Alps* in the month of *August*: it was composed of twenty-six thousand men; that is, six thousand *Lansquenets*, under count *de Vaudemont*; six thousand *Gascons*, under *Pedro Navaro*; four thousand *French*, commanded by the sieur *Baries*; together with ten thousand *Swiss*: *Mondragon* conducted a numerous artillery; and the whole, when joined by the marquis of *Saluzzes*, formed a very considerable army. *Lautrec* first laid siege to the citadel of *Bosco*, in the territory of *Alexandria*, which he took after a siege of ten days, making the garrison, consisting of one thousand *German* and *Italian* infantry, prisoners of war: he then invested *Alexandria*, where he was attended with equal success: the city he put into the hands of *Sforza's* officers. After these conquests the *Venetians* and *Sforza* pressed *Lautrec* to undertake the siege of *Milan*: others were of opinion, that he had better march to *Rome*, and set the pope at liberty; and they enforced this piece of advice by insisting upon its being the chief object of the treaty with *England*, *Venice*, and *Sforza*. On the contrary, the senate represented that *Milan* was but weakly garrisoned, and that in consequence of its reduction the Imperialists would evacuate *Rome* and the kingdom of *Naples*: however, *Lautrec* opposed to both opinions the positive orders of the kings of *England* and *France*, saying, that while those monarchs supported the burthen of the war, it was no more than reasonable their instructions should be obeyed; that as to procuring the pope's enlargement, it could no way be done so effectually as by reducing the kingdom of *Naples*, which was in want of men, money, and provisions. The truth was, that *Francis* was unwilling to bestow any trouble in besieging *Milan*, which was by treaty to revert to *Sforza*, and this made the *Venetians* equally indifferent about the success of *Lautrec's* expedition to *Naples*².

On the twenty-eighth of *October* *Lautrec* passed the *Pa*, in the face of the garrison and cannon of *St John's* fort, where

¹ BARRE Hist. d'Allem. t. 8, p. 522.
PART I. L. 6.

² GUICC. l. 18.

he waited for reinforcements of *Lansquenets* and *Swiss*. The slowness of his march occasioned a report that he had secret orders to precipitate nothing : he stayed for some time about *Parma* and *Placentia*, under pretence of drawing the duke of *Ferrara* into the confederacy. Both that prince and the marquis of *Mantua* did, in effect, quit the emperor's party to join with the allies : all which advantages afforded a plausible pretext for *Lautrec's* measures ; yet it is certain the true motives of his delay proceeded from secret orders to wait the emperor's final answer to the proposals made to him by the ministers of *England* and *France* ⁿ.

Duke of Ferrara joins the allies.

NOR did the duke *d'Urbini* make more haste with the *Venetian* army to the theatre of action : he remained near *Montisfalcone* quite inactive, notwithstanding the weakness of the enemy, and the approach of *Lautrec*, furnished him with a fair opportunity of striking some decisive stroke. His conduct raised suspicion of his fidelity at *Venice*, in consequence of which a guard was put over his wife and family at *Murana* : intelligence of which coming to the duke, he requested leave to appear before the senate to justify himself. So specious was his manner that the senate, still convinced of his innocence, continued him at the head of the army, and removed the guards placed over his family. ^o (E):

WINTER now approaching, negotiations for a general peace were renewed. The senate willingly listened to pacific measures, the finances of the republic being wholly exhausted by supporting the burthen of a war, in which, however, she was only an auxiliary. Proposals were made by his most Christian majesty and the republic, that the emperor should deliver up the royal hostages of *France*, set the pope at liberty, reinstate *Sforza*, and restore all he had taken from the church. Although the emperor did not intirely reject the terms, yet by demanding a prodigious sum of money from the *Venetians*, he kept the treaty in suspense, determining to act accord-

Proposals to the emperor for a peace.

^a HERT. 1. 8. Foug. l. 7. d. 5.

^o PARUT. 1. 6.

(E) *Antonio Marcella* was sent by the senate with a few light ships to scour the seas infested by pirates. In his course he fell in with a *Turkish* man of war, which he engaged, mistaking her for a pirate. The battle was bloody ; but terminated in the defeat of *Marcella*, three

of whose ships were taken. The senate summoned him before the *avogari* ; but the Grand Seignior, pleased with their respect to his flag, returned the ships, with assurances of his friendship. Upon this the senate decreed an ambassy of thanks. *Paruta*, l. 6.

ing as circumstances might appear more or less favourable towards the end of the campaign. It was evident from his conduct, that *Charles* was desirous of appropriating the dutchy of *Milan* to himself, since he constantly referred the disputes with *Sforza* to be decided by arbitration afterwards, while his troops should remain in possession of the dutchy. As the emperor would not renounce this point the negotiations were broke off, and new preparations for continuing the war set on foot ^{P.}

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No sooner was the pope set at liberty, than the design he had formed of re-establishing his family at *Florence*, made him intirely alter the maxims of his former policy: his long imprisonment had afforded him leisure to reflect upon the ill judged measures by which he had been hitherto governed. Thus, when the ambassadors of *France*, *England*, and the republic, waited on him at *Orvietto*, to solicit his concurrence to the league, he pretended it was necessary to the well being of *Christendom* that there should be a mediator of differences, who would labour for the public tranquillity; and that nothing could be more suitable to his circumstances, or agreeable to his disposition, than such an office: nevertheless, he gave them to understand, that if *Lautree* obliged the Imperialists to abandon *Rome*, he would take other measures. In short, he said enough to convince the allies, that his sole aim was to deliver the church out of the hands of the emperor, and then to embrace that side which promised fairest for his interest and security ⁹.

LAUTREC, who penetrated the views of his holiness, did not think proper to pay implicit obedience. Departing from *Bologna* in *January*, he took the route of *Naples*, after sending *Vaudemont* and *Tremouille* to force the pontiff to a final declaration. *Clement* still found means to excuse himself; he saw all *Europe* in motion, and desired to wait the issue of this war, in order to take his measures more securely. In fact, he made use of a variety of expedients, arts, and wiles, to avoid disobliging either party. In the mean time, he had the modesty to demand of the *Venetians* that they would surrender to him *Cervia* and *Ravenna*; a request no way agreeable to the senate, or to that humility his holiness expressed. The matter was debated, and it was concluded to send an ambassy to the pope, to desire he would first terminate other affairs, or at least grant some equivalent.

^P GUICC. l. 19. SLEIDAN. l. 6.
¹ 9. GUICC. *ibid*,

⁹ PARUT. l. 6. HEUT.

LAUTREC departing from *Bologna*, as we have mentioned, arrived in *February* in the *Abruzzo*. *Apoli*, *Aquila*, and all the neighbouring towns, opened their gates, and received him as their deliverer. It was not without great difficulty that the prince of *Orange* could prevail on the imperial army to depart from *Rome* and take the field, where, for nine or ten months, they had lived luxuriously in free quarters, and the full exercise of every violence they chose to commit: however, as he was not incumbered with artillery, the prince soon got the start of *Lautrec*, who, notwithstanding, advanced to *Ponille*, which surrendered without terms. He would infallibly have reduced the whole country by the terror of his arms, had not the prince of *Orange*, with intention to secure the road through *Barri*, encamped upon an eminence defended by the cannon of *Trani*. But he was soon obliged to decamp with precipitation, and expose himself to the hazard of a defeat, had he been pursued; instead of which *Lautrec* amused his army with battering the walls of *Melfi*, where *Caraccioli* commanded a garrison of three thousand men. The governor withstood the first assault; but at the second he was forced, and the garrison, with near four thousand of the inhabitants, were put to the sword. The prince of *Melfi* was made prisoner of war, and his wife and children, who had retired into the citadel, surrendered at discretion.

Lautrec takes Melfi.

No sooner had *Melfi* been reduced, than *Borletta*, *Trani*, *Venosa*, *Capua*, *Nola*, *Accora*, *Aversa*, and all the other cities besides *Manfredonia*, *Gaieta*, and *Naples*, yielded to *Lautrec*. On the other hand, the *Venetians*, having reduced *Monopoli*, sent a reinforcement of two thousand men to the French army. *Lautrec* leaving them for the protection of his conquests, marched with the rest of his forces to *Naples*. While he was encamped before this city, a squadron of sixteen *Venetian* galleys came along the coast of *Apuglia*, to assist in the conquest of the kingdom by the reduction of other places ceded to them by the treaty. These were *Otranto*, *Brundisiacar*, *Monopoli*, *Trani*, *Nola*, and *Pulignan*, two of which were already surrendered. They were proceeding with great rapidity, when a request from *Lautrec* arrived, that they would speedily join the squadron under *Doria*, and jointly block up *Naples* by sea. *Pietro Landi* then hastened his measures, and, in a few days, made himself master of all the cities stipulated by treaty to be ceded to the republic.

Almost all the kingdom of Naples submits to Lautrec.

* PARUTA. l. 6. HEUT. l. 9. ibid.

* GUICO. l. 19. PARUTA.

A sea-
fight be-
tween Do-
ria and
Gobbo.

Baron Landi quitted the coast of *Apulia*, the viceroy formed a scheme for surprising the *French* Squadron under *Doria*. It consisted but of eight small gallies, to attack which he equipped, with great secrecy and expedition, six gallies, four pinks, and six brigantines, well manned, and carrying a thousand harquebusiers over and above their complement of seamen. The command of this armament was given to an officer named *Gobbo*, remarkable for his skill and experience in naval affairs, attended by the marquis *de Guast*, with a number of volunteers *Spanish* and *German*. *Gobbo* steered out of the harbour; but *Doria*, having had intelligence from *Lautrec* of his design, took on board four hundred land forces, and, weighing anchor, stood out to sea in line of battle. Both admirals displayed abundance of military skill to keep the windward, and gain other advantages, when at last they engaged with great resolution. *Doria* began the attack, and poured in volleys of great and small shot with such fury and judgment, that the enemy were forced to change their disposition, and bring up fresh ships. Upon this the battle was renewed, and supported, for several hours, with great vigour and equality, when the *Venetian* fleet coming up, attacked *Gobbo's* rear, and soon turned the scale. *Gobbo* was defeated with great loss, and the combined fleet sailed triumphant into the harbour of *Naples*. 'Tis true, *Doria's* fleet and his own ship suffered greatly both in hull and rigging: his captain was killed, with a number of soldiers and seamen; the rest of the Squadron lost in proportion; but the joy of victory compensated this misfortune. On the enemy's side were killed *Hugo de Moncada*, *Cæsar Fermanesca*, with about one thousand soldiers and mariners. The marquis *de Guast*, *Santo Cruz*, *Colonna*, *Serenon*, and the best officers of *Naples*, were made prisoners. By this victory the city was totally blocked up on the sea-side, at the same time that it was in great want of provision, and straitly invested by the land forces. *Lautrec* was opposed by a numerous garrison of chosen troops. His own army, from the excessive heat of the climate, was sickly, and numberless other difficulties he encountered in this enterprize; however, as the total reduction of the kingdom depended on the fate of the capital, he pushed the siege with all imaginable vigour. The prince of *Orange*, who had the sole command in the city after the death of *Moncada*, employed all his address to support the spirits of the besieged; yet he could not have resisted six days longer, for want of sustenance, if the face of affairs in the allied army had not

* Foug. l. 7. d. 5. PARUT. l. 6.

under-

undergone a great alteration. The diseases, which before had greatly diminished the number of the besiegers, were now turned to a pestilence that swept them off by hundreds in a day. So great havoc had it made, that, before the middle of *July*, there remained not above four thousand infantry and guns ^{in the French camp.} arms fit to engage. *Lautrec*, attacked by the epidemical distemper, was no longer able to command, nor even to keep his camp in security; a circumstance of which the prince of *Orange* did not fail to make his advantage. The besiegers were harassed and alarmed with perpetual sallies, which they were in no condition to sustain; and, to crown their misfortune, *Andrea Doria* openly embraced the side of the emperor, while his nephew *Philippo Doria* connived at his treachery, and suffered all sorts of provisions to pass his fleet into the city. *Lautrec*, finding his army dwindled to a handful, himself emaciated and confined to his bed, surrounded by enemies in the middle of an enemy's country, without all support except from his own courage, took his disappointment so much to heart, that he expired. It was the opinion of the marquis of *Salusses*, who succeeded to the command, that neither his authority or strength was equal to the hazard of continuing the siege: he therefore turned his whole thoughts to the measures proper to abandon it, after it had cost the lives of near fifteen thousand men. Upon his decamping, the Imperialists attacked his rear, but were repulsed; after which he threw himself into *Aversa* with the few troops that remained. *Pedro Navaro* fell into the hands of the enemy in this retreat: he was carried prisoner to *Naples*, where he died a few days after. Now the Imperialists besieged the French army in their turn, who, upon a wound which disabled the marquis of *Salusses*, signed a capitulation, which their distress rendered less disgraceful. Among other conditions, the marquis stipulated to have all those places, in possession of the French and Venetians, yielded up to the emperor without loss of time.

Nor was the loss of the army and kingdom of *Naples* the whole misfortune sustained by the confederates. The arrival of the duke of *Brunswic* with twelve thousand Germans in *Italy*, had entirely brought fortune on the side of the emperor: this general entered *Lombardy* by the *Veronese*, where joining *Antonio de Leva* with his Spaniards, he undertook the siege of *Lodi*. Happily for the Venetians the place was strongly garrisoned, and the resistance it made gave the republic time to make fresh levies to oppose the duke. Four thousand *Swiss* were taken into pay; numbers of light horse were

* PARUTA, l. 6. GUICCI. l. 19. SLEID. period 10. p. 1066.

He retires
into Ger-
many.

brought from *Greece* and *Dalmatia*; and garrisons put into all their principal towns, with governors of approved fidelity and valour. During the siege of *Lodi*, the duke *d'Urbini* first visited *Verona*, the walls and garrisons of which he strengthened; the same he did at *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and other cities. After this he greatly harrassed the duke of *Brunswic*, by attacks on his convoys, forages, &c. and by giving perpetual alarms to his camp. In consequence the duke of *Brunswic* raised the siege; and finding his army diminished, all the cities by which he was to march strongly garrisoned, with a variety of other obstructions thrown in his way, he retired into *Germany*. (F). In his retreat his rear was briskly charged by a sally from the garrison of *Bergamo*, and a considerable number of prisoners taken.

AFTER the capitulation at *Aversa*, and retreat of the duke of *Brunswic*, the count *de St. Pal* arrived with a *French* army in *Italy*, and joined the duke *d'Urbini*: they proposed carrying on the war chiefly in *Lombardy*, to oppress *Antonio de Leva*, who had but eight thousand men; but without entirely abandoning the towns in *Naples*; for both *Francis* and the republic had refused to ratify the convention at *Aversa*. They might certainly have succeeded in their design, had not so much time been consumed in deliberating upon the measures necessary to oblige *Leva* to evacuate *Lombardy*; but this wise general seizing the conjuncture, fortified himself and increased his army. The confederates began their operations by investing *Vigevano* and *Pavia*, which afforded *Andrea Doria*, now in the service of the emperor, an opportunity of retiring to the coast of *Genoa*. *Doria* practised every means to induce the citizens to second his designs: he represented to the people that a *French* government would leave them nothing besides the name of a republic: the nobility he dazzled with the advantages of the ancient institutions, by which they always held the reins of government. Knowing that pestilence had reduced the garrison to a fourth of their number, that they were retired into the citadel to avoid infection, and that the city

PARUTA, l. 6. GUICCI, *ibid*.

(F) *Paruta* and the *Italian* writers ascribe his retreat to the wise conduct of the republic, and activity of the duke *d'Urbini*. But *Bellai* in his memoirs, and all the *German* historians, are of a different opinion. Pri-

vate discontent, say they, induced him to this: *Charles* did not much countenance his expedition, knowing that the duke, by marriage, formed pretensions to the crown of *Naples*. *Barre, Hist. Allem. t. 8.*

was left in a manner desolate, he approached with his galleys, and landed six or seven hundred soldiers. *Doria* found the gates open to him; and once possessed of the city, he soon obliged *Trivulcio* and the garrison in the citadel to surrender: French then assembling the nobility, he remitted into their hands the government of the city; in remembrance of which the republic erected a statue to his memory, and honoured him with the title of father and restorer of his country.

DURING these transactions at *Genoa*, the confederate army reduced *Pavia*; in consequence of which several other cities surrendered. *Antonio de Leva*, finding himself harder pressed than ever, formed a project hardly to be paralleled in history: having collected all the wheat and corn in the *Milanese* under specious pretexts, he distributed it among certain bakers in whom he could confide, with orders to sell each loaf at the price of a crown. By this means he drew money to the army from those who were able to pay for bread; while the poor perished with hunger. The *Milanais* complained to the emperor, but his low finances could admit of no remedy; without money *Leva's* army would desert, and this was to be procured by no other means than the most cruel oppression. At last the inhabitants, rendered desperate by misfortune, massacred a number of his officers, and made attempts upon *Leva's* own life. The reins of government were broke; and the spirit of revolt every where excited, had *Urbini* and *St. Pol* known how to use the opportunity: but those two officers, instead of snatching this happy occasion for the recovery of the *Milanese*, were planning fruitless schemes to besiege *Genoa*.

DURING the winter of this year, negotiations for a peace as usual were carried on, but without effect. Several ambassies between the pope and *Venetians* had passed concerning *Cervia* and *Ravenna*; which his holiness still insisted on being ceded to him; but nothing was concluded before the treaty of *Cambray* took place towards the end of the campaign. The war was still carried on in *Naples* and the *Milanese*: in *Calabria* and the *Capitanata* the united *French* and *Venetians* bravely withstood the superior force of the Imperialists, obstinately disputing every village they lost: both sides seemed equally to divide the success, and nothing happened decisive. It was not so in the *Milanese*, where *Antonio de Leva*, receiving a reinforcement of three thousand *Spaniards*, pressed the allies with great vigour: they lost the opportunity of laying siege to *Milan* before *Leva* was strong enough to take the field, wasting their time in marches and the siege of places, but little contributing to bring the war to an issue. *St. Pol*

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was full of the notion of recovering *Genoa*, which *Urbini* opposed, insisting on the war's being continued in the *Milanese*: these disputes between the two generals prevented the execution of any design. At last the armies separated, and *St. Pol* soon after was defeated by *de Léva*, and himself made prisoner.

ABOUT this time the emperor sent the cardinal *Santa Cruz* to *Rome*, to negotiate a peace among the contending parties: he began by ordering *Ostia* and *Cervita Vecchia* to be ceded to his holiness. Ambassadors were likewise sent by *France* and *England*, with instructions to the same purpose: following their example, the republic gave ample powers to *Gaspar Contareni*, her resident, to enter upon such terms and articles as were consistent with the honour of the state, and her engagements to his Christian majesty: they solicited the pope to become mediator in their differences, and the senate promised, on these conditions, to deliver up *Cervia* and *Ravenna*. While the emperor and *Venetians* were thus bribing the pope with promises, they were likewise preparing for the event of a fruitless issue to the negotiations: the duke d'*Urbini* was continued three years longer in his employment; *Fregosa* was appointed superintendant of the army; count *Gorazzo*, general of the horse; *Antonio Castillo*, captain of artillery; and *Nani*, proveditor to the forces, which were greatly augmented. Several promotions were likewise made in their marine; and a fleet of fifty galleys equipped, with every thing ready to put to sea. The sum of twelve thousand ducats was lent to the *French* king, and three thousand to *Francis Sforza*, to enable them to send their quotas into the field, if the negotiations took no effect. Thus, after the war had already cost the republic above five millions of gold, did she not only furnish her own proportion, but supply her allies with money to carry their engagements into execution*.

STILL the campaign went on in *Naples*. Count *Guaft*, with six thousand *Germans* and *Spaniards*, laid siege to *Monopoli*, a town garrisoned by *Venetians*, and commanded by *Andrea Gritti* and *Vitturi* the proveditors. After having battered it for some time, and effecting a breach, the count gave the assault, maintained it with vigour, but in the end was repulsed with the loss of four hundred men: this defeat, with some reinforcements which *Renca de Cerè* threw into the garrison, obliged him to raise the siege. After the repulse of the enemy at *Monopoli*, the *Venetian* fleet coming before *Brundisium*, soon obliged it to capitulate.

* GUICCI. l. 19. BARRE, t. 2. p. 2.

ANTONIO DE LEVA, having defeated *St. Pol* in the *Milanese*, proposed pushing his conquests to the *Bergamasco*, *Cremaſco*, and *Breſcian*; but in this he was oppoſed by the *Venetian* army, which marched with great expedition to *Cafſan*. The duke d'*Urbini*'s light horſe greatly annoyed the enemy, cut off their forage and proviſion, and reduced *de Leva* to great difficulties. A detachment of Imperialiſts croſſing the *Adda*, to ſcour the *Breſcian*, and levy contributions, fell into an ambuſcade laid by the *Venetian* general, and was cut off. The two camps being pitched within a ſmall diſtance, daily ſkirmiſhes paſt, both ſides uſing all means to procure ſome advantage of ſituation, by which to draw the enemy to a battle upon unequal terms. *Gorazzo*, at length, without intending it, brought on a general engagement, which terminated to the advantage of the *Venetians*, the enemy having been repulſed with the loſs of fifteen hundred men; a victory this upon which *Urbini* greatly piqued himſelf, it being almoſt the only one he could boaſt during the war.

ALL this while the pope, under the mask of common mediator, was attentive to his own intereſt only: his aim was not only to re-eſtabliſh his family in *Florence*, but to render himſelf maſter of *Peruſia* and *Ferrara*, and to recover *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, of which he was deprived by the *Venetians*. At laſt a treaty with his holineſs was ſigned, in which, among other articles, it was ſtipulated, that *Charles* ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubienza*. Not long after, in the month of *Auguſt*, another treaty was concluded at *Cambray*, by *Margaret* of *Auſtria* and *Louiſa* of *Savoy*, in the names of the emperor and of *Francis* the firſt. This pacification was matter of great diſcontent to the ſenate of *Venice*: they not only reſented *Francis*'s having ſigned it without their conſent, but his renouncing the dutchy of *Milan* without any ceſſion in favour of *Francis Sforza*, and his engaging to reſtore the towns belonging to the republic in *Naples*, to the emperor. To ſaſtify the ſenate, excuſe the treaty, and procure reſtitution of the *Neapolitan* cities, he ſent an ambaffador to *Venice*. Thus remained *Venice* without an ally to oppoſe the power of the emperor in *Italy*: *Francis* was, indeed, uſing all his influence with the emperor and the ſenate to bring them to a reconciliation; but the *Venetians* were ſo unwilling to ſee the imperial authority eſtabliſhed in *Italy*, and *Charles* ſo determined upon that point, that little progress was made in the mediation. The affair was canvafſed for ſeveral days in the ſenate, ſome alledging the

necessity of coming to terms, others advising the continuance of war, unless the emperor gave more evident signs of his serious intentions: they enumerated the disadvantages under which *Charles* must engage to carry on another campaign: the *Turks* had taken *Buda*; schisms were risen in the church, which every where were ready to kindle up a civil war in *Germany*; his troops were mutinous for want of pay; their towns were all strongly fortified, well garrisoned, and able to spin the war to great length, before they could be reduced. These and other reasons induced the senate to resolve keeping their army on foot, until such terms were offered as they could accept consistently with the safety and honour of the state ².

A.D.
1530.

At length, upon the emperor's arrival in *Italy*, matters were finally concluded, to the great satisfaction and joy of the republic and of *Francis Sforza*, who was reinstated in his dutchy, on promise of paying a certain sum of money to the emperor. Ambassadors were afterwards sent to *Bologna*, to compliment his imperial majesty upon this general tranquility he had so graciously restored. *Charles* made the ambassadors some valuable presents, which, on their return, were laid up in the treasury; all such gifts being esteemed the property of the public, and not of the individual on whom they were bestowed. These marks of esteem the senate soon returned, by ordering the imperial army to have free quarters while it passed through the *Venetian* dominions. The governors of the cities kept open table for the officers, and the emperor's own table was supplied with the richest wines and most expensive delicacies at the charge of the republic.

The Venetians entertain the emperor magnificently.

CHARLES being at this time earnestly solicited by the Protestants to call a general council, he referred the matter to *Clement*. His holiness, apprehending dangerous consequences from a free assembly, advised the emperor to excite them by the secular power: he likewise endeavoured to draw the *Venetians* into this opinion, and to assist the emperor in that attempt; but the answer of the senate was agreeable to the reputation acquired for moderation, wisdom, and justice. They represented to his holiness the scandal it would bring upon the church to oppose arguments by arms; that it ill became the professors of reason and truth to avoid the trial, and a candid discussion of points, wherein reason and scripture only could be judges; that to persecute schismatics was the surest method to propagate their errors, since where force was used, the people generally concluded justice was wanting;

² PARUTA, l. 7.

that

that as to the princes of *Italy*, and themselves in particular, a long war had so exhausted them, that nothing less than self-defence, and the protection of Christianity, could induce them to undertake another; that the free cities of the empire were resolute in denying the emperor supplies, unless he convoked a council; and that his imperial majesty, by his own strength, was very unable to levy forces adequate to the enterprize^a.

THE pope clearly perceived the force of this reasoning: his secular views rendered moderation in spiritual matters necessary, and though the head of the church, yet could he, in favour of a temporal point, relax from that severity which his predecessors thought the duty of the representatives of *Christ*.

ANOTHER circumstance contributed to fix the senate in the resolution to engage in no quarrels on the continent. *Solyman's* power, by his conquests in *Hungary* and other parts of *Europe* and *Asia*, became extremely formidable to the *Venetians* and many other Christian states. Some late changes in the *Ottoman* government had proved hurtful to the commerce of the republic, and threatened a storm which might disturb the present tranquility. To guard against every event, the *Venetians* resolved upon fitting out a strong fleet, to support the expences of which they solicited the pope for a remission of the tenths levied upon the clergy within their dominions; but he refused them, and the senate was forced to have recourse to another expedient.

A. D.
1531.

THE war between the *Turks* and *Hungarians* had been carried on for above a year, and now the emperor *Charles* declared against *Solyman*. His holiness sent a nuncio to *Venice* to engage the republic in an alliance to resist the *Turk*; but the *Venetians*, though they pursued their preparations, did not care to form leagues which they were apprehensive might leave them to support a hazardous war, at least the greatest burthen of the expence: their answer, therefore, was general to his holiness.

IN the mean time *Charles* the fifth raised a prodigious army, with which he encamped before *Vienna*, there to wait *Solyman's* arrival. *Doria* likewise conducted a numerous fleet to oppose *Imeral* the *Turkish* admiral, while *Capello* commanded a fleet of near sixty *Venetian* gallies, with which he lay off *Corfu*. *Doria* formed a project of obliging the *Venetians* to join in the war, by raising the suspicions of the *Turkish* admiral that the fleets were united; but *Capello* frustrated this intention by a visit he made *Imeral* during his stay at *Prevesa*.

The emperor's preparations for waging war with Solyman.

^a GUICCI. et PARUTA, ibid.

The years 1531 and 1532 passed without the emperor's coming to blows with the Grand Seignior: *Charles*, therefore, passed in the beginning of the year 1533 into *Italy*, where he was met by the ambassadors of all the *Italian* princes and states. His design was to renew a treaty with them for the defence of *Italy*; into which all his art could not draw the *Venetians*, who were apprehensive of disobliging *Solyman*, *England*, or *France* ^b.

AN extraordinary piece of art and familiarity was made use of to render the republic suspected by those princes; for when the league was published, the *Venetians* were included, though without any authority on their side: a circumstance that gave umbrage to *Solyman*, until the matter was cleared up to his satisfaction. Peace was the great object of the senate's views, could it be obtained with honour and safety. A long and ruinous war had greatly reduced the affluence of this rich commonwealth: the discoveries of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* had lessened the extent of the *Venetian* traffick; but did not wholly ruin it. They still kept possession of the valuable trade of the *Levant*, *Syria*, and the coasts of *Africa* and *Egypt*. The three last years of peace had greatly recovered the exhausted finances of the state; but this, instead of encouraging the *Venetians* to enter upon new measures for a war, more strongly pushed them to endeavour preserving possession of the blessings they began to enjoy. Some little encounters with the pirates of *Angier*, however, disturbed the public repose. *Dandolo*, with seven *Venetian* galleys, fell into the hands of those barbarians; to revenge which the senate once intended issuing orders to *Capello* to destroy the town, and exterminate that nest of thieves and robbers; a resolution that was laid aside as prejudicial to the commercial interest, by giving umbrage to the Grand Seignior and other powers with whom they were at peace.

However, their pacific determinations did not prevent the senate's being involved in another affair, which, with an untoward beginning, had a fortunate issue. While *Jeronimo Canalis*, the proveditor, was convoying with twelve galleys a fleet of merchants bound for *Syria* and *Alexandria*, a *Turkish* Squadron was descried at some distance giving chase, with a bloody flag at the top-mast-head. *Canalis* was greatly inferior in strength, yet determined to fight it to the last: he found means to gain the windward of the enemy, and attack them to great advantage. The battle was extremely obstinate, the galleys of *Canalis* and the *Turkish* basshaw hav-

^b PARUTA, l. 7. BARON. sub. A. 1531.

ing frequently boarded each other. In the end, the superior skill of *Canalis* prevailed over numbers; the bashaw was made prisoner, four *Turkish* gallies sunk, and three taken. All the *Venetian* fleet and inhabitants of *Candia* rejoiced at this victory, and extolled the conduct and valour of *Canalis*; but the transaction excited other sentiments in the senate, who apprehended the consequences. The admiral's courage deserved the highest encomiums; circumstances would admit of no other conduct consistently with the security of the fleet; yet a war with *Solyman* was what the senate, of all things, the least desired. It was not doubted, as all the *Venetian* merchantmen were detained in the *Turkish* ports, but *Solyman* intended to revenge this affront; to divert him from which the senate sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to apologise for the late unfortunate transaction, and offer the punishing *Canalis*, if required. But here the generosity of the infidel stood *Canalis* in more stead than the gratitude of his own countrymen. *Solyman* was angry at the last proposal, and rejected it with disdain, saying, that the conduct of the *Venetian* admiral deserved the highest rewards; and that it was pity he did not serve a state able to pay a just regard to his merit. He then set the *Venetian* ships at liberty, in honour, he said, to *Canalis*, rather than regard to the embassy: a greatness of mind which equally astonished and ashamed the republic (A).

ALL this while war was carried on by sea between *Solyman* and the emperor *Charles* the fifth: *Doria* his admiral had taken *Moron*, *Patras*, and other places in the *Morea* the preceding year, which were all retaken this year by the famous *Barbarossa*, appointed admiral of all the *Turkish* navy. After this transaction, *Barbarossa* steered to *Italy*, wasted and destroyed the coast of *Calabria*; thence sailing to the coast of *Africa*, he took *Tunis*, and returned triumphant to *Constantinople*.

THE *Venetian* republic passed this year in the same tranquillity it had done the preceding, unless we except a skirmish which happened in the gulph of *Venice* with *Filippo Mazzo*, a knight of *Malta*, who lived by piracy. *Mazzo* was taken by the *Venetian* admiral, beheaded on the poop of his own ship, and the *Turkish* slaves on board set at liberty;

MAUROGEN. l. 4. PARUTA. ibid.

(A) *Canalis* died this year, soon after those marks of honour were conferred on him by the *Ottoman* emperor; and the senate, in recompence of the services he had done, decreed that his son should during his life enjoy the revenues of the isle of *Corfu*. Par. l. 7.

A. D.
1534.

an action extremely grateful to *Solyman*, but displeasing to *Charles* the fifth, under whose protection the knights of *Malta* had been for some years; but when matters were properly represented to the emperor he was appeased^d.

MEAN time *Clement* the seventh resigned his last breath, after a life of unsuccessful ambition; and was succeeded in the pontificate by *Alexander Farnese*, by the name of *Paul* the third. On his accession the senate sent an embassy of eight senators with compliments of congratulation, and wishes that the same spirit of justice and moderation which had governed his actions for the space of fifty years, might still continue to direct his councils: but *Paul*, with his new dignity, had assumed a spirit more agreeable to it and the disposition of his predecessors. *Guido Ubaldo*, son to *Francisco Maria* duke of *Urbini*, having married *Julia*, the only child of *John Varan* duke of *Camerino*, ought in right of his wife to have succeeded to that duchy after the death of his father-in-law; nor was it doubted but he would without opposition, when very unexpectedly *Paul* the third declared the duchy a fief of the church, to which *Ubaldo* could have no pretensions. This declaration he answered by the powerful argument of arms, a conduct that greatly incensed the *Venetians*, who had taken *Urbini* under their protection, and soon made them alter their sentiments of the moderate and pacific disposition of his holiness. Not caring, however, to enter upon a dispute with him, the senate applied to the emperor, who formed means to persuade the pope to depart from the rigour of his professions. What most of all wrought upon him, was a proposition made by the *Venetians* of giving his son *Pietro Lodovico* an handsome equivalent in *Romagnia* for the surrender of *Cervia* and *Ravenna* to the republic. His holiness lent a willing ear to whatever tended to exalt and firmly establish his family: he began therefore to recede from his claim on the duchy of *Camerino*, being willing to gain the *Venetians*, the natural protectors of his son, should he be established in *Romagnia*.

WHILE the pope and *Venetians* were engaged in negotiations of this nature, the emperor was raising a powerful army, and equipping a numerous fleet, to the great terror of the *Italian* states, who were ignorant of his designs. At last it was known that this armament was destined for *Africa*, and against *Solyman*. The *French* resident at *Constantinople* had used clandestine means and unjustifiable intrigues to prejudice *Solyman* against the *Venetians*, though with what view we are

^d PARUT. l. 8. PARON. sub. A. 1534. MAUROCEN. l. 5.

at a loss to conjecture: he whispered about the city that *Charles* was excited to this expedition by the persuasions *The in-* and promises of the republic, than which nothing could be *trigues of* less true, at the same time that he preserved all the appear- *the French* ances of friendship for the *Venetian* resident. However, *Soly-* *the Porte,* *man* was too generous to form his judgment upon secret insinuations; he therefore put the question to the resident, who fully satisfied him of the falsity of the allegation and fidelity of the republic: he even sent an ambassador extraordinary to *Venice*, with testimonies of his regard; and to assure the senate that no indirect practices whatever should alter his sentiments of friendship for their republic. Thus stood affairs during the year 1535, when *Charles*, having finished his expedition by taking *Tunis*, *Goletta*, and other places, returned to *Naples*; there to pass the ensuing winter.

WHILE the emperor was carrying on the war against the infidels in *Africa*, *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, died without issue; an event which it was universally believed would break the repose of *Italy*. The republic was unwilling that the *Milanese* should be annexed to the dominions of the house of *Austria*, whose neighbourhood they apprehended on many accounts, and yet to solicit *Charles* the fifth to confer the duchy upon some private person, required delicacy to avoid offence: but the *French* monarch, renewing his claim to this duchy, eased the senate of their embarrassment, and paved the way for a treaty with the emperor for the security of *Italy*. This treaty was scarcely concluded, when *Beauvoix*, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to *Francis*, came to *Venice* to acquaint the senate of his master's intentions, and to solicit the aid and alliance of the republic. Giving any encouragement to this proposition would be an infraction of the treaty with *Charles*; the senate, therefore, contented itself with answering his majesty in general terms, testifying their respect for his person, and desire of preserving the public tranquility. *Francis*, however, persevered in his resolution of sending an army into *Italy*, and for this purpose demanded a passage of the duke of *Savoy*, which was denied: this augmented his majesty's displeasure against the duke, and kindled those sparks of resentment, which had for some time been smothered in political reasons, into an open rupture. A variety of circumstances now contributed to oblige *Francis* to declare his sentiments of the duke: he had furnished the duke of *Bourbon* with money; he had congratulated the emperor on *Francis's* imprisonment; he had conducted intrigues for drawing off the

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Francis
enters Pi-
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Swiss from their engagements with *France*; besides making the purchase of *Ast*, the duke refused to lend *Nice* for holding an interview between the king and pope *Clement*; his majesty's claim to the dowry of *Louisa* of *Savoy*, his mother; with a number of other particulars, all contributed to bring matters to a crisis. The duke, knowing the resentment of the *French* monarch, solicited the emperor's help to oppose so powerful a prince. Intelligence of this negotiation coming to the ears of *Francis*, made him hasten his preparations; accordingly he invaded *Piedmont* with a numerous army: he soon rendered himself master of *Turin*, *Pignerol*, and *Fessen*. The city *Vercelli* was near falling into his hands, had not *Antonio de Leva*, with the imperial army, marched opportunely to its relief¹. Thus a war was again lighted up in *Italy*, which *Paul* the third took every measure to extinguish. The great difficulty was to find a medium of agreement between the pretensions of *Charles* and *Francis* to the duchy of *Milan*; for as to the war with *Savoy*, that was only a necessary step towards the entrance of the *French* army into the *Milanese*: however, negotiations for this purpose were set on foot, which broke up without coming to any resolution. The emperor was desirous of giving the *Milanese* to the duke of *Angoulême*, and *Francis* was no less desirous that it should be conferred on the duke of *Orleans*: so violent was the emperor, that he offered to rest the decision on the issue of a single combat between himself and the *French* king.

WHILE the emperor was planning measures for checking the progress of the *French* conquests, *Francis*, with the assistance of some *Italian* princes, who had declared in his favour, formed an enterprize against *Genoa*, to reduce it under his power: this obliged the imperial army to withdraw from *Provence*, for the protection of the emperor's dominions in *Italy*. *Rodrigo d'Avola*, the imperial ambassador, arrived in *Venice* to acquaint the senate with the emperor's resolution to invade *France*, and to request their assistance. In consequence six thousand foot were raised, under the conduct of *Antonio de Castello*. The ambassador had assurances given him of the respect the republic should always preserve for his imperial majesty; of the senate's resolution to protect the *Milanese* against all enemies whatever. A farther augmentation of the troops was likewise made, the rendezvous appointed for assembling the army at *Axala*, with orders they should be ready to march on an hour's notice; yet, with all these preparations, so nicely did the senate balance between the rival powers,

¹ PARUT. *ibid.* etiam BARON. *sub.* An 1536.

that neither side was dissatisfied with their conduct: the emperor esteemed them his allies, and Francis could not look upon them as enemies, as they had taken no measures against his interest^a.

In this situation stood affairs, when a truce for three months was agreed upon between the emperor and Francis: notice of which was sent to the senate by the former, together with the conditions preliminary to a general pacification: viz. That Francis should declare, before the expiration of that time, whether he would accept of the *Milanese* for the duke d'Angoulême, and marry him to the widow of Sforza? If within this period he came to no resolution, in that case the emperor should have power to bestow the duchy on the infant of Portugal, or on Emanuel son to the duke of Savoy. He requested to know the senate's sentiments upon this subject; insisted upon the necessity of forming a league among the Italian princes for the security of Italy, and giving weight to the negotiations. The senate made answer, that as to the *Milanese* they could determine nothing, until they were acquainted more particularly with his imperial majesty's intentions: that when he should directly nominate a successor, they would then take their measures. As to the league, they thought it more necessary to oppose the growing power of the Ottoman empire, than that of any christian potentate. The senate then acquainted the pope with this answer to the emperor's embassy: they gave his holiness the strongest assurances of the pacific disposition of the republic, whose chief desire it was to preserve the tranquility of Italy. They used their influence to induce him to mediate a peace, which at length he complied with, by sending ambassadors to the courts of the emperor and of Francis. But his endeavours were fruitless, both sides being rivetted in their implacable resentments^b.

DURING this interval, Francis left no stone unturned to draw the *Venetians* off from their attachment to the emperor, or rather from their neutrality. After several indirect attempts, at last he sent a plenipotentiary with full powers to engage them in his alliance upon their own terms. The fairest promises were made to the senate, and the most engaging prospects laid before them; but nothing could prevail on them to break their engagements with the emperor, or disturb the repose of Italy. Francis, failing in this point, had recourse to the *Perte*. He thought that by engaging *Solyman* to send an army into *Puglia*, he would at least draw off the *Venetian* forces from the *Milanese*, and thus open a way for his own army

^a PARUT. l. 9. MAUROCR. l. 5. ^b Ibid. etiam BARON. ibid.

into the dutchy. Although at that time he had a resident at *Constantinople*, yet he now dispatched an ambassador extraordinary to *Solyman*. This minister began his operations by representing to the *Othoman* court the growing greatness of the emperor; the danger there was of his acquiring universal monarchy; the necessity of combining against him for their mutual defence; the facility with which the *Turkish* army might pass into *Italy* by sea; and the advantages that would result to that empire from such a measure. The picture was artfully drawn; whatever tended to increase the difficulty of the enterprize was thrown into shade, while the beauties of the prospect, and every other inducement, were placed in the most conspicuous light. The grand vizier entered heartily into the views of the *French* king: he laid the scheme before *Solyman* with such other blandishments as soon induced that ambitious monarch to embrace proposals so agreeable to his natural disposition, and thirst of empire and glory. His pride was likewise flattered with this request from a powerful christian potentate; and it afforded a fair opportunity of ending the *Persian* war, in which, without any advantage, he had consumed such immense treasures, and ruined fine armies. It was therefore determined in the divan to raise numerous forces, and early in the spring to invade the imperial dominions in *Italy*.

SOLYMAN, thinking it necessary to engage the *Venetians* in his interest, if possible, sent for that purpose an ambassador to the senate: their answer was, that they were equally disposed to cultivate his friendship, from a regard to his personal merit and their mutual interest: they, however, declined declaring themselves more explicitly; but although *Solyman* was satisfied with this general answer, it was otherwise with his ministers, who expected to draw great advantages from a war with the republic. To gain their ends, they began with false complaints of the *Venetian* officers in the *Turkish* dominions; with imprisoning the persons and confiscating the effects of the merchants of the republic, under various and frivolous pretences. This they doubted not would produce altercations, which might probably terminate in a war: their trade in *Syria* was, besides, taxed with a duty of ten per cent. their consuls letters to the senate were frequently intercepted; and two of the republic's ships seized in an open and violent manner in the island of *Rhodes*, and port of *Alexandria*. These were, indeed, most impolitic measures; for however a war with the republic might tend to the emolument of individuals, it could not but be prejudicial to the *Othoman* empire, and to the designs of *Solyman*. It was, in fact, compelling a strong mari,

Solyman
taxes the
Venetian
commerce.

maritime power to unite itself closely with the emperor, of Germany, and putting him upon a footing with the *Porte* in the only particular wherein he was inferior. This the senate foresaw, and thence doubted not but *Solyman* would disclaim, and redress the injuries done to their subjects without his consent or knowledge. *Tomazo Mocenigo* was accordingly dispatched to *Constantinople*, to represent the grievances of the republic to the *Othoman* ministry, and to the Grand Seignior in person, if satisfaction could not be obtained otherwise. *Mocenigo* applied directly to the emperor, and obtained the most favourable answer he could desire. *Solyman* expressed his resentment and sorrow for the injuries the *Venetian* subjects had sustained; he apologized for them by professing his ignorance, and promised they should be immediately redressed to the utmost of his power. At the same time that this declaration was perfectly consistent with the justice and generosity of *Solyman*, it was also adapted to his circumstances; for a rumour prevailed that the *sophi* of *Persia* was again preparing to enter the field with a numerous army, which obliged the *Othoman* to be cautious how he drew upon him the resentment of so powerful a state as *Venice*¹.

HOWEVER, as the preparations by sea and land continued with vigour through the *Turkish* empire, it put the senate under the necessity of guarding against a storm, the destination of which was uncertain. The garrisons were reinforced by a new levy of eight thousand foot; all the old galleys put in commission, and orders issued for building fifty more with all possible dispatch. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping in the ports, in order to man the fleet, and secure transports, if occasion should require. *Girolamo Pessari* was made captain-general of the fleet, agreeable to the usual method of chusing by lot in the council of the *pregadi*. In this office he was confirmed by the great council, as there was not in the republic a person more skilled in maritime affairs, or of greater experience^k.

BUT however vigorous the measures of the senate might appear, there still was a deficiency which could not be remedied but by the oppression of the people. The treasury was low, and now an entire stop would be put to commerce, that perpetual source of wealth to the *Venetian* state: to obviate in some measure this evil, three procurators of *St. Mark's* church were made, each of whom furnished the government with twelve thousand ducats: then the senate applied to the pope for leave to levy two hundred thousand du-

¹ PARUTA, *ibid.* ^k MAUROGEN. l. 5. BARON. Ann. *ibid.*

cats upon the clergy. His holiness shuffled about this request, sometimes alledging their poverty, at other times pretending to give no credit to *Solyman's* intention to attack *Italy*. In this situation the senate was forced to commit to Providence the care of those numerous forces they were raising, determining, in case of necessity, to lay another tax upon the people in the manner in which it would be most tolerable.

NOR was the emperor *Charles* without apprehensions of the *Turkish* preparations: he ordered his gallies to be in readiness in all the ports of *Sicily* and *Naples*, the care of which he committed to *Andrew Doria*, a *Genoese*; but that republic detained *Doria* and the squadron under his command, for the defence of the city in case of a visit from the *French* king.

DURING these preparations, *Solyman* began his march towards *Albania*, at the head of a powerful army, while his fleet, amounting to three hundred sail, under *Lusi*, bashaw, sailed from the streights of *Gallipolis*. The bashaw arrived at *Modon* before the senate came to a resolution: various were the opinions in the senate; some were for embracing a neutrality, others for joining the emperor, and the rest were for waiting until the *Turkish* fleet should, by some motion, declare its destination. At last it was resolved to leave the whole to the conduct of *Pessari*, and appoint *Giovanni Vitturi* his lieutenant. *Francis*, having notice of the embarrassment of the senate, thought this a fit opportunity to turn the scale in his own favour. With this view he sent an ambassador to

The

French

king's pro-
posal to the

Venetians

Venice, with proposals extremely advantageous to the republic: these were, to restore her former possessions in the *Cremonese* and *Ghiaradadda*; to reduce to her obedience the cities of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, which she had been forced to relinquish by the late treaty; together with the territories of *Pugha*, *Otranto*, *Brundisium*, *Monopoli*, *Polignan*, and *Trani*. After various debates, a general reply was made to the ambassadors proposals: upon which *Antonio Cornaro*, a person of great influence and authority, reproached the senate, 'for balancing a minute between interest, and the duties of solemn treaties. He told the *French* ambassador, that it had always been the practice of the republic never to desert their allies; that they were now under engagements to the emperor; that it would be base to renounce them; that the noble spirit of *Francis* himself would despise the meanness of allies he could neither trust nor esteem!'. The vehemence with which *Cornaro* uttered this speech drew many to his

¹ PARUTA, *ital.*

opinion. It soon became more general, and at last was passed as the unanimous answer of the senate.

ALL this while the destination of the *Turkish* fleet was perfectly mysterious, as well as the conduct of the bashaw. In passing the channel of *Corfu*, he saluted the castle in a friendly and respectful manner: he ordered the authors of some depredations committed on the *Venetian* traders to be hanged up at the yard-arm; and preserved a conduct so ambiguous as greatly perplexed the senate. Several unlucky accidents, soon, however, changed the face of affairs, and produced an open rupture. A *Venetian* galley had sunk a *Turkish* ship going with provisions to the bashaw's fleet, because she refused to pay the usual honours to the flag: four ships stationed in the channel of *Corfu*, attacked and put to flight three *Turkish* gallies sent to convoy an ambassador sent by the bashaw to *Pessari* to demand satisfaction for the foregoing violation of the treaty. Another cause of the war arose from a dispute between a *Turkish* galley and one of *Contareni's*, in which the former was taken with the loss of two hundred men. These injuries the bashaw retaliated by others; and, at last, seized upon four gallies which had been separated from *Pessari's* squadron. Other hostilities of the same nature were interchanged, and every thing contributed to bring about an open declaration of war: however, the senate still resolved to wait, until they could be better informed by the *Venetian* envoy who attended *Solyman's* person, and followed the army. Mean time, all the subjects of the republic in the *Turkish* dominions were imprisoned; their ships and effects seized; and particularly three large gallies at *Alexandria*^m. Soon after which the *Turkish* fleet sailed to *Corfu*, and attacked the citadel, at that time commanded by *Babon di Nalda*, with a garrison of two thousand men.

A. D.
1536.

Solyman's
officers im-
prison the
Venetian
subjects.

Now all hopes of peace being vanished, orders were dispatched to *Pessari* to hazard a battle rather than the loss of *Corfu*; but he, relying upon the strength of the place, and number of the garrison, did not chuse to expose the state to so great a danger as must attend the defeat of the fleet. *Barbarossa*, the *Turkish* admiral, having landed twenty-five thousand men on the island, after wasting every thing with a barbarous fury, laid siege to the citadel. He erected a number of batteries, which the brisk fire of the garrison destroyed as soon as they were opened. The siege being spun out to some length, induced *Solyman* to undertake it in person. This he did, attended by the grand vizier; but they

A. D.
1537.

Barbarossa
attacks
Corfu.

^m MAUROGEN. l. 6. BARON. A. 1536-7.

found

He is re-
pulsed.

found the situation so strong, the besieged so resolute, and superior in the use of cannon, that they resolved to drop the enterprize. Willing, however, to make a merit of necessity with the republic, he told the *Venetian* envoy, that if the senate would indemnify the expences of the war, he would withdraw his fleet and army from *Corfu* and the dominions of the republic. The envoy told him, that he had no instructions to enter into such engagements; but that he would acquaint the senate with the proposals. But before an answer could be returned, *Solyman* was forced, by the brisk sallies of the garrison, to abandon the island. From hence he turned his arms to the *Morea*; and part of the fleet was sent to invest *Napoli de Romagnia* and *Malvesia*, while *Barbarossa*, with the remainder, scoured the islands of the *Archipelago*, of which he took several. But the designs of *Solyman* against the cities of the *Morea* were frustrated by the prudence and ability of *Vittor di Gaxzoni*, the *Venetian* general in that quarter. He had taken such precautions to fortify and augment the garrisons, that the *Turkish* general, after opening his trenches before *Napoli*, was forced to retire, and give up all expectation of success.

Pessari
takes Scordona from
the Turks.

IN the mean time *Pessari* and *Vitturi* were not idle: they divided the fleet, the former laying siege to *Scordona*, and the latter to *Obruazzo*. After having levied, with this design, a sufficient body of forces, *Pessari* attacked *Scordona*, which being but weakly fortified, he entered it by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, dismantled the town, and intirely razed the citadel. *Vitturi* was less successful before *Obruazzo*, which had regular fortifications and a strong garrison: he began with erecting batteries, in which he was disturbed by the continual sallies of the enemy: however, before he had made any considerable progress in his approaches, he received orders from *Pessari* to raise the siege, and hasten to *Corfu* with the fleet, as he apprehended a second descent upon that island.

THE winter coming on, hostilities ceased, and negotiations for a peace succeeded, before any decisive blow had been struck. *Solyman*, by his grand vizier, made some overtures to the *Venetian* envoy, which he transmitted to the senate. They were so little consistent with the power, the pride, and ambition of that monarch, that the senate suspected their sincerity; but they received every proposal with respect. As the emperor *Charles* and the pope seemed desirous of uniting with the republic against the *Turks*, the

senate was the less assiduous to embrace the terms offered by *Solyman*, until they knew the issue of the negotiations for a league now on the carpet. A strong party arose in the senate for peace with the *Turks*: they urged the insincerity of *Charles*, and impotency of the pope; the secret and deep views of the former, and the dilatoriness of the latter. They set forth the low state of the treasury; the stagnation of commerce; the disaffection of *Doria* the imperial admiral, whose coldness had nearly occasioned the loss of *Corfu*; the inability of the people to support a war by additional taxes; the power of the enemy, and the little advantage to be expected even from a successful war. These arguments were opposed by others no less specious: the opposite party insisted that *Solyman* had no real intention so soon to end a war which he had undertaken from motives of ambition; that his proposals had no other view than to break off the intended league with the emperor and the pope, that he might then attack them singly and without allies: they asserted, that delays would be of dangerous consequence, as the emperor might in the mean time conclude a peace with the *Porte*, and by this means be rendered incapable of embracing the offers of the senate; that their so immediately accepting the overtures made by *Solyman*, would be a declaration of their inability to carry on the war; it would betray their weakness, and furnish him with arguments for rising in his demands: lastly, it was urged that as they must, however, support an army and fleet until the tranquility of *Italy* was restored, they might with the same expence watch the motions of *Solyman*, and keep aloof until affairs could be established upon a solid basis. After several warm debates, they determined to amuse *Solyman*, until the result of their negotiations with the emperor and pope could be certainly known. Instructions were dispatched to their envoy to leave no means untried to penetrate into the councils of the seraglio, and in the mean time to give the grand vizier hopes that the senate would embrace any reasonable terms of accommodation.

HITHERTO, indeed, hostilities had been committed, but war was not declared, and it was expected that the sword might still be sheathed without farther bloodshed. It was always the opinion of the most prudent, that the republic ought not to be swayed, by the liberal promises of *Charles*, to undertake a hazardous war against the *Porte*, but upon necessity; nor, on the other hand, should she be terrified, by the great preparations of *Solyman*, into concessions unworthy of

the rank she maintained. The emperor was now soliciting the senate to join his fleet, to resist the attempts of the infidels upon *Italy*; and the senate replied in equivocal terms. To another request the imperial minister made, that the six thousand troops stipulated for the defence of *Milan*, should march into that dutchy; they answered, that it would be time enough to perform their engagements when the *Milanese* was attacked.

League between the pope, emperor, and Venetians

In the mean time all necessary preparations were making for securing the territories of the republic against incursions: all the garrisons in the *Morea* were augmented and furnished with stores, ammunition, and provision. Twenty-five galleys were dispatched for the security of *Candia*; the towns in *Dalmatia* were put in a state of defence; and *Corfu* was not neglected. At last, the intreaties, intrigues, and promises of *Charles* prevailed; the senate acceded to the proposed league, and a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive between his imperial majesty, the pope, and the republic was concluded. It was stipulated, that the emperor should furnish eighty-two galleys, the *Venetians* the same number, and the pope thirty-six men of war and galleys: that his holiness should support one-sixth of the expences of the war, and the rest be equally divided between the emperor and the republic. *Doria*, the emperor's admiral, was made commander in chief of the combined fleet. *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, was included in the league, because it was expected he would be able to make a diversion in *Hungary*. Room was also left for the *French* king to join in the confederacy; and the pope was to use his influence with the king of *Poland* to embrace it, and join his arms to resist the common enemy. They even went so far as to divide their conquests; not doubting but they would soon become masters of all the *Turkish* dominions in *Europe*. But, as *Baronius* observes, it seldom happens that those have their wishes accomplished whose hopes are too sanguine. The event shewed the prudence of that advice which the republic neglected, not to confide too much in the assistance of allies. The treaty was signed at *Rome* in the month of *February*, 1538, not one of the articles of which were ever punctually executed by any one of the parties, excepting the republic. *Capella* was made admiral of the *Venetian* fleet, *Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, a *Venetian* by birth, of the pope's galleys. As the pontiff was but badly provided in shipping, the *Venetians* consented to supply his quota for a certain subsidy, which he carefully avoided paying. That nothing might obstruct the vigorous prosecution of the war, the *Venetians* offered their mediation to establish peace

A. D.
1538.

peace between the emperor and *Francis*. For this purpose a congress met; but, after tedious debates, broke up without coming to any resolution. In consequence, *Charles* failed in his engagements to the senate, almost as soon as he had entered into them: instead of joining the confederates with a powerful fleet, he turned his whole attention to the security of *Milan*, and resisting the attempts of *Francis*.

NOR was this the only difficulty which the senate combated: in so low a condition were their finances, that they entertained thoughts of selling some of their possessions on the continent. A decree was passed that all money lent to the public should bear fourteen *per cent.* interest: severe processes were carried on against the debtors of the public, and imprisonment and confiscation of goods made the penalties of exceeding the time appointed for payment. Three more procurators of *St. Mark's* were chosen, who lent the public a sum of money in the same manner as the others lately appointed. As for the tax on the clergy it could never be reduced to any form: the pope had permitted the senate to alienate the church goods at the rate of ten *per cent.* to the amount of a million of ducats; but he afterwards required that this tax should be levied upon the tythes for the space of five years: however, the senate could never procure a brief, for refusing which he always found some new excuse. This great scarcity of money greatly impeded the preparations of the republic; yet nothing that could possibly remove the obstruction was omitted.

HIS holiness, observing that things went on but slowly, determined to exert himself in conciliating *Charles* and *Francis*: this alone could enable the emperor to perform his engagement with the league. He, therefore, laboured to procure a personal interview at *Nice*, where he offered to attend. The *Venetians* concurred in this proposition, and joined their influence with the pontiff's to get it accepted. After preliminaries had been adjusted, and every thing determined upon for the interview, it was suddenly declined by mutual desire of the parties. A private conference, however, was held at *Avignon*, in which nothing appeared conclusive, besides their resolution to remain in their inveterate enmity.

THE spring being far advanced, the *Turkish* fleet covered the sea with ships, scoured the islands of the *Archipelago* a second time, and carried terror and desolation where-ever it sailed. It was reported that *Barbarossa* would steer his course

*Conference
between
the emperor
and Francis.*

P. BARON. sub. hoc. ANNO. MAUROCEN. l. 6. BARRE. t. 8. p. 2.
1. PARUT. l. 10.

to *Candia*: this the senate expected, and provided against. *Giovanni Moro*, the proveditor, was sent thither in quality of governor, of whose great ability and experience the republic entertained a high opinion. *Moro*, on his arrival, assembled the principal inhabitants of the island, whom he advised, intreated, exhorted, and even persuaded into an enthusiastic resolution of conquering or dying, by an animated and pathetic oration. In consequence, the levies went on with so much vigour, that in a few days an army of twenty-five thousand able-bodied men took the field, ready to march wherever the security of the island and orders from the governor required.

Barbarossa attacks Candia.

The *Turkish* fleet soon came within sight, and they were received with a shout from the whole army: this determined

Candia.

Barbarossa to alter his intention of landing near *Standia*, where he foresaw he should meet with an obstinate resistance. Coasting along the island he proposed debarking the troops at *La Suda*, where there was a good harbour and bold shore. The

He is defeated by the bravery of the Candians.

debarkation was no sooner begun, than *Gritti*, who commanded in *La Suda*, played furiously with all the cannon of the town upon the enemy: a sally was likewise made, and the *Turks* attacked with such fury before they had time to form themselves, that they were soon routed and dispersed. Numbers, who had not time to gain their ships, fled up the country, where they fell into the hands of the armed peasants, by whom they were murdered without remorse or pity. Finding nothing could be effected on this quarter, *Barbarossa* dispatched one hundred gallies to make an attempt upon *Sithia*, a little town upon the back of the island: this the *Venetians* had abandoned, not imagining it to be tenable; but they had drawn a line across the country to prevent the *Turks* from advancing. In short, so well concerted and vigorously executed were all the measures for the defence of *Candia*, that *Barbarossa* quitted the attempt, withdrew his fleet, and sailed towards the *Morea*.

The Turks enter Dalmatia.

AT the same time the *Turkish* army entered *Dalmatia*, where they committed every sort of violence and barbarity. They carried off men, women, and children; burnt and sacked the villages and open towns, laying desert the whole country through which they marched. So numerous was the army, and such the panic they infused, that *Camillo Ursino*, governor of the province, had thoughts of abandoning the whole country, and shutting himself up with some troops in *Zara*; but the senate sent a peremptory order to prevent a resolution no less infamous than prejudicial to the republic. A

levy was made of fifteen hundred horse and twelve thousand foot, which were immediately shipped for the protection of *Dalmatia*. A number of volunteers undertook the defence of the cities *Zara*, *Sabenica*, and *Catarrá*; and the inhabitants of *Dalmatia* were permitted to send their wives and children to *Venice*, that they might oppose and fight the enemy without incumbrance.

UPON this occasion the doge came into the senate, and pathetically running over the circumstances of the republic, he enlarged upon the duty incumbent on every man to exert himself in defence of his country. He recommended unanimity and zeal as the strongest bulwarks of a state; reminded them how these, in the last dangerous war, had disengaged them from all difficulties, and procured at last an honourable and even a profitable peace: nor was the present danger less. *Solyman*, though a single power, was not inferior in riches, courage, or number of forces, to the combined armies of their late enemies: his pride and ambition were unmeasurable, which nothing but their constancy, their firmness, and attachment to their country, could withstand. Their expectations from their allies were daily vanishing; the tediousness of their resolutions, the ambiguity of their conduct, was a plain indication that little confidence could be placed in the league, and that *Venice* must depend for its safety upon her own courage and conduct. Whatever the present difficulties might be, they would yield to spirit and patriotism. The treasury was exhausted, but there were resources in the pockets of individuals: he would set the example, and he doubted not of being followed in so laudable a practice, by all who preferred liberty and poverty to servitude and wealth, which solely depended on the arbitrary will of an imperious and despotic master. It was the test of a good citizen, he said, willingly to undergo all dangers, cheerfully to advance his fortune, and even lay down his life for the benefit of the public. The presence of the nobility would give life and vigour to the conduct of the soldiers: they would grudge no fatigues in which they saw their superiors share. Let every man, says he, assume that province in which he thinks his talents will be most useful: some are qualified for the field, some for the cabinet. In each of these departments exert yourselves, and let your only contention be, who shall best serve his country and annoy the enemy; this will confirm to you the privileges, the reputation, and the happiness, handed down by your glorious ancestors. Let those who cannot be moved by their duty or affection to

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the state, remember that there is an obedience due to the laws and magistrates, who can compel them to contribute their services. Let the urgency of the case make you diligent and vigorous in your measures, if you are desirous of continuing the esteem of good men, and what is more, the applause of your own breasts *.

IN consequence of this remonstrance, several sums of money were advanced for the public use, the nobility and gentry entered themselves voluntarily in the service of their country, and a spirit and unanimity prevailed, which gave happy prefaces of a favourable issue to the war.

MEAN time the *Turkish* forces were daily pouring into *Dalmatia*: their intention was to attack all the fortified places at one time, by dividing their army, and thus prevent their assisting each other. Already *Nadin*, a place of strength, was fallen into their hands; the same fate attended *Laurena*: *Zara* and other towns were invested and warmly pressed: *Zemona* and *Antivari* were little less than conquered, being abandoned by the garrisons, and defended only by the bravery of a few *Sclavonian* and *Venetian* volunteers. However, the resolution, and the speedy supplies sent from *Venice*, triumphed over misfortune, and obliged the *Turks* to abandon *Dalmatia* with precipitation †.

The *Turks*
are repulsed
from
Dalmatia.

BUT the *Venetians* were not contented with relieving the besieged towns, and driving the infidels out of *Dalmatia*, they attacked and recovered some of the places possessed by the enemy. A vigorous plan of operations was laid down, which, if pursued, would soon have obliged the haughty *Solyman* to sue for peace; but the luke-warmness of the duke of *Urbini*, who was made general of the land-forces, soon convinced the most discerning, that no great matters could be expected while he commanded.

THE *Venetian* fleet under *Capello* having joined the pope's galleys, commanded by the bishop of *Aquileia*, all men were impatient for the event of this junction. Already the combined fleet was powerful enough to occasion the retreat of *Barbarossa* to *Negropont*; and the emperor engaged his word to reinforce it with thirty galleys, fifteen men of war, and three thousand *Spanish* infantry; a promise, the execution of which was much doubted. However, contrary to the general opinion, *Gonzaga* arrived with the galleys at *Corfu*, the men of war being left behind under some specious pretext. His arrival was of little service, as he refused to close with the proposals made by *Capello* and *Grimani*. They had agreed to

* PARUT, *ibid*.

† MAUROCEN. *ibid*. et PARUTA.

scour the *Levant* seas, and secure the coasts from the irruptions, and descents of the infidels; but with this *Gonzaga* refused to coincide, under pretence that it would be for the discredit of his imperial majesty to attempt any thing with a fleet too small to support the dignity of his arms. *Grimani*, tired out with tedious expectation, upon this declaration separated from *Capello*, taking with him the pope's thirty-five gallies. In his course he made a bold, but unsuccessful, attack upon the fortrefs of *Prevesa*; soon after which *Doria*, with the emperor's men of war, joined *Capello* at *Corfu*. An express being sent to *Grimani*, to advertise him of this junction and of their intention to attack *Prevesa* with the united fleets, he returned. The confederate fleet now amounted to one hundred and thirty-six gallies, thirty armed ships, and two galleons; a force, if rightly applied, sufficient to crush the whole *Othoman* naval power. Previous to the descent on *Prevesa*, they steered directly for the *Turkish* fleet in line of battle; *Doria*, as commander in chief, leading the van. *Barbarossa*, receiving intelligence of their course, retired to the straits of *Gallipoli*, in order to protract the war, which he knew would breed divisions, and soon separate the confederates. He likewise tampered with *Doria*, whom he soon gained by liberal presents and promises; a seasonable advantage, as his retreat from *Corfu* had given his enemies an occasion to tax his conduct and his courage. To reinstate himself in the public esteem, *Barbarossa* resolved to come to an engagement with the confederates, and to insure success, he thought the most commodious method was to be on good terms with the chief officer ^u.

UPON this change of opinion fifty gallies were dispatched in quest of the Christians, and were soon discovered by the centinels in the tops of the *Venetian* fleet; upon which a signal was made for engaging: they poured broadsides into the *Turkish* fleet so briskly, that they were suddenly broke and put in confusion. The *Venetians* were preparing to board them, when *Doria* ordered sail to be slackened, and thus gave the *Turks* an opportunity to escape, when he had them at mercy. It was with difficulty the *Venetians* obeyed the order; but imagining the admiral had some great stroke in view, they complied. Finding, however, that he effected nothing for the common interest, the whole fleet was enraged, officers and soldiers equally reproaching the cowardice or treachery of *Doria*. *Capello* carried his resentment so far, that *Doria* found himself under the necessity of again pro-

The base
conduct of
Doria.

Obliged to
attack the
Turkish
fleet.

^u BARON, sub. hoc. AN. PARUT. l. 10. MAUROCBN. l. 7.

ceeding in order of battle against the enemy. After he had used all the dissuasive arguments in his power, perceiving they had no effect, he commanded the bloody flag to be hoisted, and led the fleet a second time, his own division leading the van. *Barbarossa*, though he was alarmed at this conduct, yet still relied on *Doria's* engagements. Advancing therefore to meet the enemy, several motions were made for gaining the windward, which the superior skill of the confederates carried : but a calm ensuing, both fleets lay for some hours within sight of each other ; the *Venetians* all the while impatient to engage : *Capello* ordered his large ships to be towed, that no time might be lost. These he placed in front, to break the first shock of the enemy, which he knew would be violent. But *Doria's* conduct rendered every precaution useless : it was equally mysterious to his own friends and to the enemy. As soon as a gale sprung up, instead of bearing down upon the *Turks*, as was expected, he took a long sweep, which some construed into an intention of attacking their line in flank. *Capello*, however, saw through the artifice ; upon which he immediately got into a small frigate, sailed round the fleet, exhorting them to seize the happy moment of ending the war. He took upon him to answer the consequences of disobeying his superior : he openly accused him of betraying his trust, went up to *Doria*, and intreated him to fall directly upon the enemy ; but all to no purpose. That *Doria's* disgraceful retreat. miral, after exchanging a few distant shot with the enemy, retired with his squadron, making a signal for the rest of the fleet to follow. His pretence was, that the *Turks* were drawn up so advantageously, and so well covered by the batteries they had thrown up on the shore, that it would be impossible to engage them with success. The enemy, encouraged by this shameful conduct, attacked the rear of the combined fleet with some advantage ; took seven gallies, and nine frigates, when happily a storm arising, prevented the pursuit. *Doria* ordered all the lights to be put out, and returned disgracefully to *Corfu*, when he might with equal ease have brought both victory and honour. In his flight he was insulted by *Barbarossa* himself, who called him in derision, the *Neptune* of the sea ; a name he had once deservedly borne on account of his skill in maritime affairs.

Thus ended the battle of *Nicopolis*, near the promontory of *Actium*, from which time the naval abilities of the Christians would seem to decline. All blamed *Doria*, some attributing his conduct to cowardice, some to jealousy of the *Venetians* ;

but the greater number to treachery (A) : his future conduct was consistent. The fleet sailing from *Corfu* to *Castelluovo*, a town formerly belonging to the *Venetians*, *Doria* garrisoned it with *Spanish* soldiers, retaining it for the use of the emperor ; after which he returned to *Sicily*, without attempting any thing farther. *Jovius* says, that *Doria* despised all the reproaches thrown out against him, satisfied that he acted according to his orders ; thus transferring the whole blame on the emperor, who wanted nothing more than to engage the republic in a ruinous war with the infidels. His motives, according to that historian, were to seize upon their possessions on the continent, as soon as they were reduced so low, as to be unable to support another war. *Sigonius* and others scruple not to charge the whole misconduct upon the *Venetians*. Not contented with vindicating *Doria*, where he is unjustly blamed, he ventures to applaud his conduct, where, if we can at all rely on the concurring testimony of all the *Venetian* writers, it is utterly indefensible. What sets his treachery or cowardice in the most conspicuous view, is his refusal, upon the intreaty of *Capello*, to attack *Barbarossa*, notwithstanding he had been weakened by the loss of half his fleet in a storm. In excuse of this, his panegyrist *Sigonius* advances but frivolous and weak arguments *.

SOON after the departure of *Doria* to *Sicily*, *Grimani* likewise drew off the pope's gallies, under pretence of the rigour of the season, and the hazard of keeping the sea longer. Thus the *Venetians* were left alone to oppose an enemy so greatly superior, which, with the disgrace at *Actium*, the insolence of *Doria* in putting a *Spanish* garrison in a town belonging to the republic, plainly indicated the hazard of continuing the war, intolerable on account of the expence. All these circumstances co-operating, the senate was induced to think of a peace upon such terms as could be procured. Certain secret intelligence transmitted to the council of ten, persuaded them that *Solyman* was no less disposed to a composition : however, without diminishing the dignity of the state,

* PARUTA, *ibid.*

(A) This last conjecture is supported by the authority of the *Turks* themselves, who owned, that a scandalous secret correspondence had been carried on between *Doria* and *Barbarossa*. *Baronius* has a long detail of this transaction, in which he does the *Venetians* great justice, attributing the whole disgrace to the corruption of the *Genese* admiral. But the clearest proofs are to be found in *Peter Bembo's* epistles to his brother the cardinal. Vid. ep. 1. l. 1, *Baron.* t. 8. p. 168. *Sub. Ann.* 1538.

they could not publicly send an ambassador to make proposals. To avoid suspicions of this kind, *Lorenzo Gritti* went to *Constantinople*, in order to sound the sentiments of the divan, but under pretence of settling the affairs of his brother, lately deceased. *Gritti* entered upon the affair with the utmost delicacy, first proposing a truce, which was rejected, and afterwards a general pacification. In this his designs were seconded by the *French* resident, who had his secret reasons for acting in the manner he thought would be most grateful to the republic. *Solyman* soon consented to a separate peace with the *Venetians*, but refused to include the emperor, against whom he was desirous of turning the whole weight of the *Ottoman* power. *Charles* coming to the knowledge of *Gritti's* negotiation, sent an ambassador to *Venice* to obstruct the peace: his views were not yet answered; the republic was still too powerful to be made a prey: every possible means was, therefore, used to oblige her to continue the war. *Don Diego de Mendoza*, the *Spanish* minister, complained in the senate of a conduct so injurious and disrespectful to his master, and unfaithful to the alliance. The senate answered him by retorting the emperor's breach of engagements, the dilatory measures of his councils, and the treachery of his admiral: they told him, that as to the league, it wholly consisted of promises never performed; that they were made the tools of the emperor's politics, and the whole load of the war was thrown upon *Venice*. Altercations of the same nature passed at the imperial court, between the *Venetian* ambassador and the *Spanish* ministry.

IN this situation stood affairs towards the close of the year 1538, when *Gritti* the doge died, after he had occupied that dignity with great applause for the space of fifteen years: he was then in his eighty-fourth year, a prince of prudence, benevolence, and many other amiable virtues; a great promoter of the liberal arts, and of public charities. Some noble foundations of this kind, begun under his auspices, are standing monuments of his liberality, piety, and taste; the elegance of the architecture being exceeded by nothing besides the utility and piety of the design. *Gritti* had maintained the people in the full extent of their liberties, and the republic in the possessions of all her dominions, through a period abounding more, perhaps, than any other in history, with dark intrigues, deceitful friendships, and cruel wars. He died in the full exertion of his mental, and without diminution of his bodily faculties, esteemed and lamented by all good men,

as the father of his country, the patron of merit, and the succour of the poor and oppressed².

PIETRO LANDO, Doge LXXVIII.

GRITTI was succeeded by *Pietro Lando*, elected after the usual forms : he closely pursued the measures of his predecessor, and with equal zeal desired to put a period to a burthen-some and pernicious war. The envoy's negotiations went on but slowly at *Constantinople*, the emperor *Charles* having thrown many embarrassments in his way, however strenuous the doge and senate were in pursuit of pacific measures. This obliged the republic to augment her standing forces, fleet, and garrisons, finding how little they were to rely upon auxiliaries and allies, and how uncertain the prospect of ending the war. Orders were dispatched to *Contareni*, the proveditor, in *Candia*, to equip twenty-five galleys; levies were raised in the city, and four thousand artificers enrolled in the public service, who should be obliged to practise rowing, and make four cruises a year, certain privileges being decreed to those who should exceed the number of expeditions specified. The old duke of *Urbini* being dead, his son *Guy Ubaldo* was created generalissimo of the *Venetian* forces on the continent. *Moro*, the proveditor, was appointed to command the naval armaments of the republic, during the absence of *Capello*, at that time in *Venice* for the recovery of his health, impaired in the public service. *Moro* being soon after killed in some popular seditions in *Candia*, *Thomaso Mocenigo* was appointed in his room by the senate.

IN this manner did the *Venetians* prepare against the precarious issue of tedious negotiations. Neither were the *Turks* idle : *Barbarossa* could not digest the loss of *Castelluovo*, and was determined, at all events, to attempt the recovery of a place of great importance to the *Ottoman* naval power. He had left a division of the fleet, consisting of thirty sail, under *Dragut* his lieutenant, to block up the *Venetian* squadron in *Corfu*, and scour those coasts : this *Dragut* effectually performed, laying his scheme so artfully, that he drew a part of the *Venetian* fleet into an ambuscade, by which he drove three galleys on shore, where they were staved to pieces, and took one large ship of war. Elated with this success, he made a descent on *Candia*, burning and wasting the coasts; but was soon attacked by the militia with so much courage and

² PARUTA, l. 10. MAUROEN. l. 5. 6.

impetuosity, that, after a brisk action, the *Turks* were defeated, and driven with great slaughter to their ships^a.

ABOUT this time young *Gritti* returned from *Constantinople*, where all he could obtain was a suspension of hostilities for three months, in order to adjust the preliminaries of a general pacification; to negotiate which *Pietro Zeno* was sent in quality of ambassador extraordinary to *Solyman*: during the preparations for this embassy, *Gritti* was returned as resident, with advice of the republic's intention to send an ambassador. *Zeno* died soon after his departure from *Venice*, and *Thomaso Contareni* was nominated to succeed him, who, on his arrival at *Constantinople*, soon obtained a prolongation of the truce. *Barbarossa*, however, was intent on recovering *Castelluovo*, which, being held by a *Spanish* garrison, he thought he might attack it without infraction of the truce with *Venice*. Coming before it with above one hundred galleys, attack and a body of troops raised by the beglerbeg of *Greece*, he summoned the governor to surrender, threatening him with take *Castelluovo*. all the horrors of war, if he refused. The *Spaniards* offered to deliver the city to the *Venetians*; but this they would not accept, saying it was now too late: had it been given them according to the express terms of the league, they would then have known how to act, but at present their acceptance would be an infraction of the truce with *Solyman*, and the means of breaking off the treaty in agitation. *Barbarossa* a second time summoning the garrison, was told they should defend it to the last extremity; upon which he erected batteries on shore, and bombarded the town from the fleet. The besieged, after persevering to defend themselves with great resolution, were at last reduced to extremities: the town was almost laid in ashes, the breach in the walls made practicable, the number of the garrison greatly diminished by sickness and death, and above all a famine prevailed; for these reasons they capitulated, but on honourable terms^b.

FROM hence *Barbarossa* sailed to *Risano*, which he had surrendered to him on the first summons, the governor not believing it tenable. Leaving a garrison here, he steered his course to *Catarras*, where *Matteo Bembo*, brother to the learned cardinal of that name, had the command of a *Venetian* garrison. *Barbarossa* screened his attack upon this place, under various pretences: he knew it to be a direct violation of the truce now subsisting; but he likewise knew that his success would be extremely grateful to the *Turkish* ministry.

^a MAUROCEN. l. 6.
BARON. *ibid*.

^b PARUTA. l. II. MAUROCEN. *ibid*.

The first reason alledged in defence of this trespass was; that *Catarræ* was a sanctuary for slaves, that deserted the *Turkish* service; the next was, that neither *Catarræ* or any other town on that coast belonged to the republic; he therefore summoned *Bembo* to surrender. *Bembo* penetrated the thin artifice, and sent him a resolute answer, that nothing less than the express command of the doge and senate would oblige him to abandon a town entrusted to his charge; and that he would continue to defend it against all the power of *Solyman*, while one stone stood upon another. Without making any reply, *Barbarossa* ordered the van of his fleet to advance within distance to batter the walls. By some misconduct of the admiral they were brought so near, that, having been exposed for half an hour to a hot fire from the town, they were wholly shattered, broken, and obliged to retire in the utmost confusion and distress. The day following the rest of the fleet advanced, having detached a few ships to cover the landing of the troops at some distance from the town. *Bembo* plied his artillery so warmly, that the *Turkish* general was driven back with loss: nor did the land-forces fare better; the garrison, having made a brisk sally before they had time to draw up, routed them with prodigious slaughter, returning triumphant to the town, with a number of prisoners, standards, kettle drums, and other trophies. *Barbarossa*, after reconnoitring the town from the land-side, and observing the spirit of the garrison, thought it advisable to reembark the troops, and draw off the fleet.

THE truce being near expired, and but ill observed by the *Turks*, the *Venetian* ambassador demanded an audience of the Grand Seignior. He represented to him the little prospect there was of advantage to either side in continuing the war: he desired a prolongation of the truce, or a peace, telling *Solyman*, that not the terror of his power, but the admiration of his virtues made the republic so desirous of entering into his friendship. *Solyman* was passive during this discourse, and making no reply, referred *Contarini* to the grand vizier. His first proposition to the minister was, that all places taken during the war should be mutually restored; but the vizier answered, that so far from restoring the towns he had taken, *Solyman* would hearken to no conditions unless *Napoli* and *Malvesia* were surrendered; he even doubted whether he would not insist on all the towns possessed by the republic on the *Greek* coast as far as *Castellennovo*; and also on being reimbursed the expences of the war. To this *Contarini* replied, that he was but the servant of the state, and had no instruc-

tions on that head ; but he was pretty certain the republic would never grant terms so ignominious, until they were extorted after she had shed the last drop of her blood : that, for his own part, as far as his influence would extend, he would ardently oppose such a concession ; and that whatever value he put upon the friendship of *Solyman*, he would never consent to purchase it with the price of his country's honour^d.

CONTARENI returned to *Venice*, and laboured all in his power to prevent the surrender of *Napoli* and *Malvesia* ; but the council of ten, perceiving that their affairs were betrayed to the *French* king and the emperor ; that the people murmured under the burthen of the war ; and that if it was continued, they must support it without any expectation from their allies, resolved to accept the conditions proposed. Both the imperial and *French* ambassadors were indefatigable in their endeavours to form a party in the republic, to oppose the pacific measures ; but all endeavours proved fruitless. The senate was determined, and in this resolution they were confirmed by the opinion of some of the most prudent personages, and the doge himself : the great obstacle was the strong attachment of the inhabitants of those two cities (*Napoli* and *Malvesia*) to the republic, and aversion to the *Turkish* government. They requested, in the most pathetic terms, that they might not be sacrificed to a cruel enemy ; that they might be permitted to defend their liberties, which they were in hopes the justice of their cause, and their own zeal, would enable them to perform, without expence or trouble to the republic. The senate was moved with their remonstrance ; and sending *Mocenigo* the general to them, promised that all those who were desirous of continuing under the government of *Venice*, should have a provision equal to their present circumstances. With this they were quieted, and without farther objections permitted the peace to be concluded. At last, towards the close of the year 1540, it was signed at *Constantinople*, to remain firm and valid for the space of thirty years. *Napoli* and *Malvesia* were surrendered to the *Turks*, the greater part of the inhabitants removing into other towns of the republic. The fleets of the senate were laid up, and their armies disbanded, all besides the usual standing forces, and the shipping necessary to protect commerce^e.

Peace concluded
with *Solyman*.

^d PARUTA, l. 10.

^e Ibid.

S E C T. VII.

Containing the pacific Measures of the Senate subsequent to the Treaty with Solymán; Death of the Doge; Disturbances in Italy; Death of the new Doge; Resignation of Charles the Fifth; Death of Doge Venieri; a dreadful plague in Venice; a fresh War with the Grand Signior; the Invasion of Cyprus; and other Particulars.

AFTER peace was concluded with *Solymán*, *Venice* began once more to taste the sweets and blessings of tranquillity, of industry, and of commerce: her fleets were sent in shoals to every port of the *Levant*, *Egypt*, and the *Turkish* dominions: they even filled almost every harbour in *Europe*. The discoveries of the *Portuguese* had, without doubt, lessened the trade of the republic, but still it retained the appearance of its former grandeur. The *Venetians* engrossed the whole *Levant* traffic, as well as that of *Egypt*, many ports in *Africa* and *Asia*, for as yet trade had not universally changed the old channel: but however assiduously the *Venetians* might pursue the pacific arts, they were still disturbed by the commotions in *Germany*, and the perpetual rivalry between the emperor and king of *France*. These princes had, indeed, confirmed the truce of *Nice*, and exchanged many other testimonies of mutual love and esteem, which inspired hopes that they had intirely laid aside their animosities; but a variety of accidents soon intervened to interrupt the wished-for harmony. *John*, king of *Hungary*, dying, left an infant son by his wife *Isabella*, daughter of the king of *Poland*: his kingdom, which by right belonged to his issue male, was claimed by *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, in consequence of a pretended agreement with the deceased. After seizing upon a number of towns and fortresses in *Hungary*, *Ferdinand*, perceiving he was likely to meet with a formidable opposition from the queen dowager, sent an embassy to *Solymán*, requesting his assistance, and that he might be permitted to hold *Hungary* upon the same tenure as *John*; but in this he was anticipated by the dowager, who had procured a solemn deputa-
tion of the barons of the kingdom to *Solymán*, and that prince's promise that *Hungary* should be kept for her infant. So incensed was the Grand Seignior at *Ferdinand's* claim,
that

that, resolving to attack him by sea and land, he revoked the treaty with the *French* ambassador, and determined upon vigorous measures for the protection of the young king of *Hungary*.

NOR were the troubles in the *Low Countries* appeased; *Charles* having rigorously punished the rebellion of the *Ghentois*, by that means widened the breach between him and *France*. *Francis* was the more encouraged in his resentment, as he foresaw that a powerful diversion in his favour would be made by *Solyman* in *Hungary* and *Bohemid*. *Charles's* refusal to comply with the terms proposed concerning the *Milanese* was another cause of grievance: but the greatest complaint arose from the murder of *Rinçon* and *Tregosa*, the *French* ambassadors to the *Porte*. These demanding a safe passage through the *Venetian* dominions, obtained their request, but were overtaken by some *Spanish* infantry near *Pavia*, and murdered. Above measure incensed at this treacherous conduct, and the emperor's equivocation concerning peace and the restitution of *Milan*, *Francis* dispatched another ambassador to *Solyman*, with instructions to call in his way, and lay those grievances before the republic. The senate was provoked at the recital of an insult upon the laws of nations; but not chusing to enter upon another war, were silent: a galley, however, was dispatched to convey the minister to *Turkey*.

The
French
ambassadors
murdered.

MEAN while, as *Ferdinand's* army had been lately defeated by the *Turks*; it was expected the emperor would have marched in person to his relief; but this did not coincide with his measures. In this state of affairs the senate determined upon a neutrality: the republic groaned under the expences of the last war: peace had yet produced little effects in restoring commerce, or enriching the people. They were aware of the consequence to *Christianity* the loss of *Hungary* would produce, but then they saw the emperor decline interposing: their engaging for the relief of so distant a kingdom would only bring themselves into danger, without answering the end. *Ferdinand* was too weak an ally: the princes of the empire were not well affected to the house of *Austria*; they would take no steps which could aggrandize it. The reasons for *Solyman's* assisting the dowager were obvious; he desired nothing less than putting the crown upon the head of the young king; but this was a plausible pretext for annexing *Hungary* to the *Othoman* empire. *Venice* penetrated this mysterious conduct of the different courts; she traced

the political clue of intrigue, but determined not to be guided by it, nor to provoke so powerful a monarch as *Solyman*, whose her own privileges were immediately attacked ^b.

THE year following his holiness petitioned the senate, that the general council might be allowed to assemble at *Vincenza*, which they declined from an apprehension of giving umbrage to the *Porte*. Their refusal had some colour of reason, on account of an accident which lately happened, that could not fail of giving offence to *Solyman*. Two *Turkish* gallies, in their way from *Barbary* to *Constantinople*, fell in with the *Venetian* proveditor: as they endeavoured all in their power to avoid him; it afforded a suspicion they were pirates, upon which he came up, engaged, and took them, setting all the Christians on board at liberty. This action the *Porte*, and especially *Barbarossa*, resented, as the gallies were his property: he threatened revenge, but was appeased by the submission of the republic, and her consenting to repay the damages. On this occasion *Solyman* sent an ambassador to *Venice*, who was treated with high marks of distinction: by him the late peace was ratified and confirmed ^c.

IN this manner stood affairs for the two following years: both the emperor and *France* laboured to engage the republic in a war, which she was no less assiduous to avoid. *Francis* sent his minister *Polin* to make any terms with the *Venetians*; but they would accept of none to break with the emperor: on the other hand, they were equally inflexible to the emperor's proposals to engage them in an alliance against the *Turks*. Peace was their aim, but in pursuing it too closely they run the hazard of disobliging all parties. The *French* king was already highly incensed against them, through the misrepresentations of his ministers at *Venice*: they complained of an insult upon their authority, in dragging away by force certain criminals who had sought protection in their houses. This affair, however, was set in a proper light by the memoirs of the senate to *Francis*. Yet an accident of another nature involved the *Venetians* in disputes with *Ferdinand* and the empire: the seizure of *Maran* may be deemed the first foundation of a future bloody war. *Bertrand de Sacchia*, a subject of the republic, was the author of this measure; without powers from the senate. Finding himself too weak to keep possession, he called in the assistance of *Strozzi*, a *Florentine* refugee, who soon arrived with a strong body of soldiers, and erected the standard of *France* in the city. *Maran* belonged to *Ferdinand*, and the senate doubted not but he would attri-

A. D.
1542.

The republic solicited both by the French king and the emperor.

^b MAUROCEN, l. 4.

^c PARUTA, l. 10.

Disputes
concerning
the city of
Maran.

bute this violence offered to his dominions to their secret instructions. The emperor would of consequence be offended, and yet as the *French* standard was erected, and the city kept in his name, they were greatly embarrassed. To restore the city might involve them in a quarrel with *Francis*, since they were ignorant of his secret motives for acting in this manner; and to remain indifferent spectators, would as surely disoblige the emperor and *Ferdinand*: but their greatest fears arose from the suspicions that *Maran* might be delivered to *Solyman*, as *Strozzi* threatened, unless he was speedily relieved, for he was closely besieged by the imperial forces. As the distance of this city from *Venice* did not exceed twenty-five miles, they greatly dreaded the near neighbourhood of the *Turks*^d.

To disengage the republic from her present disagreeable circumstances, the senate published a proclamation, forbidding, under pain of death, any of the subjects of the state to aid, abet, or any ways assist, by men, money, provisions, or arms, the city of *Maran*. They took into custody the wife and children of *Sacchia*, that such a pledge might be a check upon his conduct. These measures they hoped would appease *Ferdinand*: however, that *Sacchia* and *Strozzi* might not be rendered desperate enough to put the city into *Solyman*'s hands, the senate secretly tampered with them, promising that all things should soon be accommodated to their satisfaction. In the mean time the bishop of *Trente* arrived at *Venice*, in quality of *Ferdinand*'s ambassador, to solicit a fleet for the reduction of *Maran*. The senate expressed their wishes he might recover a city so unjustly snatched from him, but declined offering the fleet, under pretence that matters might better be accommodated by negotiations. Accordingly a treaty was set on foot; but difficulties arising, it was spun out to so great length, that *Strozzi* declared unless things were brought to a speedy issue, he would surrender the city to the *Turks*. Nor was this the only business of the congress which sat at *Trente*, for they endeavoured to adjust certain differences between *Ferdinand* and the republic of an old standing, relative to the cities *Belgrade* and *Castellenuovo*, mortgaged by the house of *Austria* to the elector of *Saxony*, and by him made over to the *Venetians*. Although the emperor acted the part of mediator in this dispute, the congress broke up without coming to an agreement, which determined both the emperor and *France* to decide the affair of *Maran* by the sword. About five thousand *French* horse and foot were sent to the relief of *Strozzi*;

^d PARUTA, *ibid*.

and, on the other hand, an imperial army was forming to reinforce the besiegers. The *Venetians* granted a free passage to the troops of both sides, by that means the stronger to evince their neutrality : they were, however, displeased that a small squadron, equipped at *Trieste*, should enter the harbour of *Digrana*, which belonged to the republic, and thence block up *Maran*.

STROZZI, who was now reduced to great difficulties, sent *Siege of* a message to the senate, desiring their acceptance of the city *Maran*. *Maran*, and speedy compliance with his request, to prevent the necessity he should be under of entering upon terms with some other state. *Francis*, in recompence of his services, had assigned him his right to the place, with liberty to dispose of it to the best advantage ; but he excepted restoring it to *Ferdinand* ; nor would that answer the purposes of *Strozzi*, who wanted a large sum of money, which *Ferdinand* would neither be willing nor able to advance. Perplexed with this proposal, the senate at length determined to embrace it, fearing above all things the city should fall into the hands of *Solyman*. Two commissioners were accordingly appointed to settle the conditions with *Strozzi's* deputy *. These *The Vene-* were soon concluded, upon the republic consenting to give tians *pur-* him thirty thousand ducats as an equivalent. *Alessandro Ben-* *chase* *Madimiero* was chosen proveditor of the city, and sent with a ran- body of troops to take possession.

His most Christian majesty sent the cardinal of *Ferrara* to *Venice*, to solicit his cause with the senate : he relied much on the address of this venerable prelate, silvered over with experience and wisdom. The cardinal was received with those marks of respect, which were due both to his own character, and the quality of his employer : he artfully put the most favourable constructions on the conduct and policy of *Francis*, while he threw a veil over every instance of the emperor's affection for the republic : he had now an opportunity, and was at no loss for arguments, to prejudice the senate against the alliance between *England* and the emperor : he recollected every instance through the depths of history, to depreciate the characters of the emperors, and to lessen their inclinations towards *Venice*, beginning with *Otho*, and tracing down their politics to *Charles* : he enlarged on the cunning, injustice, and even impiety of engaging a christian state in war with so powerful a monarch as *Solyman* : he even reminded them of the detestable treaty in which *Maximilian* had engaged *France* and other powers, for sharing the spoils

of the republic; neither did he forget the late instance of *Doria's* double conduct, which had nearly been attended with fatal consequences^f.

SUCH representations as these could not fail of favouring the views of *Francis*; especially in a senate already disposed to live upon the most friendly terms with *Solyman*. However, all his arguments were countermined by others no less artful on the side of the emperor; yet the cardinal *Ferrara* found means to engage the pope and consistory to throw in all their influence. In consequence, upon his return to *Rome*, he procured *Cavalcanti*, who was banished *Florence*, to be sent to acquaint the senate of the pontiff's partiality in favour of the *French* monarch. *Cavalcanti* was a man of letters, an orator, polite, affable, and conversant in business. His eloquence was of the persuasive kind, irresistibly engaging, as he had the art of concealing his real designs: yet all he could obtain of the inflexibly prudent senate, amounted to no more than a sincere desire, that a reconciliation between his imperial majesty and *Francis* might be effected. Even in this particular they resolved upon moderation, lest their zeal might be misinterpreted at *Constantinople*.

BARBAROSSA was at this time ravaging the coasts of *Italy* with a fleet of near two hundred sail, well provided with provisions and ammunition. On his arrival at *Reggio*, the capital of *Calabria*, he found the city abandoned; but the citadel defended by a *Spanish* garrison. This he attacked and took, giving their liberty to the prisoners, at the instance of *Polin*, the *French* envoy, who accompanied the infidel. The terror of the *Turkish* arms had spread itself all over *Italy*, nor was *Rome* itself free from apprehensions. But *Polin* sent assurances, and dispersed proclamations round the country, that his incursions should be confined wholly to the imperial dominions^g.

Nice besieged.

BARBAROSSA, having watered at *Ostia*, coasted along *Tuscany* and *Genoa*, without touching, until he arrived at *Marseilles*, where he was magnificently entertained. Thence he proceeded, with the count *d'Enguine*, who commanded the *French* fleet, to lay siege to *Nice*. He began with attacking the town, which *Andrea Montford*, a *Savoyard*, defended with abundance of courage. The batteries had effected a breach, and *Montford* sustained an assault, before he made any proposals to capitulate: at last he took occasion, while the articles of surrender were preparing, to retire with

^f PARUTA, l. II.
CEN. l. 4.

^g PARUTA, ubi supra. MAURO-

the garrison and most valuable effects into the citadel. Without loss of time, the enemy made their approaches; but this fortress, strong by art and nature, foiled all the attempts of *Barbarossa* and the *French* commander. In want of powder, and other necessaries, they were at length forced to raise the siege, and reembark the troops. *Barbarossa* passed the winter with his fleet in the ports of *Toulon* and *Marseilles*; and the next year, after ravaging a second time the coasts of *Italy*, he returned to *Constantinople*, where he died towards the close of the year one thousand five hundred and forty-four^h.

THIS event, and the separation of the *Turkish* and *French* fleets, would facilitate, it was imagined, a peace between their Imperial and Christian majesties. At length it was concluded, under the auspices of the *French* queen, by means of *Don Gabriel de Guzman* and her confessor. The *Venetians* were included in this treaty, as the senate conducted itself with so strict a neutrality, that neither party had cause of complaint. A treaty was likewise set on foot between the emperor, *Ferdinand*, and *Solyman*; and for this purpose ambassadors were sent by those princes to *Constantinople*. An end was likewise put to the disputes between *Ferdinand* and the republic; both parties agreeing to settle differences respecting the decree of *Trent* by commissioners, and to refer the late disputes about *Maran* to the emperor, which he decided, by ordering the senate to pay *Ferdinand* seventy-five thousand ducats as an equivalent.

BUT while the peace between the *Porte* and the emperor was in agitation, some enemies to the *Venetians* insinuated to *Solyman* that the republic had given *Ferdinand* the above sum, as a subsidy stipulated by treaty for levying forces against the infidels: but the *Venetian* envoy had no sooner notice of those calumnies than he went to *Solyman*, and candidly laid open the whole transaction, with which the *Turk* was perfectly satisfied: however, he received instructions from the senate that he should, to avoid suspicions, decline visiting the ministers of the emperor and *Ferdinand*; yet, through their mediation, a truce for one year was concluded between the *Porte* and the christian powers.

AN event of greater importance fell out towards the end of the year 1545. It was a controversy with the *Porte* concerning some districts in *Dalmatia*, which both sides claimed. The sangaichs of *Bosnia* and *Cliffa* insisted that a part of the territory of *Zara*, containing forty-nine villages, was really a

^h MAUROCCEN. I. 4.

dependency on the fortresses of *Nadin* and *Laurena*, belonging to *Solyman*. On this account they prohibited the inhabitants of this district, under the severest penalties, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the republic, or of any other power but the *Othoman*. The senate was greatly vexed at this proceeding: the district was in itself valuable in respect to the safety and convenience of *Zara*; besides, giving up their right would be a precedent for farther encroachments. They knew that *Nadin* and *Laurena* had no appendages, and that nothing could be more insolent than the claim of the *Turkish* governors; but determining, if possible, to avoid compulsive means, they had recourse to the justice of *Solyman*. Nor had they reason to repent of this measure: with a moderation and integrity becoming a christian prince, this great man ordered commissioners on both sides to be appointed, insisting upon their determining the dispute according to equity, without regard to power. The commissioners met, and soon adjudged the lands in dispute to the *Venetians*, with which *Solyman* was perfectly satisfied¹.

FRANCISCO DONATO, Doge LXXIX.

Francisco
Donato,
Doge
LXXIX.

SOON after this transaction *Lando* died, by which *Venice* was deprived of a prudent, moderate, and pacific prince, whose views centered in promoting the happiness, tranquility, and commerce of the republic. He was succeeded in his dignity by *Francisco Donato*, whose administration commenced with apprehensions that the tranquility of *Italy* would again be soon disturbed. The peace between the emperor and *France* was too ill founded to be lasting, and now an additional reason for pursuing their inveterate animosity occurred. As the premature death of the duke of *Orleans* raised disputes concerning the duchy of *Milan*, so *Francis* kept possession of the dominions he had seized from the duke of *Savoy*: by this he hoped to oblige the emperor to reasonable terms relative to the *Milanese*. Besides this, other clouds obscured the serenity of *Italy*, and threatened a storm no less violent than what this unhappy country had lately sustained. His holiness, finding all his endeavours for the aggrandizement of his family terminated in nothing, resolved at one stroke to raise his son *Pietro Lodovico* to a principality; for this purpose he dismembered from the holy see the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, annexed by *Julius* the second to the church patrimony, and erected them into a principality for *Lodovico*. The em-

¹ PARUTA, l. II.

peror refused to invest him in the right of those dutchies, as they had formerly belonged to the *Milanese*. This controversy running high, his holiness applied to the *Venetians* for assistance, soliciting them to enter into a league with him for the security of *Italy*. The senate offered their mediation, and thus, with the domestic commotions in which both the emperor and *French* king were engaged at that time, broke those clouds in which was suspended the fate of *Italy*^k.

His holiness, perceiving the emperor deeply involved in disputes with the protestant states of the empire, resolved to proceed in another manner: he foresaw that those controversies would terminate in an open rupture, and, therefore, thought the best method of procuring the investiture of *Parma* and *Placentia* for his son, would be liberally to aid his imperial majesty in suppressing heresy. Political, not spiritual, reasons moved him against the protestants; and while he seemed to act as the head of the church, he was in fact playing the part of father to his own family. No sooner were the *Venetians* acquainted with his intention: than they laboured to divert them. The discerning senate foresaw the ruin of *Italy* in making the emperor too powerful, by the oppression of the protestant interest in *Germany*; but their endeavours were ineffectual; the pope was blinded with ambition, and they were forced not only to consent, but in some measure to assist his intentions of succouring the emperor, by allowing a free passage to his troops. The protestant princes sent an embassy to *Venice*, to request that a passage might be denied the pope's forces: they represented the consequences to *Europe* in general of permitting the house of *Austria* to attain such a pitch of grandeur, by overthrowing the liberties of the empire. Their ambassadors were well received, but they could obtain nothing, the senate dreading the resentment of his holiness and the emperor^l. Soon after another embassy arrived from the duke of *Saxony* and landgrave of *Hesse*, to procure the loan of a sum of money; but they also were dismissed with smooth answers and obliging denials.

ALTHOUGH the senate could not deny the pope's troops a passage though their dominions, nor prevail on his holiness to lay aside his intentions, they expressed their uneasiness at seeing *Italy* filled with military preparations in the midst of profound peace. To dispel their apprehensions, the pontiff laid open to the *Venetian* envoy the whole scheme of his

^k PARUTA, l. 11.^l MAURICEN. *ibid*.

politics and designs, with which the senate was quieted and their fears calmed. In this manner did the *Venetians* conduct themselves, enjoying peace amidst the tumults of war in *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*, to the close of the year 1552, when the doge died, in the seventh year of his administration. He was pious, munificent, and just, and of a disposition exactly suited to the particular circumstances of the state during his government.

MARCO ANTONIO TREVISIANO, Doge LXXX.

Marco
Antonio
Trivisiano, doge
LXXX.

IN his room was substituted *Marco Antonio Trevisiano*, who preserved the republic in the same pacific measures, during his short administration. He balanced between the contending powers with no less caution and delicacy than the two preceding doges had done; until the end of the year 1553, when he expired, with the reputation of a sound politician^m.

FRANCISCO VENIERI, Doge LXXXI.

Francisco
Venieri,
doge
LXXXI.

IN his place was substituted, by the unanimous voice of the public, *Francisco Venieri*, at that time sixty-four years of age, the greater part of which he had spent in the service of his country. *Venieri*, amidst the wars carried on in *Tuscany*, *Parma*, *Mirandola*, *Corfica*, and other parts of *Italy*, found means to prolong that tranquility handed down to him by his predecessors. In the beginning of the year 1554 died pope *Julius*, who was succeeded by *Paul* the fourth; for we reckon not upon the cardinal of *St. Croix*, who died a few days after his election; and soon after the republican city of *Sienna* surrendered to the Imperialists, after a long and bloody siege. The terms they obtained were honourable, and such as their brave defence merited; but they were kept as almost all royal promises are, when they clash with interest and ambition. *Contareni*, in his history of *Etruria*, places this event in the following year: certain it is, that the capitulation was signed some time before *Charles* the fifth resigned the imperial diadem, which happened in *November*, 1555. The act of renunciation bears date the twenty-fifth of *October*; but it was a month before the states assembled at *Brussels*. *Philip*, his successor in the *Spanish* monarchy and the *Indies*, agreeable to his father's exhortation, seemed desirous of cultivating peace; but numberless obstructions occurring in the course of negotiation, a truce only for five years was established, and that upon a basis so unsteady that it was broke.

^m SANSON. delle vit. p. 249,

almost as soon as concluded. The truce was propounded by the *Spanish* ministry, under the pretext of gaining time to settle the preliminaries for a solid peace; but the *French* administration soon discovered this to be only a veil thrown over the most treacherous measures; to give the duke d'Alva time to raise a force sufficient to drive the *French* out of *Piedmont*, and even to attack them in *Provence*^a.

VENIERI and the senate had taken the wisest and most circumspect measures which the situation of *Europe* would permit. Both the present doge and his predecessors had ever preferred peace to war, and never entered upon the latter but with a view to repel injuries, protect liberty and trade, and preserve the political poise of *Christendom*. In the midst of this prudent administration, the sage *Venieri* was taken off by death, after governing the republic with the applause of all men for the short space of two years.

LORENZO PRIULI, Doge LXXXII.

UPON his death the great council met for the election of Lorenzo a successor, when, by the unanimous voice, *Lorenzo Priuli* was appointed doge^c. To which his wisdom and experience, ^{doge} LXXXII. his accomplishments as a statesman and a gentleman gave him a just title. In the beginning of his administration the plague reigned with violence for some time at *Venice*; but was at length stopt by the change of seasons, and the vigilance of *Pietro Mosto*, at that time magistrate *La Sanita*. ^{Plague and famine in Venice.} The plague was succeeded by a dearth of all kinds of provisions, the inhabitants of the continent avoiding the markets of *Venice* on account of the pestilence. The city was brought exceeding low before means could be found to remedy the evil: but the prudence of the doge and senate at length surmounted all difficulties, and once more introduced health, peace, and quiet among the citizens of *Venice*.

In the mean time the war was going on between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the truce being but of short duration. Upon the duke d'Alva's march into the pope's territories, both his holiness and the *French* king sent plenipotentiaries to *Venice*, who represented to the senate that his most Christian majesty and the pope, closely united by interest and inclination, as they were to the senate, sought in that delicate and dangerous conjuncture reciprocal marks of good-will from the republic, for the defence of liberty and the security of *Italy*. They had, for this reason, been sent with full powers

^a BARRE, Hist. v. 9. sub. hoc. Anno.

^c PARUTA, l. II.

SANSON. ubi supra.

to concert with the senate the most advisable measures for maintaining the independance of their several states, and checking the haughty and ambitious views of the house of *Austria*, which they flattered themselves would meet with no obstruction from so wise an assembly, as the necessity was self-evident. The whole world knew the glorious and generous efforts made by their ancestors for the defence of liberty and expulsion of tyranny: those noble actions would not suffer them to entertain a doubt concerning the wisdom, the magnanimity of a state founded on the principles of freedom: they would not certainly now submit to the servitude they had so long and bravely resisted: they would not surely surrender the liberties purchased with the wealth and blood of their citizens. They saw with pleasure the augmentation of the republic's naval and military power, as the motives, they doubted not, were generous, since the measures of the senate could not fail of being prudent: they represented the advantages that must result from an union with his holiness and most Christian majesty, as they would be in a condition to cover that part of their frontier most exposed to the *Spanish* troops and the duke *d'Alva*. The *French* king had given orders to the duke *de Guise* to advance with a body of near twenty thousand men towards *Italy*, at the requisition of his holiness, and for the defence of *Italy*. This was a necessary measure, which the wisdom of the senate must approve, as recent transactions must have convinced men that the most solemn treaties were too weak a barrier against the ambition of the declared enemy of public liberty: an union between the republic, the pope, and his most Christian majesty would secure their mutual defence, check the ambition of *Philip*, and produce tranquility in *Europe*, as well as *Italy* in particular. The ambassadors therefore besought the senate to consider, that if either the pope or king should once be oppressed, how difficult then would be the preservation of the dominions of the republic. His majesty's long affection for the republic, and the general tenor of his conduct were sufficient proofs, they affirmed, of his fidelity to *Venice*, his engagements, and character.

To this the doge answered, with a prudence becoming the father of the state, and the head of that wise assembly: he said, that the friendship which had so long subsisted between his most Christian majesty and the republic, had given himself, the senate, and every *Venetian* the highest satisfaction. It was a point of too much consequence for the republic to neglect; nor should her utmost endeavours towards cultivating and rendering perpetual the amity of so respectable a prince

prince and nation, as well as of so mild and good a father of the church be wanting?

NOTWITHSTANDING these professions, he declined entering into any engagements which could possibly offend *Spain*, or engage the republic in a war: on the contrary, the doge and senate left no means untried to mediate an agreement between the pope and *Philip*, which they apprehended would be laying the foundation of a more general pacification. Their moderation was attended with success, the prudence of *Marco Antonio de Franchescis*, secretary to the council of ten, sent to *Rome* upon this business, having actually reconciled them to their mutual satisfaction.

THIS year an embassy was sent to *Solyman* to confirm the peace between the *Porte* and the republic, which was granted without any difficulty, the Grand Seignior being at that time perplexed with the civil war among his children. The senate also sent an ambassador to the court of *France*, at whose intercession, joined to the mediation of the pope and some other powers, peace with *Spain* was concluded. During the residence of this ambassador it was that the *French* monarch died of a hurt in the eye, which he received at a tournament. With regard to the republic, all was peace and tranquility, until the following year, when her trade was infested by a swarm of pirates who blocked up all the ports of the *Adriatic*. They made incursions into *Istria* and *Dalmatia*, cutting away the shipping out of the harbours, desolating the country, and despoiling the cities. Upon this notice, *Matteo Bembo*, a brave and experienced officer, at that time admiral of the gulph, sailed against them with a squadron of twelve gallies: he pursued, and every where so vigorously attacked those pirates, that, unable to keep the seas, they fled to the port of *Durazzo*, where the inhabitants had taken arms for their assistance. Thither *Bembo* pursued them, and, incensed at the conduct of the town, he battered the walls, without regard to the peace subsisting with *Solyman*; an action for which he was banished his country, instead of being rewarded: so far had pacific views and measures prevailed, that peace with *Solyman* was preferred to the honour of the republic. Had not the brave *Bembo* found means to escape, it is probable his life would have been the sacrifice of his country's timidity.

SOON after this *Lorenzo Priuli* died, much lamented by the people for the moderation of his public, and affability of

² PARUTA, l. 11.

¹ PARUTA, l. 11.

¹ PARUTA, *ibid.* MAUROGEN. l. 4.

his private conduct; but above all his death was regretted by the literati of his times. His munificence, taste, and generosity, constituted this prince the *Mæcenæ*s of the age, and the real patron of merit. He was succeeded by his brother *Jeronimo Priuli*, a man of an engaging conversation, long experience in public business, and a dignity of carriage and conduct becoming the elevated station to which he was raised by consent of his country.

JERONIMO PRIULI, Doge LXXXIII.

Jeronimo Priuli,
doge
LXXXIII

SOON after *Jeronimo*'s promotion an event happened which it was feared would disturb the public tranquility: it was the death of *Paul* the fourth, who was succeeded by the cardinal *de Medicis*, by the name of *Pius* the fifth. This haughty, cruel, and vindictive prelate so far prosecuted his resentments against the cardinals *John* and *Charles Caraffa*, and the count *Montorio*, as to suffer them to perish in dungeons, under pretence of their having persuaded their uncle, the late pontiff, to the ruin of the ecclesiastical state, by the perpetual wars in which he was engaged. This prelate, in altering his condition changed his very nature; yet, contrary to the public opinion, the new succession of popes wrought no immediate alteration in the general state of affairs in *Italy*. To the *Venetians* he was well disposed, having received their ambassy of congratulation with the strongest assurances of friendship and respect for the republic. Soon after his accession to the holy see, he summoned the council of *Trente*, at which attended the *Venetian* commissioners. To this office the republic appointed *Nicolo di Ponti* and *Matteo Dandolo*, men of extraordinary abilities and great reputation for knowledge: they were attended by *Antonio Malledona*, who acquired great reputation on this occasion, for the smoothness of his eloquence, the force of his arguments, and quickness of his penetration. A numerous body of the superior clergy from the *Venetian* dominions likewise assembled at *Trente*; but the only remarkable transaction of this year was the expedition of *Canalis* against the pirates. He was sent by the senate with four galleys to scour the *Adriatic*; and he conducted his affairs with such courage and ability, that in the space of a month he drove those enemies to peace and commerce out of the ocean into their places of security, after having taken a great number of their vessels, the crews of which he hanged up without form of trial.

A. D.
1565.

* PARUTA, ibid. SANSON. delle vit. princ. p. 253.
ROSEN. l. 4.

* MAU-

FROM this time until the year 1565 nothing memorable occurred. Upon *Selim's* accession to the *Turkish* throne, the *Venetians* sent *Marini Caballo* to compliment him in the name of the senate: his instructions were to procure a confirmation of the peace made with *Solyman*. *Caballo* delivered his credentials; but found it a matter of the utmost difficulty to procure an audience of the emperor. At last, by the force of gold, he surmounted every obstruction, and obtained a most solemn renewal of the treaty: however, this appearance of tranquillity was of no long duration, the ambition, or evil counsellors about *Selim* not permitting him to follow measures so salutary to the empire.

PREVIOUS to the war with *Selim*, the senate had a third time fitted out a fleet against the pirates, whose insolence was now increased by the thirst of revenge. To crush them at one blow forty galleys were equipped, the command of which was given to *Hermolao Tepulo*. During the preparation of this fleet, the pirates committed the most barbarous cruelties on the *Venetian* shipping and coasts of *Dalmatia*, destroying men, women, and children, without remorse, and desolating the country with fire and sword. The squadron was no sooner in readiness than *Tepulo* sailed; and so vigilantly did he execute his trust, that in the space of a few weeks not a pirate was to be seen; the smallest vessel laden with gold might securely rove through the *Adriatic*. Before the return of this fleet to *Venice* the doge died, after having held the reins of government, with great steadiness, for the space of eight years and eleven months. Having been honourably and publicly interred in the vault of his ancestors, the council *Maggiori* proceeded to the choice of a successor.

PIETRO LORETANO, Doge LXXXIV.

THE unanimous voice fell upon *Pietro Loretano*, whose capacity, courage, and experience, greatly raised the public hopes that his administration would be equally wise and fortunate: however, the beginning of his government was attended with some unfortunate circumstances owing, indeed, to unavoidable accidents. The arsenal was burnt to ashes by the carelessness of one of the soldiers upon guard, by which the republic sustained a prodigious loss of stores and ammunition. Another unfortunate circumstance was a great scarcity which prevailed in the city, in despite of all the endeavours of the doge and senate. Numbers of the poor dropt

* Ibid. PARUTA, l. II.

* SANSON. ubi supra.

Selim's
designs
upon Cy-
prus.

down daily in the streets, insomuch that at last a decree of the senate passed for opening the public granaries, kept solely for the maintenance of the sea and land forces. By this means the republic was deprived of the ability of equipping a fleet, from which it is imagined *Selim* formed the first resolution to attempt the conquest of *Cyprus*: he had, indeed, in his father's life-time, expressed a great desire of annexing this island to the *Othoman* empire. Its contiguity to *Caramania*, a province of the *Turkish* dominions; its fertility; its fine situation; its wealth and abundance in every necessary of life; the richness of its wines, of which *Selim*, though a *Turk*, was a great admirer; together with numberless other advantages, strengthened his hopes that he might one day obtain so considerable an acquisition. To these reasons were superadded others: the christian pirates, who infested the shores of *Syria*, and all the *Turkish* coasts with perpetual incursions, found in *Cyprus* a sure asylum. The inhabitants of this island disturbed the *Turkish* commerce, and above all the pilgrimages of their devotees to *Mecca* and the tomb of *Mahomet*. It was, besides, a maxim of the *Turkish* policy that a prince should, upon his accession, endeavour to extend the limits of his empire, and propagate the religion of his ancestors. The musti artfully insinuated this last argument: when *Selim* had carried him with him to *Adrianople* to see a magnificent mosque he was building, he told the emperor that it was neither lawful or customary to erect such foundations out of the revenues of the empire; but that it was always done by assigning for that purpose such lands as had been conquered by arms: that to this end no province could stand more commodiously than *Cyprus*, as the possession of this island would equally conduce to the happiness of his reign, the utility and strength of the empire, and the purposes of religion. *Selim* regarded this admonition as sent from heaven; it perfectly coincided with his own views, and to prosecute it he resolved to break through the most solemn engagements entered into by his father, and formally ratified by himself. *Mahomet*, the grand vizier, a secret friend to the republic, laboured to divert his intentions: he represented the advantages arising from a good correspondence with the *Venetians*, who were the chief traders to his ports: they, he said, ought to be the last people with whom a politic *Othoman* prince would quarrel, whether his views were glory, empire, or the propagation of religion. To assist the *Moors* of *Granada*, and check the pride and ambition of the house of *Austria*, better became his greatness, and suited the politics and religion of the empire. He entreated him, therefore, to embrace the happy occasion offered by providence, of protecting the religion

gion of *Mahomet*, of molesting the enemies of Mussulmans, and opening a path to glory and dominion.

THE arguments of the vizier were sound and unanswerable; but they neither corresponded with the opinion of *Selim*, or of his three great favourites the musti, *Mustapha* bashaw of *Damascus*, and *Pioli*, his son-in-law. The two last were the declared enemies of the vizier; they envied his grandeur, and crossed all his measures. In the present case their counsel fell in with the humour of *Selim*; they therefore pursued it eagerly, hoping thereby to disgrace the honest and wise *Mahomet*, and procure to themselves the chief conduct of the war. They opposed to the advice of the loyal statesman, that the *Venetians* were weak, their arsenal being destroyed; that the councils of christian princes were divided; and their assistance precarious; that *Cyprus*, on account of its distance from the republic, would be easily conquered; and when acquired, would be a valuable jewel in the imperial diadem*.

THEIR endeavours were effectual, *Mahomet* became suspected, he sunk in *Selim's* esteem, while the others rose proportionably to the highest favours. To their influence was added that of *John Michis*, a *Jewish* renegado; in high esteem with *Selim*. This man had so artfully insinuated himself into the emperor's favour, that nothing was denied him: he urged the attack upon *Cyprus* so warmly, that it absolutely determined *Selim*; but so far did the renegado attend to his own interest, as to obtain a promise from the emperor of the investiture of the island; and so full was he of the idea of majesty, that he had standards and other regalia prepared, with this inscription, "*Joseph*, king of *Cyprus*," for he had altered his name with his religion.

MAHOMET, the grand vizier, perceiving the current of the imperial councils, as well as *Selim's* own inclination, running impetuously against him, thought that longer to persist in his opinion would endanger his life, without either serving his master or the republic: he therefore advised *Antonio Barbaro*, the *Venetian* consul and resident, to lay the state of affairs before the senate, and endeavour to prevail with them to tamper with a power too strong for opposition, and to avert the impending storm by such concessions as they could make consistently with the honour and security of the state: he procured secretly one of the consul's household to be dispatched with proper intelligence to the senate.

WHEN this news was laid before the senate, they were fired with resentment, and in the heat of passion determined

* BARON. sub. A. 1570. THUAN. t. 3. l. 49. MAUROCEN. l. 5.

to endure every extremity rather than make submissions to so perfidious an enemy; but the opinion of the most prudent was, that, as nothing was to be attempted rashly, they should in the mean time strive to avert the blow. They said an affair of such moment was not to be weighed by the nature of the injury, and the grossness of the insult, but by their own power. They, therefore, advised to try the effects of gold upon an administration ever corrupt and avaricious. This was an expedient they had always found more effectual than the best concerted and vigorously executed plan of warlike operations. At the same time a fleet was equipped, and thirty-one gallies, with all the young nobility of Venice on board, stationed in the gulph, of which *Marco Quirino* was at that time admiral, and *Jacomo Celsi* provveditor.

DURING these preparations advice came that their shipping was stopped in the Turkish ports, and the utmost diligence used for prosecuting the war. Immediately orders were issued for *Quirino* to sail to *Candia*, and with all expedition to set the fleet of that island in a proper condition. A body of troops was embarked for *Cyprus*, and orders sent to the governors of the several ports, to put them in a state of defence, and carefully to watch the security of the island. Nor were the other dominions of the republic neglected; their garrisons were augmented, fortifications repaired, and magazines of provision and ammunition formed. An addition of eighty gallies was likewise made to the navy; *Francisco Duodo* was appointed admiral, and a captain to each ship chosen among persons of the highest quality and greatest experience in the city. *Paruta* says, that *Jacomo Zeno* was made high admiral and commander in chief of all the Venetian fleet; but that each division had a subordinate commander.

BEFORE *Selim* attempted any thing by force, he resolved to try the effects of stratagem. This seemed the least dangerous method of effecting his purpose, on account of the private divisions and perpetual dissensions among the islanders. For the execution of this design, one *Diasporiacus*, a native of *Cyprus*, now at the court of *Selim*, appeared a fit instrument: he was subtle, insinuating, and a knave, who prostituted honour, virtue, and religion to his interest. His credit was considerable among the inhabitants; and so artfully did he conceal the basest purposes, that his character might never have come to light but from this circumstance. In consequence, *Diasporiacus* accepted the business for a certain reward; and to accomplish it, returned to the island, where he

*A conspiracy
discovered in
Cyprus.*

was well received. After he had made considerable progress, the whole plot was discovered by means of an intercepted letter, upon which he was seized, confronted with his own hand-writing, put to the torture until he confessed his accomplices, who were apprehended, and put to immediate death, with the original contriver of the villainy ².

SELIM, thus disappointed, determined to effect his purpose by force; and the *Venetians* were no less diligent to frustrate his designs. *Eugenio Singlitico*, a nobleman of *Cyprus*, and lieutenant-general in the *Venetian* service, offered himself to command the troops in *Cyprus*. His proposals were accepted, and he was sent thither with a thousand additional forces. *Feronimo Martinenga*, captain of the men at arms, made an overture to raise, at his own expence, a body of two thousand foot, of which the senate greatly approving, he set immediately to work, and, in the space of a few days, completed his levy, and conducted them to *Venice* to embark for *Cyprus*. The next step was to implore the assistance of all the christian potentates by the ambassadors residing at the different courts. The expectations of the *Venetians* from this measure were but small; however, they imagined that neglecting it might be attributed to pride, conceit, and self-sufficiency. As the consequences of war are uncertain, the senate was willing to anticipate all the blame which might be laid upon their presumption, should the event prove unfortunate. They first solicited the pope for his own particular assistance, as well as his influence with the christian powers. *Michele Serviana*, the *Venetian* resident at *Rome*, intreated his holiness to take a fatherly care of the republic in so imminent a danger: he set before them the examples of his predecessors upon such occasions; he reminded him of the republic's services to the holy see, for the preservation of which she had often exposed her own safety; and he concluded with the manifest danger which threatened other christian princes, should the *Venetian* commonwealth, the bulwark of *Europe*, be destroyed. The pope seemed greatly moved by the ambassador's oration; but he lamented his inability, and made use of the same pretexts to avoid entering into the quarrel of the *Venetians*, which they, for a series of years, had urged to other princes who solicited their alliance. The affair, however, was proposed and approved in the consistory, although no other consequence resulted than leave to levy upon the clergy the sum of one hundred

² MAUROEN. l. i.

thousand ducats towards supporting the expence of the war^a. But though his holiness was unwilling to engage singly in an alliance with the *Venetians*, he took upon him to mediate a confederacy between himself, the senate, and *Philip* the second of *Spain*.

*An ambas-
sador comes
from Selim
to Venice.*

MEAN time *Cubath*, ambassador from *Selim*, arrived in *Venice*. This minister had been dispatched in consequence of *Mahomet's* vizier's remonstrances to the Grand Seignior, that it would sully the glory of his reign suddenly to attack a nation with whom he had lately entered into solemn engagements, without first acquainting them with his grievances, and demanding redress. One happy consequence resulted from *Mahomet's* proposition; for by it the *Venetians* had more time for preparing against the efforts of so potent an enemy, a suspension of arms having been granted until the return of the ambassador. Upon his arrival orders were issued by the senate, that before the day of audience no *Venetian* should visit or converse with *Cubath*: his instructions were well known, and an answer resolved upon; to prevent, therefore, all clamours from the apprehensions of the people this decree was passed. When the day of audience arrived, he was introduced into the senate, when, after paying his compliments to the doge, he began with setting forth *Selim's* affection for the republic, as appeared by his so readily granting a confirmation of the treaty with his father; but, says he, his kindness has been requited with ingratitude; his friendly offices have been returned with injuries and insults; his commerce and ports have been infested by pirates, who are protected by the subjects of the republic; he has complained to the *Venetian* ambassador at his court, but no redress could he procure. Unable longer to endure affronts, intolerable to so great a monarch, he demands, as the only equivalent or compensation of the injustice done to his subjects, and likewise to prevent future evils, that *Cyprus*, formerly belonging to the empire of the *Mamelucks*, to which he has succeeded, shall be ceded to him. The ambassador then proceeded to advise the senate, with a friendly warmth, to avert the indignation of so potent a prince, by concessions trifling in proportion to the danger to which a denial would expose the republic, telling them at the same time, that if they obstinately refused him this justice, he would not only take from them the island of *Cyprus*, by force of arms, but persecute the republic with all the animosity of an injured and powerful monarch^b.

^a BARON. AN. 1570.

^b THUAN. l. 49. PARUT. l. i.

To this the senate answered in the terms they had concerted, by taking God and their consciences to witness, that they religiously adhered to the treaty with *Selim*: as to the rest, that they were determined to suffer all the hardships of a cruel war, rather than submit to terms so injurious to the majesty of the republic. *Cyprus*, they asserted, did not belong to the *Mamelucks*, nor was it ever subject to the Grand Seignior: the promised tribute had been always paid; as to the other allegations they were false, and contrived by those who sought unjust occasions of a war. It was not, they said, in the power of princes to prevent misrepresentations of facts; but it was their duty to punish the authors of them when the falsehood was discovered. As they would not deny but some pirates, after committing depredations upon the coasts of the *Othoman* empire, had lurked in secret places in the island of *Cyprus*, so the *Turks* could not but acknowledge the senate's having rigorously punished them whenever they fell into their hands. Upon the whole, they trusted to the justice of their cause that if they were attacked they would be able to defend themselves, and that God would not fail to avenge himself on the authors of such calamities as must result.

WITH this answer the ambassador was dismissed, who took care to have the best information relative to the destruction of the arsenal, the scarcity of provisions, and every other particular of which it concerned *Selim* to be apprised, before his departure.

ALL this while the pope's legate in *Spain* was labouring to draw *Philip* into a league against the *Turks*, to which he appeared by no means averse. *Lodovico de Torres*, clerk of the consistory, was sent thither to hasten affairs, as *Philip* had put it off until his return to *Seville*, where he proposed to assemble the states of the different kingdoms. *De Torres*, on his arrival, represented the urgency of affairs; that they would admit of no delay; and that the only method to save *Venice*, and secure *Christendom*, would be to send immediate succours. So diligently did he apply himself, that the king issued an order for his own galleys, with the auxiliaries in his pay, amounting to sixty-five sail, to repair directly to *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Giovanni Andrea Doria*, and there to wait the pope's commands concerning the time and manner of joining the *Venetians*. *Torres* likewise obtained leave for the *Venetians* to victual their squadrons in the ports of *Sicily* and *Naples*; but as to the league, *Philip* answered, that it required deliberation. The application of *Torres* was supported by the utmost diligence on the side of the republic, who dispatched

The pope's legate in Spain endeavours to establish a confederacy between Philip, the pope, and the Venetians.

patched *Caballo* to the court of *Spain*, to forward and second the proposals of his holiness. *Caballo* acquitted himself with great address, having been chiefly instrumental in procuring the terms we have mentioned, and after the departure of *Torres* keeping *Philip* steady in his first resolution^c.

WHEN all was concluded that could possibly be obtained for the present, *Torres* set out for *Portugal*, where *Sebastian* at that time reigned: here he made the same applications as at the former court, but with less success. At the same time the emperor was solicited to join in the league, by *Giovanni Michaeli*, the *Venetian* minister at *Vienna*: he used every argument to induce his imperial majesty to break with *Selim*; but he found him fixed in his resolution to wait the event of the councils of *Spain*, *Poland*, and *Muscovy*. Nor were the ambassadors of the republic more successful in *France*, the ministry professing the utmost regard for the *Venetians*, but declining all overtures of a league: however, that no means of safety might be neglected, *Vicenzo Alessandro* was sent to *Persia*, to endeavour to stir up the sophi against *Selim*: upon his arrival he entered upon negotiations with sultan *Caydar*, the king's third son, who readily assented to the proposals made by *Alessandro*; but his zeal was frustrated by the phlegmatic disposition and wary slowness of the prime minister, who dissuaded the sophi to take arms before the *Turk* was weakened by the christian forces^d.

SUCH were the preparations, resolutions, and negotiations of the republic at this important juncture. Nor was *Selim* idle; new ships were launched in his docks, a prodigious number of cannon cast, magazines of powder, stores, and provisions erected, and in short, every thing bore the appearance of prosecuting the war with the utmost vigour on both sides. The *Venetians* even put lands to sale, to raise money for the exigencies of state; loans were accepted upon high interest; the procurators of *St. Mark's* church augmented, and a fine taken; young gentlemen were permitted to enter into the great council before the time appointed by law, on their depositing a certain sum for the public use; and several other expedients were used to replenish the exhausted treasury^e.

DURING these preparations, *Philip* resolved to embrace the proposed league, and accordingly sent his ambassador to *Rome* to conclude it upon the same terms as the last confederacy against the *Turks* between *Charles* the fifth, *Paul* the

^c THUAN. l. 49. MAUROCEN. l. 5.

^d PARUTA, ubi supra.

^e MAUROCEN. l. 5.

third, and the republic. But the *Venetians*, remembering the inconveniencies which ensued from bestowing the supreme command on *Doria*, insisted that each division should be commanded by its own admiral, to prevent the whole fleet's being rendered useless by the caprice or treachery of an individual. They proposed that all affairs should be deliberated in a council of war, composed of the three admirals, and all resolutions taken in consequence of a majority: that the conduct of the whole should devolve by turns upon the admirals. This affair being warmly debated, the point was carried by the *Venetians*.

THE next topic was the quotas to be allotted to each party : at this time the *Venetians* were equally obstinate, resolving to withstand alone all the power of the enemy rather than engage in a league where they were to support the whole expence, for his holiness had hitherto declined sending a fleet : at length, he agreed to arm twelve gallies, under the conduct of *Antonio Colonna*. Thus a league was concluded *Treaty between* those three powers, in which *Spain* and the republic were to exert all their naval force : it was signed by his holiness in person, by the *Venetian* ambassador, and by the cardinals *Pacheco* and *Granvelle*, to whom *Philp* had remitted full powers. After this, repairing to *St. Peter's* church, on the eleventh day of *June*, the pope gave *Colonna* the sacred standard, with which he immediately proceeded to *Ancona* to get the gallies in readiness^t.

MEAN time *Pinalis*, having refitted and victualled his fleet in *Negropont*, repaired directly to *Rhodes*, joining *Mustapha* and *Hali* in his course thither ; while *Uhuzzali*, with a separate division of the fleet, was sent to make continual descents on the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*. *Uhuzzali* was by birth a *Calabrian* : in his youth he had been taken and enslaved ; but, renouncing Christianity, his abilities soon recommended him to favour, and raised him to the highest offices.

THE *Venetian* fleet lay at *Zara*, expecting to be joined by the confederates, where they lost many occasions of annoying the enemy : whereas the *Turks*, spending only three days at *Rhodes* in preparations, sailed to *Finica*, a city in *Caramania*, opposite to *Cyprus* : here they met with the troops intended for the expedition, and immediately began the embarkation.

WHILE the enemy were thus employed, the *Venetians* in vain expecting the arrival of the *Spanish* fleet, suffered extremely by a contagious distemper, which swept them off in heaps. The admiral, finding that a change of air was neces-

^f THUAN. Hist. sui temporis, l. 49.

fary to stop the progress of the disease, steered his course for *Candia*, by order of the senate, taking in a reinforcement of rowers at *Zanti*, *Cefalonia*, and *Cerigo*, and making a fruitless attempt upon the castle *di Margariti*.

SEBASTIANI VENIERI was more happy in his expedition against the citadel of *Soppoto* in *Albania*, which, after a stout resistance, he took and garrisoned. *Marco Quirino* likewise gained some inconsiderable advantages in the *Morea*, which served no other purpose than to animate the troops. At length, *Colonna* set sail, and joined *Don John of Austria*, with the *Spanish* fleet, at *Otranto*; about which time the doge died.

LODOVICO MOCENIGO, Doge LXXXV.

Lodovico
Mocenigo, doge
LXXXV.

HE was succeeded by *Lodovico Mocenigo*, whose abilities in the field and cabinet occasioned his being raised on this emergency to the supreme dignity.

The Turkish
fleet arrives at
Cyprus.

PINALIS, the *Turkish* general, having taken all the troops, horse and foot, on board, steered his course from *Finica* to *Cyprus*, with a fleet of two hundred and twenty sail, where he arrived in the beginning of *August*. He put in, without any resistance, at the port of *Salini*, where the troops were immediately landed. It was a great oversight in *Dandolo*, the governor of the island, and *Singlitico*, general of the forces, not to dispute the debarkation, as was proposed by *Baglioni*.

THE first inconvenience which resulted from *Dandolo's* omitting to attack the *Turks* on their landing, was the submission of *Lusara* to *Mustapha*. This fort, despairing of succours, capitulated, and promised an intire obedience, provided the lives and properties of the garrison were secured, which *Mustapha* granting, a *Turkish* garrison was received into the castle. This example was followed by the neighbouring places, to prevent which, *Dandolo* detached *Cæsar di Tieni*, with a body of five hundred men, to lay waste the country; and, by the severity of the punishment, to terrify the inhabitants into their duty.

IN the mean time, *Pinalis* reduced *Cerines*, a sea-port of *Caramania*, extremely convenient for transporting provisions to the army in *Cyprus*^h. Then the *Turkish* generals held a consultation on the necessary operations, when *Hali's* opinion was, that the first attempt should be made on *Famagosta*, which surrendering, all supplies would be cut off from the

^g SANSON. delle vit. di princip. p. 286.

^h PARUTA, l. i.

Venetians, and *Nicosia* constrained to yield through despair. To this *Mustapha* objected, proposing to begin with the siege of *Nicosia*, which was defended only by a slender garrison, and slight unfinished fortifications; whereas, if they began with *Famagosta*, the other city might be fortified in such a manner as to surmount all their endeavours, and baffle the power of *Selim*. This last opinion was embraced: *Pinalis*, with a fleet of one hundred and thirty galleys, was appointed to cruize off the harbour, and to watch the christian fleet; while *Mustapha* took upon him to direct the siege of *Nicosia*.

THE number of men at this time in the city consisted of fifteen hundred *Italian* foot, most of them sickly; three thousand islanders in the *Venetian* pay; one thousand of the townsmen, bearing arms at their own expence; five hundred *Albanian* horse, and two hundred foot; two hundred bombardiers, gunners, and matrosses of the natives, and forty *Venetians*; five hundred noblemen and gentlemen of rank, volunteers in the service, and five hundred peasants at work on the fortifications; besides tradesmen, women, old men, and children, the whole amounting to upwards of fifty thousand souls.

THE city had three gates, viz. *Porta di Lalini*, *Porta di Troja*, and *Porta di Castello*, each of which the *Turks* proposed battering at the same time. Lines of circumvallation were drawn, batteries erected, and their different posts assigned by *Mustapha* to the several officers. A muster of the army was likewise made, which, it was found, amounted to 51,000 foot, and 3500 horse, together with an infinite number of attendants on the camp¹. Before the batteries began to play, *Mustapha* set miners to work in order to sap the walls: by this means a breach was soon effected, which the *Turks* storming with abundance of resolution, the besieged were at first put into confusion; but soon rallied again upon the arrival of *Andrea Spelio*, who, leading them back to the breach, renewed the fight, and defeated the infidels with great slaughter. Then he set about repairing the breach with diligence; in which he was greatly disturbed by the showers of shot which came pouring in upon the workmen from the *Turkish* trenches. The besieged, in a short time, began to relax in their duty, owing to the indolence of *Dandolo*, the governor, who, instead of being the soul and spirit of the soldiery, did, by his own example, encourage them in riot and idleness. At last, a dearth insinuated itself into the garrison: the soldiers were confined to a scanty allowance of bread,

¹ THUAN. l. 49. t. 3. MAUROCEN. l. 5.

and, what they esteemed a greater hardship, they were limited to a very small portion of wine. Upon this it was resolved to send to *Baglioni*, who presided at *Famagosta* for succours, which were denied, the garrison of *Famagosta* preferring their own security to that of *Nicosia*.

Now the besieged began to murmur and complain, altho' the famine was owing to their own imprudence and want of frugality : they had hardly as yet seen the face of an enemy, excepting in one assault ; yet did they vehemently exclaim against the ingratitude of the senate. At last the officers, perceiving that nothing besides keeping them in action could prevent the soldiers from mutinying, resolved upon a sally. Two thousand foot and four hundred horse, under the conduct of *Cesar Tieni*, were appointed for this purpose. *Tieni* rushed out at the head of the cavalry with irresistible fury, breaking through the files of the enemy, until he penetrated into the heart of the *Turkish* camp, where he made a halt for the infantry, and defended himself with incredible valour ; but *Dandolo* had changed his purpose, and countermanded the foot, which was attended with the loss of *Tieni* and his whole corps of horse, who were all cut in pieces, after a resistance hardly to be paralleled in history, having slain near two thousand of the enemy. From this time the garrison, by order of *Dandolo*, contained themselves within the walls, although *Bocasso*, general of the *Albanian* horse, constantly affirmed that the only probable means of saving the city, was by briskly repeating their sallies*.

PINALIS with the fleet steered his course to *Rhodes*, whence he dispatched five galleys in quest of the Christians : they returned with intelligence that the *Venetian* admiral lay with his division at *Candia*, waiting to be joined by the *Spanish* and ecclesiastical squadrons, whose arrival was very uncertain ; that he was greatly weakened by a storm and contagious disease, which had cut off great numbers of the soldiers and mariners. This advice he received by means of some prisoners the galleys had brought back with them ; upon which he immediately returned to *Cyprus*.

The dilatory conduct of the Spaniards

ANDREA DORIA, the *Spanish* admiral, was all this while collecting his fleet, after which several delays obstructed his departure from *Otranto*. The pope used the most pressing instances that he would set sail and join the *Venetians* ; but they availed nothing, until he received positive orders to that purpose from *Philip*. *Thuanus* attributes this dilatory proceeding to the envy of the *Spaniards*, who with pleasure beheld the inactivity of the *Venetian* admiral, and the decrease

* PARUT. l. p. 1. THUAN. ubi supra.

of his strength by sickness. Certain it is, that before the junction of the fleets was effected, the *Venetians* were rendered almost unfit for service, so much were they diminished in number by the long and violent contagion which prevailed in the fleet. At length *Doria* weighed anchor, and joined *Colonna* with the pope's galleys; they sailed in company to *Candia*, where, after a prosperous voyage, they joined the *Venetians*. Then a council being held, the *Venetian* admiral proposed that the enemy should be attacked, and by that means the siege of *Nicosia* raised: *Colonna* acceded to this opinion; but *Doria* finding he could not, agreeable to the articles of the league, refuse his assent, threw so many obstructions in the way, as rendered so salutary a measure ineffectual. In short, so artfully did he manage matters, that neither the pope or republic had cause of complaint, at the same time that *Doria* adhered to his own opinions. Sickness still prevailing in the *Venetian* fleet, the admiral was forced to lessen the number of his ships, in order to man those that remained, after which the whole combined fleet amounted to one hundred and seventy galleys, eleven galleasses, four galleons, and seven men of war. A small squadron was sent out to gain intelligence of the enemy's strength, and their account was, that it consisted of one hundred and fifty galleys, upon which *Doria* dissuaded his colleagues from any attack, for the following reasons, which, at the desire of the other admirals, he couched in writing; because the Christians were inferior in strength to the enemy, on account of the mortality that had swept off such numbers of their troops; and because the rowers were in particular greatly diminished, there was no probability of succeeding in their design, since the principal business of a sea-fight depended upon rightly working the vessels.

Doria's
excuses for
declining to
fight the
enemy.

To those excuses and pretences *Colonna* answered with great spirit and truth, that the Christians were not inferior in strength, and admitting they were, that this difference was more than compensated by their superior skill: he then protested against *Doria's* conduct; and called the *Venetian* admiral to witness, that the misfortunes which might ensue were to be attributed to *Doria* only, for whom he had waited the whole summer; by whose mal-conduct the fleet had been weakened, many opportunities lost, and the christian arms disgraced: he scrupled not to declare to *Doria* that he must answer with his head the loss of *Cyprus*, which would be the infallible consequence of his measures. To this the *Venetian* admiral added, that to the losses already sustained from delay, still greater might be added by the unsteadiness of *Doria's* conduct; that former misfortunes, before the junction of the

fleets, might be attributed to the wrong measures of individuals; but that false steps now would necessarily redound to the discredit of the whole confederate powers. Victory, he said, depended not upon the number of ships and troops, but upon the diligence, the skill, and the resolution of the commanders: it was, therefore, his firm opinion that they should follow the only measure consistent with honour, reputation, religion, duty, and their engagements: this was fighting the enemy, and not standing idle spectators of the loss of Cyprus, and infamy of the christian arms.

DORIA, perceiving that he could not longer oppose without endangering both his honour and life, consented they should proceed to attack the *Turkish* fleet; but this resolution was too late, for *Mustapha* had actually reduced *Nicosia*¹.

Mustapha
summons
Nicosia to
surrender.

AFTER the walls had been a long time battered, and a number of little skirmishes passed between the garrison and besiegers, *Mustapha* shot, by an arrow, a letter into the city, acquainting the besieged that, from his regard to the lives of such a number of people, he had abstained from storming the city, although he had it wholly in his power for six days past; but now the ardour of the soldiery could not be any longer restrained: he therefore advised them, if they regarded their own safety, to come to a speedy resolution of submitting to the power they could not withstand. Immediately after this notice he ordered the walls to be scaled in four different places, which accordingly was executed with the utmost fury; but he met with a very unexpected resistance, the besieged, as if in a fit of despair, behaving with an intrepidity which astonished the *Turks*. The fight continued for two hours with great vigour, both sides continuing to relieve those who were fatigued or wounded, by fresh supplies. At last night put an end to the battle, in which above fifteen hundred *Turks* were slain upon the spot, five hundred prisoners made, and about one thousand carried off wounded^m.

Is defeated
in an as-
sault.

THUS disappointed, *Mustapha* began to play again upon the walls with redoubled vigour: he took every measure to distress and dispirit the besieged, and to inspire his own army with hopes, while *Dandolo* committed the care of the city to subordinate officers. At last the besieged were quite spent with the tediousness of the siege, the scarcity of provisions, and the inactivity and indolence that prevailed among them; to this was added, the want of unanimity and harmony in their councils. To remedy those evils, a third message was sent to *Baglioni* at *Famagosta*, to come with a reinforcement

¹ THUAN. l. 49. MAUROCEN. l. 5.

^m PARUTA, l. 1.

and take the command. He was inclined to accept the invitation; but the inhabitants of *Famagosta* prevented him, threatening if he retired to make their own terms with the enemy. *Mustapha* had now battered the walls with all his heavy cannon for several days; breaches began to appear, and the townsmen had no farther hopes of relief, either from *Famagosta*, or from the inhabitants of the mountains, all their letters to whom had been intercepted. *Mustapha* denounced the utmost severity of war, if they did not surrender before he ordered the town to be stormed. No answer being returned, every thing was prepared for a general assault. After the soldiers had refreshed themselves with sufficient rest, he ordered the four towers and bastions to be stormed with so much fury; and in such a disposition, that the front ranks could not possibly give way by the numbers pouring in on the rear. The dispute was sharp for several hours, both sides seeming determined to conquer or die; but night a second time interposed, and separated the combatants. The enemy left the greater number of dead in the breach; but the loss of the besieged was likewise considerable; some of the best officers being either killed on the spot, or mortally wounded. Among the former was *Phæbus Zapha*, killed after greatly distinguishing himself, and the count *de Tripoli*, who was the soul of the action.

*Mustapha
storms the
city, and
is again
repulsed.*

MUSTAPHA, perceiving that the city was not to be stormed with his present force, sent to *Pinalis* for a reinforcement, by means of which, he assured him, the siege would not continue above one day longer. The admiral, certain of the designs of the christian fleet, was unwilling to weaken himself by a strong detachment; however, yielding to *Mustapha's* arguments, he draughted from the several gallies a body of 20,000 men, which he sent to *Nicosia*, under the command of *Hali*. *Mustapha*, upon receiving this augmentation to his strength, resolved upon another assault: at daylight the army was drawn up in the trenches; he bent his main strength against the fortress of *Podocatora*, where, he imagined, it would least be expected. In this he was not deceived; for the soldiers who scaled the walls, found the guard securely asleep, the motions of the *Turks* the preceding night, having possessed them with a full assurance that they intended raising the siege. Here the greater number were killed without resistance; others, alarmed with the noise, deserted their posts in the utmost consternation. The count *de Roccas*, whose quarters were at a little distance, upon the first notice of the attack, armed himself, and, with a few attendants, flew to the place of action, where, plunging in-

*Nicosia
stormed.*

to the midst of danger, he was killed upon the spot, after having considerably retarded the enemy, and given the garrison leisure to recollect their spirits. His death damped the ardor of the soldiers, they immediately gave way, and at last fled with precipitation into the midst of the city. Upon their retreat, the *Turks* entered in great numbers, resolving, before they advanced farther, to second the other assaults, by attacking the garrison in the rear. The *Italian* foot, who defended the three remaining bastions, behaved with incredible intrepidity: their number was small; but that defect was amply compensated by skill and courage. They every where defeated the enemy, but no sooner had they cut off one line, than it was replaced by fresh troops: when at last they were forced to retire exhausted and fatigued. They had defeated and repulsed the enemy repeatedly, though abandoned by the *Cypriots*, who fled in the utmost trepidation to their own houses. *Dandolo* had, upon this occasion, shewn extraordinary activity, courage, and conduct; had the rest of his carriage been of a piece, the *Turks* would probably have been foiled in their attempt: but now his endeavours were too late, they were masters of all the out-works, the chief strength of the city: nothing remained but an ineffectual effort to defend themselves in the market-place, where *Dandolo* had drawn up the garrison. There an obstinate fight continued, until, oppressed with numbers, *Dandolo* retired to the town-hall, where he made a stand, and seemed determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Upon this the chief officer of the *Turks* summoned the garrison to surrender, promising those their lives who would submit before the artillery was brought; but during this parley, the *Turks* had broke open the gates, pouring in crowds, putting all to the sword, and among the rest *Dandolo*, who now found that his abilities were exerted too late to be of use to himself or his country. The bishop also was among the slain, together with a number of gentlemen of the first rank in the island. Many, however, breaking sword in hand through the *Turks*, escaped to the adjacent mountains.

The whole
garrison
slain, and
Nicosia
taken.

THUS, after a siege of forty-eight days, the city *Nicosia* was taken and plundered, owing chiefly to the indolence, inactivity, and want of vigour in the governor and garrison. There was no species of cruelty, barbarous lust, insatiable avarice, or brutality, which the *Turks* did not commit here: matrons, young women, and children, were violated in the most scandalous and open manner. Old men were murdered in their beds, some in churches, and others in the arms of their wives or children, where they sought for protection, and meant to excite

excite compassion. Those who escaped the sword, were reserved for a more miserable death, being dragged in chains over heaps of their relations, kindred, and countrymen, to perish in deplorable dungeons. Thus did *Nicosia*, in one day, feel the most extreme calamity, after having for a series of years roused, by its affluence, pomp, and magnificence, the jealousy and envy of the *Othoman* emperor, as well as of many Christian potentates.

MUSTAPHA, putting a strong garrison in *Nicosia*, sent back the reinforcement lent him by *Pinalis*, and began his march, to *Famagosta*, carrying with him several engines and instruments for a siege, which he had erected at *Nicosia*. News of the taking of *Nicosia* being received at *Famagosta*, the governor got every thing in readiness for a siege, ordering all those who were unfit to bear arms to depart the city. *Mustapha*, in order to strike terror into the garrison, ordered *Dandolo's* head to be placed on a spear, and shewn to them; but this had no other effect than to inspire the garrison with an eager desire of revenge. As no intelligence of the christian fleet had been lately received, the *Turks* began to apprehend that some fatal stroke was meditated: they determined to send *Coccialobin*, a noted pirate and expert seaman, in quest of them to procure the best information possible: He soon returned, after having taken a small christian bark, which informed him of the fixed resolution of the admirals to fight. Upon this advice *Mustapha* called a council, where *Pinalis* was of opinion that a general engagement ought by all means to be avoided: *Mustapha* and *Flali* were of a contrary opinion, regarding this prudent advice as one of those minute maxims which measures every thing by its immediate utility: All their views centered in the glory of their prince, to whom they thought it a dishonour that his fleet should decline battle: their motion was carried, and the fleet accordingly cleared of every thing which could possibly impede the mariners in action.

THE christian fleet was at *Candia*, where new contentions arose among the commanders: these terminated in a separation of the fleet, *Doria* remaining at *Candia*, while the *Venetian* and ecclesiastical fleets sailed to *Castel-Rosso*, where they received the first advice of the reduction of *Nicosia*: upon this the fleets joined again, and a council of war was called to deliberate on the necessary measures. *Sebastiano Venieri*, *Francisco Duodo*, and *Marco Quirino*, three officers of distinction in the *Venetian* division, were for attacking the *Turks*,

which they asserted would have the same consequences now, as to the safety of *Cyprus*, as before the loss of *Nicosia*. These officers had the liberty of sitting and giving their opinions in council, but not of voting, which was confined to the three admirals. *Hieronimo Zani* and *Sforza Palavicini*, were of a contrary opinion: they said, that their sailing now to *Cyprus* would only be losing time, which might be usefully employed against *Negropont*. This difference among the *Venetian* officers was referred to *Colonna*; but the artful conduct of *Doria* perplexed the council so much, that it broke up without coming to any determination. So high had their divisions run, that *Doria* again parted from the other confederates, and retired with the *Spanish* fleet to *Sicily*, leaving the *Venetians*, with a slender squadron under *Colonna*, to oppose the powerful armament commanded by *Pinalis*.

THE *Venetians* determined upon sending succours to *Famagosta*, the manner of doing which was entrusted to the conduct of *M. Quirino* and *Lodovico Martinenga*; and *Zani*, leaving a body of two thousand men in *Candia*, repaired with the fleet to *Corfu*: here *Colonna*, after having lost half his fleet by sickness, parted with the *Venetians*.

PINALIS, being eased from all apprehensions of an attack, set sail to *Constantinople*, leaving twelve gallies for the defence of the island, and to prevent *Famagosta* receiving supplies. In his course, falling in with two *Venetian* gallies, commanded by *Angelo Suriano* and *Vincenti Priuli*, he attacked them, and their brave defence produced an obstinate and bloody engagement. At last *Priuli*, after having for several hours withstood the utmost efforts of five *Turkish* gallies, was killed; but the lieutenant, emulating the spirit of his superior, broke through the enemy's fleet, and joining *Suriano*, they both arrived safe in *Candia*.

MEAN time *Mustapha*, who staid behind with the *Turkish* army in *Cyprus*, resolving not to attempt the siege in form before the spring, contented himself with blocking up the city by little forts he had erected at proper distances. The besieged, taking advantage of this circumstance, sallied out with great vigour, forced the enemy's works, putting the garrisons in the forts to the sword, and totally razing them before succours from the camp could arrive. This noble enterprize they effected with the loss of ten men only, that of the enemy amounting to three hundred killed, an equal number of prisoners, and many wounded: but the *Turks* sustained a still more grievous loss in the burning of a yacht, laden with rich cloaths, jewels, and other things of great value, besides many noble prisoners, whom *Mustapha* was sending as

A brave
sally from
Fama-
gosta.

a present to *Selim*. The misfortune was occasioned by the courage, as it is supposed, of a captive *Cyprian* lady on board, who preferring death to servitude, fell upon this expedient °.

THE next endeavour of the besieged was to request supplies from *Venice*. This was a matter of the utmost difficulty, as the *Turks* were in possession of all the ports and passes: but *Raguzoni*, bishop of the city, willing to risque his own life for the preservation of his country, bravely undertook, and happily effected the enterprize.

THE following year *Quirino* and *Martinenga*, to whom the care of supplying *Famagosta* had been committed, draughted out of all the troops in *Candia* a body of eight hundred men, which, with provisions and stores, they shipped on board thirteen transports under *Quirino*. After a short and happy voyage, he arrived in *Cyprus*, and had the good fortune to throw the supplies into the city. The *Turkish* fleet did all in their power to prevent it; but *Quirino* attacked them so vigorously, and they were plied so hotly with the cannon of *Famagosta*, that, after the loss of four galleys, they were forced to retire. Soon after this exploit, *Quirino* took two vessels laden with provisions for the *Turkish* camp, destroyed some works which *Mustapha* had erected, and then returned to *Candia*. The senate having disgraced *Zani* for the opinion he had given in the council of war, promoted *Venieri* in his room; *Quirino* and *Zacharia Salamone* being appointed proveditors. *Zani* was sent in chains to *Venice* to take his trial; but he anticipated by a natural death an ignominious sentence.

A. D.
1571.

MEAN time *Venieri*, as soon as he found himself invested with the command, resolved to omit no opportunity of distinguishing himself, and serving his country: nor was *Selim* idle. To divide her forces, and distress the republic, he sent *Achmet*, bashaw, with an army of seventy thousand men into *Albania* and *Dalmatia*: *Hali*, at the same time, was detached with a squadron of forty sail to harraßs the islands of the *Archipelago*, and scour the *Ægean* sea; after which, joining the rest of the fleet, he was to proceed directly to give battle to *Venieri*, *Mustapha*, all this while, being employed in the siege of *Famagosta* °.

As to the confederacy entered upon the preceding year by the king of *Spain*, the pope, and the republic, so many difficulties had occurred, that it was hitherto of little prejudice to the common enemy, and now was like to be entirely dissolved, in spite of all the endeavours of his holiness to ce-

ment and reconcile the parties. So far did the pontiff carry his zeal, that he declared, if it should be found necessary, he himself would embark in the fleet, and expose his person to all dangers. At length his mediation had the wished for effect; the treaty was renewed between *Spain*, the holy see, and the republic, each agreeing to furnish a certain force, until the whole fleet should amount to two hundred galleys and one hundred transports: the army to fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Don *John of Austria* being appointed commander in chief. The only contention was who should have the command in the absence of Don *John*: *Philip's* party asserted, that the choice should be left to the discretion of the prince; but the *Venetians*, suspecting this to be an artifice to bring *Doria*, whom they justly hated, again into office, determined to refer the dispute to his holiness, with whose dislike to *Doria* they were acquainted. The pope's decision was, that the three superior officers should share the command; but that the chief direction of affairs should reside in *Colonna*; a determination that was perfectly agreeable to the *Venetians*, who had an entire confidence in the abilities and integrity of that officer¹.

THIS point being settled, other difficulties soon occurred; among these was one of the utmost consequence, viz. In what part their operations should commence, whether in the *Venetian* or *Spanish* dominions. *Philip* insisted, that as he supported the greater part of the expence, he had a right to expect the first fruits of the league. This the *Venetians* warmly opposed, affirming, that by this means the league would be a prejudice to their affairs, if, by giving up *Cyprus*, they should go in quest of conquests which could never produce any benefit to the republic. Here the pope interposed, sending his legate into *Spain* to prevail on *Philip* to recede from so unreasonable a demand, and to send Don *John of Austria* to take upon him the command. *Pompey Colonna* was pitched upon for this embassy, who having laid his instructions before *Philip*, was answered with protestations of his great zeal for religion, and affection for the head of *Christ's* church: his late conduct, he said, was sufficient to evince his inclinations, as he had, at a prodigious expence, fitted out a great fleet, with ten thousand *Germans*, eight thousand *Spaniards*, and an equal number of *Italians* on board, to oppose the enemy of Christianity: but he feared that those mighty armaments were to little purpose, as he could not help suspecting the sincerity and good faith of the *Venetians*. In the

¹ THUAN. l. 50. PARUTA, ubi supra.

first place, he was assured that they had never given up thoughts of peace, and that perpetual couriers passed between *Venice* and *Constantinople*: he had therefore reason to believe that their only design in proposing this treaty, was to obtain more easy terms from *Selim*, by forming a strong combination against him. And as to the emperor, his inclinations might be good; but his ability was too slender to suffer him to declare against so potent an enemy as the Grand Signior. *Colonna*, returning with this answer, found that new obstructions on the side of his holiness had arisen. In the former league with *Charles* the fifth, it was stipulated, that the emperor should bear half the expence, the *Venetians* two-thirds of the remaining half, and his holiness one-third. Now the exchequer of the holy see was so exhausted, he said, as to be able to bear only a sixth of the expence, the rest must be supplied by *Philip* and the republic. Against this *Suario* and *Soranzo*, the *Venetian* ambassadors exclaimed, saying, that at first no more than a fourth was demanded of the *Venetians*, though, by the force of entreaty, and for the honour of the christian arms, they were induced to advance a third. In fine, it was ridiculous, they affirmed, for his holiness to pretend the want of money, which he had so many easy methods of procuring: as it was a proverbial saying, that the pope's quill was a rich mint, by one stroke of which he could coin what sums he thought proper. But this point the ambassadors were constrained to yield, the league being established upon the same footing as the preceding^r.

HOWEVER, this was no more than an agreement which *Philip* had it in his power to perform or not as he pleased; and, indeed, it was apparent by the little preparation he made, that his quota would fall greatly short of his engagements. From hence, *Mocenigo* the doge, who had always been averse to breaking with the *Turks*, found an opportunity of more strongly recommending pacific measures: he affirmed, that the republic was only the tool of *Spain*, to make a diversion which should withdraw the *Turkish* forces from assisting the *Moors* in *Granada*. It seasonably fell out also that *Mahomet* the grand vizier, who had always given proofs of his regard for the *Venetians*, had upon this occasion signified that *Selim* was disposed to listen to reasonable propositions. This notice was joyfully embraced by the greater part of the senate; and it was resolved that *Jacobo Raggozini*, a man well skilled in the *Turkish* constitution, should be sent to *Constantinople*, under pretence of settling a cartel for the exchange of pri-

The doge and a party in the republic are for making peace with

^r THUAN. ubi supra. PARUTA, ibid.

soners. Now the face of affairs took a different turn ; those who thought they could make some advantage of the necessity of the republic, saw plainly, from the spirit of her ambassadors, that her whole views centered not in the league. Accordingly the pope dispatched an envoy to *Venice*, who, from his integrity, ability, and public character, he doubted not would be able to mend the late breach, and reconcile the differences between the confederates. *Colonna* was introduced into the senate ; he began his discourse with exhorting that punctilio, pride, and an undue warmth might not break off a league so necessary, so advantageous to the republic and to *Europe* ; he proceeded to palliate the conduct of his holiness and *Philip* ; he said that the declaration made by *Granvelle*, of the number of ships which *Spain* proposed furnishing, was of little consequence, since the republic could easily supply the deficiency by their own shipping, to be paid by *Philip*. Many other arguments he urged, to all which a senator answered, that they could not longer adhere to a treaty so ill performed, without evident danger to the state ; and that it was more adviseable to strike up a peace with *Selim*, before their mutual resentments were aggravated, than rely upon an alliance productive of nothing but feuds and dissensions. *Colonna* replied, that no safe peace with the *Turks*, whose perfidy they had lately experienced, could be concluded : this he proved by a variety of arguments ; and added, that things were now come to that pass, as to render it impossible for the *Venetians* to defend themselves by their own fleets, which were greatly inferior to the enemy's. It, therefore, was expedient to renounce timid measures, which were seldom secure, and heartily embrace the more generous and liberal views of revenging the injuries they had sustained ; of opposing that haughty enemy, who was ready to trample upon the neck of liberty ; and of driving back to *Asia*, a power that had insinuated itself into the very bowels of *Europe*. In short, with this address *Colonna* removed all the scruples of the senate ; only they represented, that as the war would render it necessary to augment their garrisons, it was but reasonable the allies should share the expence. *Colonna* was of the same opinion ; but said his instructions contained nothing upon that head. It was afterwards referred to the pope ; but he put it off to some other occasion, being unwilling to enter upon any terms which should draw money from the church : however, as this obstacle remained, nothing was determined, a reference being made to the doge and council. After warm debates peace with the *Turks* was again resolved upon ; but those who opposed this measure insisted it should be ratified
in

in full senate. Accordingly the affair was remitted to this assembly, when *Paulo Tiepolo*, by a long, sensible, and laboured discourse, refuted the arguments alledged in favour of peace, and confirmed those *Colonna* advanced in favour of the league. *Tiepolo* was answered by *Nicolao di Ponti*, esteemed the first orator of his age: *Ponti* with great spirit asserted, that all the arguments of those who promoted the war, were founded on profound ignorance of the constitution and circumstances of *Venice*, as well as of her allies. This he demonstrated with the utmost perspicuity, oratory, and elegance: he then laid open the views of *Spain*, the interest of the republic, what prudence, justice, and even necessity required of her: he gave a sketch of the languishing state of commerce, by which alone the republic could preserve her weight in the scale of *Europe*: he set forth the decay of manufactures, the distress of the poor, and total inanition of the treasury, drawing the whole picture with such height of colouring, justness and energy of expression, as well as propriety of disposition, that the senate was greatly moved with the pathetic description: for some time their minds fluctuated between doubts; but at length the opposite party prevailed, in consequence the league was agreed to and soon after concluded.

THIS treaty set forth that a perpetual league and alliance, offensive and defensive, should take place between his holiness *Pius* the fifth, his catholic majesty *Philip* of *Spain*, and his serene highness *Mocenigo* doge of *Venice*, against *Selim* emperor of the *Turks*. Here it was stipulated, that the allies should not only attack the common enemy in the dominions immediately in his possession, but likewise *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, and other cities tributary to the *Turks* on the coast of *Barbary*; that when no expedition for the common benefit was intended, the *Venetians* should assist *Philip* in *Barbary* with fifty gallies, well provided; that in the same circumstances he should supply the republic with an equal number, upon any attack within the gulph of *Venice*, from *La Valora* extending along the coast to the city of *Venice*; that the several proportions and quotas for general expeditions, should be such as we have specified above. And it was farther agreed, that the operations of every campaign should be settled the autumn preceding, the pope being appointed arbiter in all differences which might arise. Lastly it was stipulated, that none of the allies should even hint at a separate peace, without the joint consent of all the parties. A place was left for

The conditions of the treaty between Philip, the pope, and the Venetians.

the emperor, the kings of *France* and *Portugal*, to embrace the league if they chose it¹.

THIS treaty of alliance was made public on the eleventh of *June*, with the usual formalities : then the senate entered upon consultations with the allies concerning the operations of the war, and what instructions should be given to their admirals, it being a maxim with the republic to limit them with particular orders, the transgression of which is capital. This practice, at the same time that it has its advantages, is also subject to many inconveniencies, as by it many happy opportunities are lost of annoying the enemy and serving the state. In this consultation, it was determined immediately to hazard a battle, the issue of which would probably alter the sentiments of those who attributed the long continuance of the war to the delays of the *Spaniards*, and likewise ease the allies of the heavy burthen of new levies, and augmentation of stores and shipping. It was likewise decreed, that the war should be conducted with spirit, with bold pushes and activity; and that the hurry of intrepidity, which in other cases might probably precipitate into destruction, would in this war be the surest means of safety, and the only road to victory. It was farther determined, to give *Venieri* orders to omit no opportunity of fighting the enemy, and even before the junction of the allies, provided they were not unreasonably superior in strength : the same orders were sent to *Colonna* by the pope. Ambassies were dispatched to the emperor, to the kings of *Poland* and *Portugal*, to invite them into the league, which negotiations the pope took upon himself.

AMIDST these preparations *Mussapha* was not idle in *Cyprus* : having sent to *Nicosia* for his cannon, he broke up winter-quarter, and removed his camp to *Famagosta*. Forty thousand soldiers, labourers, and pioneers, were employed in repairing the works destroyed by the besieged : he also drew trenches round the city, raised batteries of bombs and cannon, with which he played vigorously on the garrison. The number of the besieged amounted to four thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, besides three thousand of the townsmen and peasants in arms, and two hundred *Albanians*, who performed notable services. *Antonio Bragadino* had the supreme direction : *Baglioni* was the next in command. The former was governor of the citadel ; *Nestor Martinenga* was general of the artillery ; and *Laurentio Tiepoli*, had an honourable rank, and great authority. Under the conduct of these officers were

¹ THUAN. ubi supra.

the efforts of the *Turks* to be opposed, and the city defended against a powerful army, without any immediate hope of relief from the allies. The *Turkish* works went on with spirit, and daily approaches were made towards the ramparts. As soon as they had compleated ten little forts round the city, in which were placed their heaviest cannon, they played with fury on the walls, battering the whole south side of the city for several days without intermission. Over this attack *Mustapha* presided in person : nor did the garrison oppose him with less vigour ; their success was greater, four thousand *Turks* having already been killed by the artillery. For four-days both sides continued to fire with irresistible fury, when the besieged made a partition of the command, assigning certain districts to each of the superior officers. The *Turks* sent a trumpet with letters to the garrison ; but *Baglioni* returned him with an answer full of resolution and courage. On the following day, after a warm action supported with vigour, those letters were found in the fosse, summoning the inhabitants to surrender, and promising them full security of their freedom and property ; but instead of complying, the garrison exerted themselves with redoubled efforts, and so hotly charged the enemy, with great and small arms, that it was said their loss amounted to thirty thousand men, besides several batteries dismounted : however, apprehending a scarcity of ammunition, they limited the number of charges to every gun, hoping by this means to make their powder last, until they could receive supplies from *Candia*.

At length, after great slaughter, the *Turks* carried their approaches to the bottom of the walls ; upon which they set about filling the ditch with the utmost diligence, which the besieged left no means untried to oppose. A kind of sconces were contrived by *Joannes Mormeri* to defend them from the shot of the enemy ; but he being unfortunately killed, the *Turks* became masters of the ditch : here they erected works to skreen them from the fire of the garrison, placing before them large sacks of wool and earth. Thus covered, they began to sap the walls, and to open mines ; which the besieged often rendered useless by countermines, at the same time retarding the operations of the besiegers by perpetual skirmishes, sallies, and a continued fire of musquetry and cannon. *Baglioni* exerted himself in a manner altogether incredible : his resolution and courage surmounted every hazard and fatigue : in body and mind he seemed invincible, being every where present, and directing the vigour and intrepidity of the soldier with the conduct, magnanimity, and presence of mind of a general. He animated, exhorted, and spirited

his men to action by his voice and example ; the languid he excited, comforted the oppressed with wounds or weariness, and praised and rewarded the brave and persevering.

*An assault
given, in
which the
Turks are
repulsed.*

At length the mine under the parapet was fired, which blew up with so terrible an explosion as equally terrified the besiegers and besieged. A breach was made in the walls, which the *Turks* storming, met with a resistance they little expected. *Baglioni*, assembling his men, attacked the *Turks* with such fury that they were driven headlong from the breach : they renewed the assault, and were a second time repulsed : not discouraged, they mounted the breach in greater numbers, imagining their perseverance would tire out the besieged ; but in this they were deceived, for *Baglioni* had so well concerted his measures with the other officers, that the fatigued and wounded were carried off, and their places supplied with fresh troops from the other quarters. By this means, after five successive attacks, all the endeavours of the *Turks* were frustrated, and they were compelled to abandon the breach with prodigious slaughter. The loss on the side of the besieged was inconsiderable, had it not been for the death of two brave officers, the count *Giovanni Francisco Goro* and *Bernardino Eugubino* : their greatest distress arose from the fatigue endured from the time the *Turks* became masters of the ditch. In the day they were continually employed in disturbing the operations of the enemy, and at night in repairing the breaches made by the miners and furious discharge of heavy cannon. In doing this the most precious carpets, tapestry, and other household furniture were used without repining ; and the proprietors beheld them blown up into the air, crumbled by cannon balls, or destroyed by loads of earth and sand, happy in the consideration that they prolonged the date of their liberty. To this was added, the fatigue of being constantly under arms from the frequent alarms. On the eighth day after the last assault, a new mine was sprung, which blew up with so much success, that several yards of the wall were entirely carried away, and a breach made sufficient to admit twenty men a-breast. To this both the assailants and defendants stocked, with a fury almost incredible ; hope spurring on the former, while despair and the last efforts of expiring liberty animated the latter. The combat was incredibly obstinate and blood, both sides exerting a power more than natural ; when, at length, the *Turks* gave way, and were soon after totally routed and driven before the garrison : here the women, children, and clergy fought like soldiers, annoying the enemy with scalding water, burning sulphur and pitch, with a fury not to be paralleled in history.

history. The bishop of *Lewisso*, with a crozier in his hand; stood in the breach exhorting, intreating, and animating the troops with temporal and spiritual arguments. In short, their enthusiastic courage surmounted every difficulty; and the *Turks*, astonished at so much bravery, found the garrison impregnable against human strength, and to be conquered only by delay. For this reason they determined to be less frequent in assaults, which had cost them the lives of so many thousand soldiers, with a loss altogether inconsiderable on the side of the besieged: however, after their artillery had played for several days with some success upon the walls, another mine was sprung, by which the counterscarp was totally demolished. A body of four thousand janissaries was chosen to enter the breach, which they did with great intrepidity, being supported by another corps of six thousand select soldiers. The resistance of the besieged was equal to what might be expected from their former valour; but the event did not correspond. After a violent conflict for three hours the *Turks* remained in possession of the counterscarp, the besieged being forced to abandon it through weariness and want of numbers: their retreat, however, was made with such order, after so obstinate a resistance, that the victors had little to boast of an advantage gained with terrible slaughter. To the number of two thousand had been blown up by the ingenious but horrible contrivance of *Baglioni*, who sprung a countermine as soon as the enemy had in sufficient numbers mounted the breach. *The Turks gain the counterscarp.*

By losing the counterscarp the garrison was forced to perpetual watchings, with which they were already harassed, to raise new defences against the besiegers; and to maintain constant sallies to impede their progress. The *Turks* were indefatigable; they had now brought the whole camp to the very walls; they were industriously erecting works to cover their farther approaches; and constructing batteries for driving the besieged from the posts they possessed. Nor were the defendants less assiduous in filling up all the breaches with hides, wet earth, wool, and other materials. In this employment the industry, vigilance, and spirit of the women were amazing: they divided themselves into troops, and, without regarding quality or sex, stood up in the defence of liberty, by labouring in the most servile occupations. Females of the first fashion might be seen sweating under loads of earth, heavy stones to repair the walls, or water to extinguish the flames kindled by the bombs thrown into the city. After several fruitless attempts upon the gates, the enemy took a shorter method by throwing, with great force, burning torches

*Famine in
the city.*

into the town, which seizing hold of the houses, took off the attention of the besieged from the out-works. So dreadful a smoke was raised, that the *Turks* unseen began to open another mine; but still the vigilance of *Baglioni* prevailed, springing another successful countermine, he frustrated the attempts of the *Turks*. At length famine was like to effect what foiled all the endeavours of the besiegers. Corn, wine, and provisions having long been consumed, the garrison had for several days drank vinegar mixed with water instead of wine, and eat the most nauseous animals in the place of their usual provisions. These inconveniences were cheerfully supported: the soldiers murmured not because their officers set the example by sharing every hardship: but now every kind of provisions were exhausted, and they must either submit or starve. The *Italians* in garrison were reduced from four thousand to one fourth of that number, most of them having died, not by the sword, but of loathsome diseases, the consequence of bad living. The *Greeks* were proportionably diminished; which at last began to stagger the resolution of the inhabitants, who had hitherto remained firm. In this extremity they presented a petition to *Bragadino* and *Baglioni*, requesting of them not to carry their obstinacy to the total destruction of the city, massacre of their wives, children, and all that was dear to them. They remonstrated, that their fidelity or constancy could never be accused, as they had supported every evil, braved every danger as long as the least hope of relief or liberty remained: but that now these were extinguished, and it was unreasonable to pursue a conduct that must, in a few days, terminate their lives by famine or the sword. At present it was probable that *Mustapha* would grant honourable terms, which was more than they could possibly expect after the garrison was weakened by sickness, famine, and fatigue.

To this petition *Bragadino* answered in a courteous and obliging manner. He commended their courage, soothed their despair, and assured them, that if the succours he expected did not soon arrive, he would take every precaution to save the lives and freedom of men deserving of the highest honours. Thus all again determined to wait the event of the general's promise.

THE *Turks* having now finished their works, sprung a mine under the citadel, by which a considerable opening was made, which they attempted to storm; but were soon repulsed by the superior courage of the besieged. Next day another assault was given, in which, after a sharp conflict of six hours, the *Turks* were again defeated with great loss. At last powder failed the besieged, and they were reduced to a few charges only:

only: provisions had long been wanting; and they now had intelligence that *Barzotti Barbaro*, coming with supplies from *Candia*, was shipwrecked. In short, every thing contributing to conquer the spirit of this brave garrison, they were finally compelled to enter upon terms of capitulation. Accordingly a treaty was set on foot, and hostages exchanged. Commissioners for settling the articles having met, the following terms were agreed to by both parties: viz. That the officers and soldiers should march out with all the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, five pieces of cannon, all their baggage, and be conveyed in safety to *Candia* under an escort of three *Turkish* gallies; and that the inhabitants should remain in the free use of their religion, untouched in their property, and in full possession of their freedom. These conditions having been mutually signed, the garrison marched out, and the soldiers embarked on board the ships provided for them by *Mustapha*. Next day *Bragadino* went to pay his compliments to *Mustapha*, attended by *Baglioni*, *Martinenga*, and some of the chief officers. At first they met with a civil reception, *Mustapha* ordering a seat to be placed for *Bragadino* on his own right hand. They soon entered into discourse about the prisoners; and *Mustapha* taxing *Bragadino* with some violences committed by the garrison during the suspension granted for settling a capitulation, *Bragadino*, with a generous disdain, denied the charge, calling it false and designing. Upon which *Mustapha*, rising up in a fury, ordered him to be bound hand and foot, and the others massacred before his face, without regard to hospitality, their bravery, the treaty subsisting, or their being unarmed. *Bragadino* was reserved for a more cruel treatment; after being insulted with the most vilifying and opprobrious language; after undergoing the most excruciating tortures; after having his ears, nose, and lips slit, his neck was stretched upon a block, and trampled upon by the dastardly *Mustapha*, who asked him where was now that *Christ* whom he worshipped, and why he did not deliver him out of his hands? At the same time the soldiers on board the fleet were despoiled of every thing, and lashed to the oars. This day's work being finished, *Mustapha* entered the city, where he gave immediate orders that *Tiepolo* should be hanged upon a gibbet. A few days after, before *Bragadino* had recovered from the wounds he received, he was carried in derision to all the breaches made in the walls, loaded with buckets filled with earth and mortar, and ordered to kiss the ground as often as he passed by *Mustapha*; a spectacle that raised pangs of pity in the callous hearts of the meanest *Turkish* soldiers,

Capitulates on honourable conditions.

The barbarity of Mustapha

dicts, but could not move compassion in the obdurate breast of *Mustapha*. Afterwards the brave *Bragadino* was cooped up in a cage, and ignominiously hung to a sail-yard in one of the gallies, where his intrepid soldiers were chained to the oars. This sight rendered them almost furious: they exclaimed against the baseness, the treachery of *Mustapha*: they called aloud for revenge, and desired to be set at liberty that they might, even without arms, rescue their brave general, and inflict the deserved punishment upon their mean, dastardly, and cowardly foes. Their request was answered with cruel lashes; *Bragadino* was taken down, conducted to the market-place, amidst the din of trumpets, drums, and other warlike instruments, where he was flayed alive, and a period put to his glorious life. His skin was hung, by way of trophy, to the sail-yard of a galley sent round all the coasts to insult the *Venetians*. In which manner perished the intrepid *Bragadino*, who suffered equally by the dilatoriness of the republic, and the barbarity of an haughty enemy (A). His head, with those of *Andrea Bragadino* his brother, *Lodovico Martinenga*, and the brave *Quirino*, were sent as presents to *Selim*. As for *Hercules Martinenga*, he unhappily, say our historians, escaped the first fury of *Mustapha*, renounced his religion, and entered into the service of *Selim*, where he in a short time arrived at high honours (B).

THE

(A) He bore his sufferings with such an admirable constancy, that with great calmness he reasoned with *Mustapha* upon the duties of honour, virtue, and a soldier. He then taxed him with perfidy, cruelty, and cowardice, qualities the least becoming a general of all men. After his skin was pulled down to his navel, the force applied by the executioner made the blood stream out; upon which, with amazing firmness, he cried out upon *Christ's* sufferings. But these are scenes we cannot describe without horror. The reader may see them at large in *Paruta*, *Mauroceni*, and other *Venetian* historians.

(B) We cannot avoid taking notice of the fate of the famous *Maggi*. This gentleman was of a good family, had been early tinctured with science, which he improved with great application and force of genius, having made an amazing progress in philosophy, mathematics, and the liberal arts, of which he left many monuments useful to posterity. His profession was the civil law, in which he was deeply skilled. This he practised in *Cyprus*, till he had raised himself from a slender fortune to opulence and the summit of his profession. Among other *Venetians* he fell on the taking of *Famagosta* into the hands of the *Turks*, by whom

THE taking of *Pamagosta* was an advantage of high consequence to the *Turks*; and had they not sullied their victory with the treacherous and barbarous massacre of so many herbes, posterity would have done justice to their perseverance, and deemed them deserving of the conquest. By possessing *Pamagosta*, they became absolute masters of the rich, fertile, and famous island of *Cyprus*, for which they had so eager and long a desire. It cost them from their first landing about an hundred thousand lives, and many officers of the first rank and merit in the *Turkish* service.

DURING these transactions in *Cyprus*, that the Christians might not be less employed in other parts, the bashaw of *Negropont* put to sea in *June* with a formidable fleet, and arrived in the night at *Malacca*, a port of *Candia*, unperceived by the inhabitants. Another *Turkish* fleet sailed to the gulph of *Suda*, where they wasted, burnt, and destroyed all the neighbouring villages, carrying off a great number of the inhabitants into slavery. Upon this the *Venetians* collected about thirty gallies to oppose the enemy, from which design they were diverted by a storm. In the mean time, *Hati Uluzzali*, seizing the opportunity, sent forty gallies towards *Rattimo*, where landing the troops, the most beautiful of cities was taken and burnt, after the conquerors had loaded themselves with rich booty. Leaving this place, they made an attempt, with very different success, upon *Canu*, a port in *Candia*, where they were so warmly attacked by *Francisco Justiniano*, that they retired with the loss of four thousand men. Hence the squadron steered to the island of *Cerigo*, *Motions of* which was desolated with a barbarous fury; as if to revenge *the Turk-* their late disgrace, they would commit the most enormous *ish fleet.* barbarities on the weak and defenceless.

ALL this while *Venieri* lay with the bulk of the *Venetian* fleet at *Corfu*, waiting to be reinforced, and impatient of delay. From hence he detached some gallies to bring him advice of the motions and strength of the enemy. They returned with intelligence, that the *Turks* were sailed to *Zacyntho*. Afterwards *Troni* was sent out to bring farther advice; but being driven out of his course by a storm, he fell into the hands of the enemy. As soon as the *Turks* had

he was enslaved, and employed in the most laborious and servile occupations. He often comforted himself by reflecting on the circumstances of *Aesop*, *Menippus*, *Epicetetus*, and other ancient philosophers. At length,

oppressed by toil and sickness, he became unfit for labour, and was knocked by his cruel master on the head, without regard to his services or merit. *Thuan. Hist. sui Temp. l. 49.*

They lay
waste Ce-
phalonia,
&c.

A Turkish
army enters
Albania.

learnt of *Tromi* that the *Venetian* fleet lay at *Corfu*, they determined to sail in quest of it : but *Veneri*, knowing his inferior strength, retired to *Messina*, in order to be joined by the confederates. After this, the *Turks* making a descent on the islands of *Zacynth* and *Cephalonia*, carried off prisoners to the amount of six thousand souls ; steering from thence to *Batrinto*, where they expected to overtake *Veneri*^a. Disappointed in this expectation, the fleet steered to *Albania*, whither *Achmet*, the beglerbeg of *Greece*, had come with numerous forces, to suppress some insurrections which appeared among the *Stradiots* in favour of the republic. *Achmet* marched to *Scutari* at the head of a choice body of infantry : finding himself too weak to enter upon action, he sent for a reinforcement to the fleet. Accordingly forty gallies filled with soldiers were detached to his assistance. In their way, this squadron met with two *Venetian* gallies, whom they took after a warm contest. Soon after some *Venetian* transports fell in their way, and became an easy prey.

HAVING received this reinforcement, *Achmet* marched to *Delringo*, to which he laid siege with a numerous army and train of artillery ; the fleet also was detained to block up the harbour, and a galley dispatched to *Uluzzali* to assist his squadron. This officer, after having seized upon some of the republic's merchantmen, sailed in company with *Hali* to the coast of *Dalmatia*, where the latter landing with a strong corps, attacked *Soppoto* and took it, after a very gallant resistance, in which he lost a great number of men : here the whole garrison was put to the sword, the town plundered, and then deserted. *Emanuel Mormori*, by whose bravery the city had been taken from the *Turks* the preceding year, became now their prisoner and slave. From hence *Hali* went to *Durazzo*, where he was joined by *Uluzzali*.

SARRA MARTINENGA commanded in *Delringo* : he had long served in a considerable capacity in the *French* army, where he acquired great reputation ; but peace with *Spain* ensuing, and the civil wars being composed, he returned to *Venice*, and was appointed to the government of this city. He now shewed himself deserving of the trust reposed in him : with a slender garrison, ill provided with water, stores, and provisions, he stood a siege of thirty days against a potent enemy. The intrepid conduct of *Hermalao Tiepolo* had twice, with great hazard, relieved him with scanty supplies of water. After having fulfilled every duty which his country, his honour, and courage required, he was at length forced to yield

^a PARUTA, l. 2.

to numbers, and the extremity to which he was reduced; but he capitulated upon honourable terms, having stipulated for all the honours of war, the effects of the soldiers, and hostages for the security of the liberty and property of the citizens. These articles were kept no better than those at *Pamagosta*, altho' the breach of them arose from no treachery of *Achmet*. The naval officers had claimed a share in the reduction of *Delringo*, which so highly incensed *Achmet*, who alone had undergone all the fatigue of the siege, that he admitted his troops within the walls, where they immediately fell a plundering, with an eagerness peculiar to the *Turks*. The naval officers, equally desirous of sharing the booty as the glory with *Achmet*, landed a large body of seamen, who joined in sacking the town and massacring the garrison, until not a soul escaped alive besides *Martinenga* and *Hieronymo Venieri*, who were saved by the humanity of the bashaw^b. *Martinenga* has been blamed by some historians for surrendering the town sooner than his situation required, but unjustly, as at the time of capitulation he was confined to his bed, and when asked concerning the capitulation, said that a man deprived of the ability of fighting had no opinion.

In the mean time the *Turkish* officers consulted whether so late in the season they might venture upon the siege of *Catharra*; but as they could come to no resolution, they sent to *Constantinople* for the Grand Seignior's orders. That the intermediate time might not be wasted, *Caracosa*, a captain of pirates, and *Uluzzali*, bashaw of *Algiers*, were sent with a squadron of forty gallies to make an attempt on *Castelluovo*, and then on *Carzola*. The former of these towns was commanded by *Antonio Balbi*, who, upon sight of the enemy, offered to submit, for which he was deservedly stigmatized with perpetual banishment. What rendered his disgrace the more remarkable was, that the women of the place, perceiving his and the garrison's intention to surrender, seized upon their arms, shields, and coats of mail, and mounting the ramparts, headed by *Rossello Dalmatin*, a priest, by their hostile appearance saved the city from an attack, the *Turks* turning their course to *Lessina*, which was deserted by the governor, who retired into the citadel on the enemy's approach. The *Turks* set fire to the town, and ran about pillaging the island; but they were attacked by the inhabitants, who formed themselves into a body, and driven with slaughter to the fleet, many of them being drowned in the tumult^c.

^b PARUTA, ubi supra. THUAN. l. 49. Hitherto l. 50. has been quoted by mistake. ^c PARUTA, l. 2. THUAN. l. 49.

A. D.
1571.Don John
of Austria
joins the
combined
fleet.

In this manner ended the operations of the campaign. By the ensuing spring *Colonna* had got in readiness his complement of twelve gallies, with which he set sail to *Messina*: here waited *Venieri*, with intention of joining him, but that officer was detained at *Corsu* by various accidents. *Colonna*, understanding that the *Venetian* fleet was in great danger from the vicinity of the *Turkish* admiral, and their inferiority, sent repeated messages to *Venieri* to set sail for *Sicily*, which he did as soon as the situation of affairs would permit. In the mean while Don John of *Austria*, having finished the war in *Granada*, arrived at *Barcelona*, and there embarking two regiments he set sail for *Genoa*. After assembling some troops here, and getting ready a number of gallies and transports, he steered for *Messina* to join *Venieri* and *Colonna*, leaving *Doria* and the marquis of *Santa Cruz* to bring up the remainder of the army and fleet. He arrived at *Messina* after a short and prosperous voyage, and was welcomed by the two confederate admirals, and the loud acclamations of the soldiers and mariners. Next day he called a council of war, at which were present himself, *Venieri*, *Colonna*, *Lodovico Requesnes*, lieutenant in the absence of *Doria*, *Pompey Colonna*, and *Agostino Barbarigo*. He opened the council with a short apology for the delays on the part of his Catholic majesty, laid before them the number and condition of his forces, which consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, of which eight thousand eight hundred were *Spanish*, eleven thousand *Italians*, and the remainder *Germans*, with a numerous artillery, ninety gallies, and twenty-two transports. He then lamented the state of affairs, complained of the surmises which had been spread, equally injurious to *Philip* and his own honour. He said, that the desire of avoiding battle was not the cause of the delays, but real and insurmountable difficulties; that the moment these had ceased, the fleet and army were got with the utmost expedition in readiness, and now it was their business, he said, to recover the lost time by a double portion of industry, activity, and zeal. *Venieri* and *Colonna* returned him thanks for his obliging apology; and the former imagining there was no other impediment, proposed that they should immediately seek the enemy. To this Don John objected, under the same pretexts offered the year before by *Doria*, although he was sensible that the harbours, towns, and territories of the republic were groaning under all the severities of a cruel and rigorous war. He said, that it would be folly to leave *Messina* before the whole fleet was

united, as the enemy were greatly superior in strength and number of ships; nor would he permit the christian fleet, in which consisted the public security, to be precipitated into manifest danger.

As soon as the *Turks* understood that the combined fleet was at *Messina*, they weighed anchor from *Catharra*, and sailed to *Corfu*, where they continued fifteen days, plundering the villages and suburbs of the towns, without attempting to lay siege to any fortified places. Towards the beginning of *September* they steered for *Constantinople*, ravaging *Cephalonia* a second time with all the horrors of war. Stopping in the gulph of *Lepanto*, they sent to *Selim* for farther instructions; and in the mean while sent out the famous pirate *Caragsaki* in quest of the christian fleet, to procure the best intelligence possible; but after his return the season was so far advanced, that, imagining no steps would for this year be taken by the confederates, the corsairs of *Barbary* were dismissed, to the number of forty gallies, well armed and provided. After which the bashaw, leaving *Hali* in the gulph of *Lepanto* with one hundred and fifty gallies, went to *Constantinople* to spend the winter.

MEAN while the sixty gallies, left in *Candia* for the relief of *Famagosta*, hearing of the fate of that unhappy city, set sail for *Messina*, agreeable to *Venieri's* orders. Upon their arrival the whole *Venetian* fleet amounted to one hundred and nine gallies, and six men of war. Then the admirals met to consult on their operations: *Venieri* pressed *Don John of Austria*, that, laying aside all hesitation and delay, the *Turkish* fleet might be attacked, saying, that if they avoided battle they should by all endeavours be reduced to the necessity of fighting. Here *Don John* again raised doubts and scruples; and though he did not openly oppose the proposition, yet he wasted the time that might have been better employed in action. He made such objections, sowed such dissensions among the officers, and so confounded their measures, that no plan could be proposed that did not meet with its cavillers and opposers. Some, magnifying the strength of the *Turkish* fleet, recommended caution, circumspection, and deliberate councils; others, on the contrary, were for giving battle at all events; and this opinion they supported with arguments drawn from the necessity of affairs, the circumstances of both sides, the honour of the christian fleet, the intention of the confederacy, and the articles of the treaty. To what purpose, said they, have fleets and forces been collected together from

so many different countries? Is it that the *Venetians*, who were always superior to danger while they confided in their own courage and virtue, should be ruined by reposing trust in the most solemn engagements with their allies? Is it that they may become the jest of *Philip*, of *Don John*, and of mankind? They were, therefore, for fighting at all hazards.

*Don John
resolves to
fight.*

THESE sentiments were frequently repeated in council before a full assembly of general officers, and they were supported by the earnest exhortations of the pope's legate on board, who gave them the strongest assurances of victory, through the mediation of the prayers of his holiness. At last, overcome with shame, *Don John* of *Austria* publicly gave orders that every thing should be got ready for engaging. This order was received with the joyful acclamations of the whole fleet, especially of the *Venetians*, who wanted nothing so much as to revenge the many barbarities committed by the infidels. The prince examined the condition of every ship, the number of her crew, and the state of her stores, arms, and provisions, with a minute exactness. The *Venetian* fleet was found well provided in every thing besides men, of whom a great number had perished by sickness. To remedy this deficiency four thousand of his troops, of whom fifteen hundred were *Italians*, were distributed among the *Venetian* gallies. The fleet was then drawn up in order of battle, in which manner it proceeded against the enemy, with all possible caution, in four divisions, each distinguished by a flag. Three divisions composed the van: the fourth continued in the rear, ready to assist and succour the parts hardest pressed. The division on the right, composed of fifty gallies, was commanded by *Doria*: that on the left, consisting of an equal number, by *Agostino Barbarigo*: *Don John* himself kept the center; and the rear, consisting of thirty gallies, was committed to the conduct of *Alvaro Bassiano*. Six large *Venetian* men of war were towed in front, two being placed before each division to break the first effort of the enemy, and annoy them by their heavy artillery: ten gallies besides were kept without the line to provide for all sudden emergencies, and against all accidents; and eight gallies were dispatched under *Collonna* to reconnoitre the enemy, and bring advice of their disposition^f.

In this order the christian fleet arrived on the eighteenth of *September* at *Capo delle Colonne*, where they were detained for three days by contrary winds. *Venieri* proposed they should steer for *Cephalonia*, in order to intercept the *Turkish* fleet,

which, from the latest accounts, was at *Corfu*, and by that means force them to engage. Don *John* was of a contrary opinion: he preferred sailing directly to *Corfu* with the whole fleet, and his opinion prevailed. Accordingly *Bassano* was dispatched to *Tarento*, and *Canalis* to *Gallipoli*, with orders to take some troops on board at those places, and proceed directly to *Corfu*. Then weighing from *Capo delle Colonne*, the fleet arrived in four days at *Corfu*. Thence proceeding to the continent, they put into the port of *Gominezze*, where they were joined by *Andrada*, who returned with advice that the *Turks* were in the gulph of *Lepanto*, and had detached sixty sail either to *Constantinople* or the coast of *Barbary*, for corn and other provisions.

ALL this time the infidels exerted the utmost diligence in procuring intelligence, and strengthening their fleet for action. Having some advice of the motions of the Christians, the bashaw returned to the fleet, recalled the piratical auxiliaries which he had dismissed, and all the other squadrons detached on different purposes. *Caragiali* was intrepid enough to sail in the night, with a small squadron, through the combined fleet, to examine their number, situation and designs. He even had the presumption to land within shot of the allies, and take prisoners a body of soldiers, who strolled about the shore little suspecting an enemy. From them the necessary intelligence was procured; upon which it was debated whether or not battle should be offered. *Hali*, who was young, full of courage, ambitious of glory, and eager for an opportunity of distinguishing himself, advised, that the Christians should be attacked at all events. This opinion was supported by a great majority; but opposed by *Parthi*, whose age and experience rendered him more circumspect. *Uluzzali* seemed neuter, fearful of disobliging either of the commanders: his cunning, plausibility, and ambiguous discourse still more confounded the *Turkish* counsels, and fomented the divisions among the admirals. Sometimes he would seem to incline to *Hali's* opinion, as most becoming the dignity of so potent an emperor as *Selim*: again he would appear doubtful whether their force was equal to the importance and danger of the enterprize. This, he would say, was not his own opinion; but that of some experienced officers in the fleet, whom he did not chuse to name. That the ships under his own conduct were well provided with men, arms, ammunition, and every thing fit to engage; but he was told it was not so in some other divisions. He then added, that if his conduct hitherto was not a sufficient security for his fidelity, he was willing now to give more ample testimony in battle.

He. After he had thus twisted his sentiments into all the circumvolutions and ambages of a fly courtier, *Barbarossa*, the young dey of *Algier* was called upon for his opinion. When this prince spoke, he magnified the vastness, power, and fortune of the *Othoman* empire; the discipline of the troops; the excellency of the officers, exalting them greatly above the effeminate, luxurious, emasculated, and contentious Christians, who were split into various monarchies of separate and contrary interests, and concluded with advising battle, with the strongest assurances of victory. This, he said, the emperor desired; this at least became his potency and grandeur; nor was it lawful to hesitate a moment where the honour of their great monarch was concerned: his most distant hints were to be regarded with that reverence and respect due to the Deity.

BARBAROSSA's sentiments were seconded by those of the greater number of the officers; but opposed by *Parthi*, fangiack of *Negropont*, an officer who had gained great experience in naval affairs, and was possessed of an exquisite judgment, devoid of all ostentation, deceit, and vanity. He was an honest, virtuous, and brave mariner, who freely spoke his sentiments, without regarding how they might be received by his superiors. After refuting every thing advanced by *Barbarossa*, he asked, Whether the Christians had given any proofs of their effeminacy, debility, and cowardice, at *Famagosta*, *Malta*, and other places? He asked him, Whether the taking of the former was to be attributed to the *Turkish* bravery, or to the famine, sickness, and every other evil that prevailed within the walls? He said, that the Christians had there exhibited proofs of intrepidity and conduct altogether amazing; and which ought to immortalize the memory of those unfortunate heroes, who met with a fate which they ill merited. An overweening pride, a contempt of the enemy, he said, and a self-sufficiency, were not the paths to victory and glory; but a true estimation of each, a judicious, impartial, and dispassionate comparison, which was the duty of a true general. The Christians, he said, were not so contemptible as to be overawed by the formidable name of the *Othoman* arms; they must be conquered by dint of superior courage and strength; nor was *Parthi* so to interpret his instructions as rashly to engage on unequal terms: a defeat was less for the honour of the great monarch than a prudent reserve, and cautious refusal of battle, the event of which might probably be disgraceful and ruinous. A prince, he said, could not be dishonoured but by the rashness or timidity of his generals; but these differed widely from true courage and prudence. A defeat would now sully the glory of *Selim*, and rob him of the fruits of so many

many victories : he, therefore, advised that battle might be declined, as less hazardous and injurious to their affairs than inactivity, which was no more than a necessary relaxation after the toils of war. However, as this prudent advice was supported but by a few voices, *Partiti* saw himself under the necessity of taking measures from which he perceived destruction would ensue : he remembered the disgrace of *Pinalis* for a more trivial offence ; and, with many sobs and wailings, gave up his own judgment to the rash impetuous torrent of juvenile councils, saying, he had rather perish in the field than fall a sacrifice to the obloquy, the arts of envy, and the detraction of malevolence. To this he was the more induced by *Selim's* last instructions, read by *Uluzzeli* in council, for seizing the first opportunity of fighting the enemy².

THIS resolution being formed, *Mahomet*, who had strenuously dissuaded them from battle, was dispatched into the inner parts of the gulph of *Lepanto*, to collect as many troops and ships as could possibly be got together. He drew from the neighbouring garrisons about four thousand horse, whom he dismounted and put on board the fleet, *Mahomet sangiack* of *Morea* sent fifteen hundred more horse, after having dismounted them, and altered their arms to that of infantry. After this *Caravosa*, a renowned pirate, was sent for intelligence.

IN the mean time a trivial occurrence had like to have dissolved the league, and given the *Turks* all the advantage they could desire. One of the commissioners, a *Spaniard*, appointed by *Don John* of *Austria*, for victualling the fleet, had conducted himself with great arrogance and ill manners towards many of the *Venetian* officers : upon which *Venieri* apprehended him gently ; but the fellow retorting abuse and scurrility, *Venieri* gave orders he should be seized. The commissioner, assisted by some other *Spaniards*, not only resisted, but slew the officer in the discharge of his duty, which so highly incensed *Venieri*, that he ordered the commissioner and his accomplices immediately to be hanged at the yard-arm, without consulting *Don John*. The *Spanish* general regarded this conduct as an insult upon his authority ; and his indignation received additional fuel from the remonstrances of the *Spanish* officers, especially *Doria*, who hoped from thence to breed such dissensions as might frustrate the resolution of the council, and even dissolve the confederacy. They insisted upon satisfaction ; but the moderation and prudence of *Columna* and *Barbarigo* healed the wounds made by the im-

*The confederacy
among the Christians
most broke off by a
trivial occurrence.*

² Vid. Ant. supra citat.

tuout and warm temper of *Venieri*, and baffled all the endeavours of *Doria* to bring this affair to an open rupture. They so strongly recommended the necessity of unanimity to *Don John*, that he was reconciled to *Venieri*, and determined to prosecute the plan laid down in council^b.

BUT the *Spanish* officers, who were ever averse to coming to a battle with the *Turks*, raised new cavils, by proposing that the fleet should invest some of the cities lately taken by the *Turks* on the coast of *Dalmatia*. This, they said, would draw *Parthi* out of the gulph of *Lepanto* to the succour of the place, when they could engage him to more advantage than in a narrow channel. Although this advice was plausible, the *Venetians* easily perceived that the ultimate intention of it was to avoid battle: they therefore insisted on pursuing the former resolution, and sailing immediately to the mouth of the gulph, when, beyond doubt, the impatient and haughty disposition of the *Turks* would induce them to come out and engage. A third proposition was, that they should lay aside all contention about things of little importance, and unanimously attack *Navarra* and *Modon*, by the taking of which they would reap real utility and glory. It was probable that the *Turks* would attempt the relief of those towns: if they did, there would be an opportunity of fighting; if not, the surrender of places so important would pave the way for an insurrection in the *Morea*, where the inhabitants were quite oppressed with the gauling yoke of servitude^c.

AGREEABLE to this proposal, a resolution was formed of sailing directly to the *Morea*, and there determining operations by circumstances. All things being got in readiness, the fleet weighed from the coast of *Albania*, and sailing in the order we have before described, pursued her course to *Cephallonia*, where the allies arrived about the time that *Hali*, carrying all before him in council, had gained a majority against *Parthi*, and carried the resolution of fighting the Christians. The same mistake prevailed in both fleets, each imagining that the other would decline coming to action. When the *Turks* were at *Santa Maura*, the confederates lay at *Cursolari*; so that the enemy could be descried from the tops. Upon this *Don John* of *Austria*, by the advice of *Doria*, gave strict orders to *Bassano*, who commanded the reserve squadron in the rear, by all means to avoid joining battle, until it was certain that the enemy had no separate division in reserve. Then *Doria* extended his line on the right, *Barbarigo* doing the same on the left, and going as close to the shore as the sounding

^b TEUAN. l. 49. PARUTA, l. 2.

^c MAUROCEN. l. 5.

would permit it. The center was ranged by Don *John*, and the whole fleet disposed in order of battle, without the least confusion or tumult. Immediately on the right of the royal galley which carried *John of Austria*, were stationed *Colonna* and the pope's squadron: on the left stood the *Venetians*, with two large *Venetian* men of war placed before each division ^k.

On the other hand, the *Turks*, seeing the christian fleet making sail towards them, instantly cleared the ships, and made every thing ready to engage, with the greatest alacrity, expedition, and good order. In the center *Parthi*, the high admiral, took his station, having on both sides one hundred and thirty galleys ranged in line of battle. At the distance of sixty ships from his right, *Hali* took post with eighty galleys, which he drew up close to the shore, to oppose *Barbarigo*. The sangiack of *Alexandria* commanded in the right wing, and *Uluzzali* on the left, the whole fleet being ranged in a strait line, contrary to the usual custom of the *Turks*, who generally form a crescent. Both sides appointed a certain number of light vessels to sail constantly round the fleets, to bring intelligence to the admirals of the state of affairs. When the fleets approached within a small distance, Don *John*, taking the confederate standard in his hand, accompanied by *Venieri* and *Colonna*, went into a barge, and rowed round the fleet, exhorting and animating them to an exertion of their abilities and courage, which was answered by cheers over the whole line. Returning to his own ship, he made a short speech to the crew, of which they testified their applause by cheerful shouts, which were echoed back by the fleet.

On a sudden the wind, which hitherto was adverse to the christian fleet, ceased, and a perfect calm ensued: now it was that *Doria* was discovered to have changed the order of battle prescribed. Instead of keeping the line, agreeable to orders, he turned the stems of his division towards the shore on his right, to prevent being surrounded. This disposition of *Doria's* had almost been attended with ruinous consequences, as it gave the *Turks* an opportunity of breaking the line, although his historian attributes it to the superior abilities of his hero. The centers joined battle, the first onset being sustained by the large ships in front, who played furiously with their heavy artillery on the *Turkish* galleys. *Venieri* sent some large galleys to support them, and his example was happily followed by *Colonna*; for the enemy, unable to bear this vigorous charge, divided to the right and left, the

*The battle
of Lepan-
to.*

^k THUAN. ubi supra. PARUT. ibid.

greater part going to the right, which was opposed to *Barbarigo*, on whom they discharged showers of arrows, which darkened the sky, attended, after their barbarous manner, with shrieks and shouts. Getting between *Barbarigo* and the shore, with some light galleys, they furiously attacked him in rear, front, and flank. This brave officer opposed them with equal courage, and superior abilities, having often repulsed, broke, and put them in confusion. Victory had like to have declared for him, when, after an obstinate conflict, during which he distinguished every quality of a great commander, he was shot in the eye, of which wound he died the following day¹.

In his place succeeded *Marino Contareni*, his nephew, and the rival of his virtues, who, after pushing the advantages gained by *Barbarigo*, and putting the enemy to flight; after having driven some on shore, sunk and disabled others, was slain by an arrow, and with him fell *Visconti Quirino* and *Andrea Barbarigo*. Pursuing the victory, the next in command kept so constant a fire upon the enemy, that deserting their ships, they fled on shore, many being drowned endeavouring to escape, and the vessels dashed in pieces against the rocks. The same good fortune attended the center of the combined fleet, where hardly a *Turk* escaped, no friendly shore being near to afford them refuge. On the right, the battle was supported by *Doria* on the one side, and *Hali* on the other. The *Turks*, by his wrong disposition, got between him and the center of the fleet, where a violent conflict ensued, *Doria* resolving to close the line, and prevent his being surrounded, which he effected after a hard struggle, and great loss on the side of the enemy. Two galleys, in which the sons of the *Turkish* general fought, were taken. Notwithstanding this design was frustrated, the battle was renewed with fresh vigour by *Venieri*, seconded by *Colonna*, *Matharin de l'Escut* (A), a *Frenchman*, and several other commanders, flying to his support. Don *John* at the same time chusing four hundred of the flower of the regiment of *Sardinia*, and, accompanied by *Lupo Fagoeroa*, and a body of the young grandees of *Spain*, made an attack on *Hali*, surrounded by four hundred janissaries and one hun-

¹ MAUROCEN. l. 6. et Ant. citat.

(A) *Matharin* was a knight of *Jerusalem*, at this time in the service of the pope. He had formerly spread terror over the East; insomuch, that for many years mothers used to frighten their children with the terror of his name. *Thuan.* l. 49. p. 48.

ged archers. The charge was given and received with great vigour: the dispute was long, obstinate, and bloody; victory for a long while appeared doubtful, and both fleets seemed to refer the issue of their differences to the event of the engagement between the two admirals. All besides *Venieri* were idle spectators; and both parties laboured under the most terrible anxiety and fear for their commanders, while none thought of supporting them, seeming to look upon it as a trial of valour. At length *Hali* was killed, and his galley taken by *Don John*; but not without very considerable loss of officers and soldiers^m.

Now the sea, discoloured with blood, was covered with floating mangled bodies. The ships on both sides were filled with the dreadful spectacle of heads, arms, and legs severed from their bodies. The sky was darkened with clouds of smoke; and the ears stunned with the dreadful roar of cannon, the shrieks of miserable wretches perishing by fire, by water, and the sword.

PARTHI, who had all this while been engaged in the *The Turks* hottest of the fight, was at last separated from his division, *are defeat-* and singly encountered by four *Venetian* gallies. After he had *ed with* maintained a sharp contest till almost his whole crew was *prodigious* killed, he retired into a small yacht he had prepared against *slaughter.* extremities, and went off from the battle, leaving all his valuable effects a prey to the conquerors, and throwing out terrible execrations against *Hali*, and those rash counsellors who had reduced him to the necessity of flight. Of all the *Turkish* division now only that under *Uluzzali* remained. This cunning officer, passing by *Doria* into the middle of the christian fleet, so contrived matters that he could either engage or retreat at pleasure. But when he perceived, by the imperial standards being taken down, that *Hali* and *Parthi* were defeated, when the clouds of smoke were dispelled, that he could plainly see the *Turkish* fleet destroyed, and the Christians every where victorious, he then retired with precipitation. Some *Venetian* gallies that lay next to him observing his design, attacked him with great courage, imagining they should be supported by *Doria*. They were greatly inferior in number and strength to *Uluzzali*, having lost more than half their complement of men in the former part of the action. However, determined to make up with courage what was wanting in power, the fight was maintained with fury, *Uluzzali* determining, at all hazards, to escape, and the *Venetians* fighting with expectation that the arrival of *Doria* would soon

^m PARUTA, l. 2. p. 2.

relieve them: in which they were deceived; that treacherous admiral taking designedly a long sweep, did not return until he thought the *Venetians* must have been defeated, or the enemy so weakened as to become an easy prey. Observing this conduct, the *Venetians* placed their whole confidence in their own bravery, and determined rather to die than either yield or leave an open passage to *Uluzzali*. The efforts they made were incredible, and such as the *Turks* could not have withstood had they not been greatly superior in number to thier fatigued enemies. At length *Uluzzali* broke through just as *Doria* came up with a serious intention of attacking the enemy; but it was too late. A high sea rising prevented his pursuing them: however, after recovering two *Venetian* gallies, which *Uluzzali's* Squadron was towing a-stern, he stood for the rest of the fleet, having shamefully ended a battle, otherways the most glorious upon record^a.

SUCH was the battle of *Lepanto*, in which it is difficult to say whether Don *John* of *Austria*, *Colonna*, or *Venieri*, proved themselves the greatest soldiers and commanders. Certain it is, that nothing could exceed the vigilance, conduct, and intrepidity of each. The *Venetian* division had, indeed, supported the greater burthen of the engagement, but that was owing not to the fault of Don *John* or *Colonna*, but to the treachery of *Doria*, who almost the whole time kept aloof.

THE *Turks* likewise fought with incredible bravery, many gallies continuing the fight after almost the whole crews had been killed: others sunk and perished by fire rather than strike to the conquerors, and their fierceness remained after their power was extinguished. About one hundred and thirty of their gallies were taken, the rest of their fleet was either dashed upon rocks, swallowed by the waves, or destroyed by fire, excepting about thirty ships which *Uluzzali* carried back to *Constantinople*. Twenty-five thousand of their men were killed, among whom were their two chief admirals, with many other officers of the first distinction; many were drowned, and about three thousand five hundred were taken prisoners. On the side of the confederates fifteen gallies were lost, of which ten were *Venetian*; ten thousand were slain in the action or died of their wounds, which were unskillfully treated. Among the latter was *Agostino Barbarigo*, whose prudence, experience, moderation, and courage, could not exempt him from that fate which his country and allies greatly lamented. His death, says *Thuanus*, was more than an equivalent for the liberty restored by his bravery to one thousand two hundred

^a THUAN. l. 50. t. 3.

christian captives in the *Turkish* fleet. Other officers of note likewise fell; but the grief on their account was absorbed in the general joy for the victory, and mourning for the loss of *Barbarigo* °.

NEXT day, while the confederates were busied in taking care of the wounded, a terrible storm arose, which must have been attended with dismal consequences, had not Providence farther displayed her goodness in securing a safe harbour for the christian fleet, owing to a gross mistake the enemy committed in the beginning of the action. A perfect reconciliation between *Don John* and *Venieri* was effected: these warriors had displayed to each other so many virtues and noble actions, in the course of their late operations, that they were fired with a mutual esteem, which buried their former animosities in oblivion. Upon this occasion a council of war was summoned, in which it was resolved that, considering the number of the wounded, the scarcity of provisions, and the season of the year was now far advanced, the most adviseable measure was to lay up the fleet to the ensuing season, when they could return with redoubled vigour upon action, after the seamen and soldiers were refreshed, and their ships refitted. This resolution was by many people condemned as imprudent and unseasonable. All was in confusion at *Constantinople*, the *Turkish* navy was intirely ruined, their coasts and islands naked, deserted, and in the utmost consternation, while the confederates rode triumphant in the *Archipelago*. By pursuing their advantages the haughty *Selim*, it was confidently asserted, must have sued for peace before the spring: nothing could have withstood an armament flushed with so glorious a victory, much less an enemy drooping under their defeat, and desponding in adversity as much as they tyrannized in prosperity. The chief blame fell upon *Venieri*, as the republic was the most interested in terminating the war: he ought, with all his might, to have opposed a measure so pernicious to his country, instead of supporting *Don John*, who was the great promoter. His unwillingness to keep the sea was, by the ill-natured, attributed to his great tenderness and care of a slight wound received in the leg, which, said they, made him tremble with horror at the sight of a weapon: but such reproaches were equally invidious and unjust. *Venieri* too well knew the grudge the *Spaniards* bore the *Venetians*; the unwillingness with which they were brought to engage; and that nothing besides a prevailing

Venieri
taxed with
cowardice.

° MAUROCEN. l. 6. PARUTA, l. 2. BARON. sub. A. 1571.
P PARUTA, l. 2. THUAN. hoc. cit.

notion that the *Turks* would refuse battle, could have induced them to advance so far as the gulph of *Lepanto*. He now saw with what emulation they beheld the glory the republic acquired, and with what joy they would embrace any opportunity of obscuring the lustre of her reputation. Such allies were not greatly to be relied on; and to this rather than to his wound was the conduct of *Venieri* to be ascribed: indeed, it must be acknowledged that his conduct in another respect is less excusable. *Filippo Bragadino* had been sent by the senate, before they were informed of the victory, with thirteen large gallies, to reinforce the *Venetian* Squadron; upon his arrival he found that the *Turks* were utterly defeated. Lamenting his misfortune in losing his share in so glorious a victory, he requested of *Venieri* that he would permit him to pursue the flying enemy with fifty sail, promising to give a good account of them, and likewise of several *Turkish* provinces, which would probably be in the utmost consternation after such a defeat. He strongly represented the advantages of such an enterprize, and the probability of its success; but *Venieri* was deaf to his remonstrances, either from an apprehension of the dangers of the season, or an unwillingness to commit that to the conduct of another which he knew to be a duty incumbent on himself. Thus, between caution and envy, the fairest opportunity for ending the war that ever could offer itself was lost^a.

DON *John* having resolved, agreeable to the resolution of the council of war, to separate from the *Venetians*, was intreated by *Venieri* that an attempt should first be made on *Santa Maura*. In compliance with this remonstrance he dispatched certain gallies to examine the strength and situation of the place, and in what space of time it might probably be reduced. The captains of the gallies reported on their return that probably fifteen or twenty days would finish the enterprize; upon which he dropt the design, saying that it was a pauntry island, of too little consequence to the confederates to merit the expence and trouble. His influence prevailed; and the whole fleet, without any farther undertaking, set sail in company for the island of *Corfu*, where they divided their plunder and conquests (B). From thence the ecclesiastical

^a MAUROCE. l. 6.

and

(B) The spoils were divided in the following manner: *Philip*, for his share, had fifty-eight gallies, six galliots, sixty-eight large cannon, eight bombs, and one hundred and twenty-eight light artillery, with one thousand seven hundred and thirteen prisoners. To the *Venetians* was given a portion agreeable

and Spanish fleets retired to *Massina*, which port they entered in triumph. After their departure, *Venieri* took *Margarit* near *Corfu*, granting their lives and liberty to the inhabitants, but burning and destroying the citadel. *Soppoto* was likewise seized by the *Albanians*, and put under the government of *Venice*, but it was soon recovered by *Selim*.

THESE places were of little consequence; the opportunity of striking a decisive blow was now lost: had the combined fleet but appeared off the *Morea* the *Greeks* would have been delivered from slavery. A general disaffection to the *Turkish* government appeared among them, and they expected nothing less than the recovery of their liberty, as an immediate consequence of the victory of *Lepanto*: they requested *Don John* that he would but approach so near the shore as to let his shadow be seen in the *Morea*, which they said was sufficient to terrify the *Turks* into submission, and restore them to their pristine happiness. Certain it is, that great advantages might have been gained by a vigorous prosecution of the terror they had struck all over the *Ottoman* empire. Instead of this, the time was consumed in vain-glorious triumphs, ovations, and ambassies * (C).

BUT the winter was employed on both sides with fresh preparations for the ensuing campaign: *Selim* was at *Adrianople* when the news of the defeat arrived, upon which he set out

* PARUTA, l. 2. p. 2.

* BARON. Eccles. sub. A. hoc.

to the number and strength of their shipping. They had for their share forty-four gallies, a number of galliots and galeasses, one hundred and thirty-one pieces of cannon of various sizes, with one thousand one hundred and sixty-two prisoners. That of his holiness was the smallest, but the most honourable, as among his prisoners he reckoned *Acmet* and *Mahomet*, the sons of *Hali*. The ecclesiastical share amounted to twenty-one gallies, with a proportion of smaller vessels, fifty-four pieces of artillery of different sizes, and eight hundred and eighty-one prisoners. Vid. *Paruta*, *loc. cit.* *Thuan.*

seemed to entertain no unjust notion of the mutual losses of the *Turks* and Christians. When the pope's ambassador acquainted him of the total destruction of the *Turkish* fleet, he asked if there were no more trees in the *Ottoman* dominions? The ambassador answered there were; but still enlarged on the irreparable damage *Selim* had sustained, thinking thereby to induce the *sophi* to invade his dominions. To all which this sagacious prince answered, that by destroying *Selim's* fleet the Christians had cut off his beard; but they had lost an arm in losing *Cyprus*. *Baron. sub. loc. An.*

(C) The *sophi* of *Persia*

Great pre-
parations
made on
both sides.

with the utmost expedition to *Constantinople*, to prevent all tumults and disturbances, the sure consequence of disappointments in the *Othoman* empire. Here he conducted, with the assistance of the wife *Mahomet*, his grand vizier, every thing with such prudence, spirit, and resolution, that all was quiet; no revolts appeared among the janissaries, and nothing but a spirit of revenge, and the utmost diligence in equipping a new fleet, in augmenting the garrisons on the coasts, casting of ordnance, and other military preparations was beheld. *Uluazzali's* reception was, contrary to expectation, extremely gracious. *Selim* thanked him for his bravery in the action, and prudence in bringing safe back the division of the fleet under his care. In this he acted like a sound politician; for *Uluazzali's* influence and character were at least equal to his abilities; nor could any thing more encourage the troops than to have the commander applauded, whose conduct had saved the only remnant of the *Turkish* power[†].

His holiness and the republic, on the other hand, omitted nothing which could unite more strongly the present confederacy, as well as increase its power by the addition of new allies. The cardinal *Alexandrino* had constantly resided at the court of *Philip*, to keep him steady in his engagements, and to his weight was joined that of the *Venetian* resident. As soon as advice of the victory arrived, they both waited on his catholic majesty to congratulate him on so glorious an event, owing chiefly to the irresistible power of his majesty's arms. Thence they proceeded to lay before him how soon the *Othoman* empire might be crushed by a seasonable and vigorous exertion of the confederate power; but *Philip* was still slow in his measures, and ready of his promises. The war in the *Low Countries*; a threatening rupture with *France*, as well as a general dislike and jealousy of the *Venetians* that prevailed in his army, raised numberless difficulties, which all the address of the pope and senate found no easy matter to remove. *Venieri*, that no disputes on his account might arise, was deprived of his command, and *Foscareni* appointed by the senate in his room. Immediately after his promotion he was dispatched into *Spain*, with full powers to settle what plan of operations was thought necessary by *Philip* and Don *John* of *Austria*. But the first step was to engage the *Spaniards* heartily in the alliance; in which *Surauza* laboured with the diligence and address of an able and honest minister[‡]. An ambassador was likewise sent to the emperor to try, if possible, to move him to break the truce with *Selim*. The *Vene-*

† THUAN. *ibid.*

‡ PARUTA, *ibid.*

A. D.
1576.

rian was soon followed thither by the pope's legate, who was no less assiduous than the senate in stirring up a formidable confederacy against the *Turks*: but their zeal was not attended with the expected success; the emperor had too often experienced the power of the *Turks*, to imagine it would sink under one defeat, and the destruction of a single fleet. Their great strength and vast resources of men and money, consisted in the prodigious extent of their dominions on the continent, and not in their commerce, fleets, or islands. He therefore answered the ambassadors with assurances of a sincere regard for the pope and republic; but that his circumstances would not admit of exhibiting proofs detrimental to his own interest and the good of the empire. His treasury, he said, was low; breaking with the *Turks* would give the Protestants an opportunity of raising new disturbances. In short, engaging in the confederacy would equally, he alledged, expose his own dominions to *Turks* and Christians, and at a time when he was least able to resist either. He therefore advised the ambassadors to apply to other princes, and particularly to the king of *Poland*, whose vicinity to the *Othoman* empire and power, would render his alliance more valuable. Their endeavours he promised to second with all his influence; for which purpose he sent an ambassador to *Warsaw*: but neither in *Poland* nor in *Russia* were their negotiations successful^d.

At this time pope *Plus* the fifth died, and was succeeded by *Gregory* the thirteenth, whose inclinations to the confederacy were not yet known. This was a real affliction to the *Venetians*: it disconcerted their measures, as his holiness had warmly espoused their cause against the *Turks*, and left nothing unessayed to humble the pride, and reduce the power of that empire. *Colonna* had quitted *Rome*, to get the fleet in readiness, when an express was sent after him to acquaint him with the pope's death, and the expiration of his commission. Upon this he returned to congratulate *Gregory* on his accession, and had the address to procure himself continued in the command, and the former measures embraced, of which he immediately sent notice to *Venice*: however, it was the month of *June* before these armaments were ready to put to sea from *Messina*. Here too *John* of *Austria*, having assembled certain *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *German* regiments, embarked them in a squadron of twenty-two galleys, which he dispatched to *Corfu*. They were soon joined by twenty-five galleys under *Suranza*, whom *Foscaren*i the admiral had

† *Thuan.* ubi supra.

sent

sent for the execution of some enterprize. *Suranza*, agreeable to his orders, laid his instructions before *Colonna*, and *Andrada* the *Spanish* admiral. He found *Colonna* eager to enter upon action; but *Andrada* full of grave excuses and wise maxims on the necessity of deliberation. At length, being hard pressed by *Colonna* and *Suranza*, he replied, that his instructions forbade him to leave *Corfu* without farther orders: he expected to be reinforced by the fleet collecting by *Alvaro Bassano* at *Messina*, after which he must wait the issue of the troubles in *Navarre*.

Quarrels
between
the Vene-
tian and
Spanish
officers.

UPON this the *Venetians* exclaimed loudly against the *Spaniards*: they complained of being sacrificed to the pride, the politics, and the jealousy, if not the hatred, of *Philip* and his ministry. Upon their great promises, they said, they had engaged the republic in this war; yet, as soon as the season for action arrived, their dilatoriness and treachery left her to shift for herself. Under *Doria*, the first year of the war, this was apparently the case: nor were affairs altered much for the better the following: *Famagosta* was lost, and in consequence the kingdom of *Cyprus*, before they were ready to put to sea; and afterwards, they were in a manner compelled and deluded into the most glorious victory that had ever been obtained over the *Turkish* power. The *Venetians* even asserted, that *Don John's* conduct had been blamed by the ministry and greater part of the *Spanish* nation: they said, that no arguments, no prospects, no ambition, or thirst of glory, ought to have induced him to hazard a fleet upon the safety of which so much depended. So far did some persons carry this notion, as to assert that he ought to have been punished for his temerity: but now, cried the *Venetians*, the *Spanish* conduct is too barefaced to leave any doubts of their inclinations to see the republic impoverished and reduced by a war, of which she is the chief support, and in which she is the chief sufferer. Their pretended apprehensions of disturbances in *Lombardy* were too gross to impose on the senate; nor were those other excuses better founded, which set forth the necessity of preparing against a change of measures in the consistory, by the accession of a new pontiff: his holiness's views were obvious from his conduct. Upon the whole, the *Venetians* concluded, that jealousy was the only spring of action in the *Spanish* cabinet: it was, therefore, high time to regard their own security, and break off an alliance productive of nothing but infamy, treachery, and poverty. For these reasons it was proposed, and soon carried in the senate, that *M. Antonio Bar-*

baro should again renew his negotiations of peace with *Mahomet* the grand vizier, and bring things as near a crisis as ^{Negotia-}he possibly could, without actually concluding the treaty, ^{tions for a}until he had acquainted the republic of the terms granted. ^{peace be-}At the same time it was decreed, to send *John Michaeli* into ^{tween the}France, and *Antonio Tiepoli* into Spain, both men of expe- ^{Senate and}rience and great eloquence. The business of the first was to dissuade his Christian majesty from breaking with Spain, as it was currently believed he intended, both by assisting the protestants in the *Netherlands*, and by entering with an army into *Lombardy*. As for *Tiepoli*, his instructions were to excite *Philip* to perform his engagements, and not to suffer a war, begun with great expectations, and conducted with some success, to languish through indolence and inactivity ^{Selim.}.

BARBARO entered immediately upon the subject of his instructions with *Mahomet*: he found that sage minister equally inclined to peace, as he had always been averse to a war with the republic. These, notwithstanding the great preparations, were the general sentiments of the divan and the whole *Turkish* empire: however, *Mahomet* deferred giving a conclusive answer, until the arrival of the *French* ambassador the bishop of *Aix*. The truth was, the *Turkish* ministry carefully watched the progress of the confederacy, determining to take their measures either hostile or pacific accordingly. Before it was known that the emperor had refused to break the alliance; that the *Spanish* councils were as dilatory and sluggish as formerly; that the *Poles*, the *Portuguese*, and the *Russians*, had declined entering upon any engagements, they seemed to listen with pleasure to the resident's proposals. Afterwards, when the sentiments of those different courts came to be known, and that the *Venetians* alone must support the whole war, they rose in their demands, talked with the imperious air of conquerors, and in a strain so big, that they seemed to have forgot their late disgrace. The consequence was, that every prospect of peace vanished, and the senate again determined to prosecute the war with all possible vigour.

In the beginning of *July*, *Colonna* was joined at *Corfu* by the rest of the ecclesiastical fleet, on board of which were several of the young nobility of *France*, who desired leave to serve against the *Turks*, under so distinguished an officer as *Colonna*. Among others was *Charles Lorraine*, marquis de *Mayenne*, brother to the duke of *Guise*. This volunteer the *Venetians* complimented with the honour of nobility, the

* PARUTA, l. 3.

† THUAN. l. 54. MAUROZEN. l. 8.

highest mark of distinction the republic ever confers on a foreigner. The whole fleet being joined, they set sail for *Geminize*, where a survey was taken of their strength, which was found to amount to one hundred and forty galleys. Don *John* had in the mean while left *Messina*, and arrived at *Palermo*, whence he dispatched letters to the confederates, acquainting them that his instructions were to join them as soon as the storm apprehended from *France* was blown over. He strongly recommended to *Colonna* to enter upon no enterprise before the whole allied fleet was united. Again the *Venetians* uttered loud complaints against this extraordinary method of proceeding: new obstructions were eternally raising, and by that means the sacred faith of treaties, if not openly broken, were at least rendered unfruitful. It was now full time that the fleets should be joined, if Don *John* did not desire that *Candia* should share the same fate as *Cyprus*. *Andrada* himself was so confounded with their reproaches, and the barefaced conduct of the *Spanish* ministry, that he proposed the fleet should sail to join Don *John*.

MEAN time *Tiepoli*, finding that the intention of his instructions was effected before he arrived in *France*, set out without delay to the court of *Philip*. As all apprehensions of an attack from *France* were removed, he imagined *Philip* would now be ashamed longer to defer the junction of the fleets. When he waited on the monarch, he laboured with all the arguments of reason and oratory, to quicken the measures of the court, and procure orders for Don *John's* entering upon action, and establishing a footing for the winter in the *Turkish* dominions. To all this the king answered with smooth speeches and soothing promises. As to the wintering it required deliberation, he said, but he would return an answer in a few days, which accordingly he did in the negative, calling it a rash, precipitate, and imprudent measure.

No sooner were the *Venetians* apprized of *Philip's* answer, than their inclinations to peace grew stronger, and were increased by the ambiguous reply with which their ambassador *Micheli* was dismissed by the king and queen of *France*; viz. that the king best knew his own affairs; however, that he would act no ways prejudicial to the common interests of *Christianity*, or the particular interest of the republic, whom he greatly valued and esteemed. This was in answer to the public instructions of *Micheli*; but the real motive of his embassy was to procure the king's mediation with *Selim*, by means of his minister at the *Porte*, in which he succeeded, his majesty promising to engage heartily in the business, but with

with the necessary delicacy and secrecy, to avoid giving umbrage to *Philip*.

DURING these negotiations, the fleet, as had been proposed by *Andrada*, set sail from *Corfu* for *Candia*. When they arrived at *Cephalonia* some scouts were sent to bring intelligence of the enemy : these soon returned with advice of their being in the gulph of *Napoli*, in the *Morea*; to the number of two hundred and twenty sail. Upon this the confederates steered to *Cerigo*, where the enemy were descried from the tops, and the fleet in consequence drawn up in order of battle. When they had approached so near as to discover each other distinctly, the *Turks* suddenly changed their course, and, though greatly superior in strength, declined battle, after some shot had been exchanged : nor did the confederates care to pursue, contenting themselves with the glory of having offered battle to *Uluzzali*. The *Turks* steering westerly, the confederates sent an express to *Don John*, who it was supposed must be arrived at *Corfu*, to request that he would immediately join them with his fifty-three gallies, which would give the Christians a superiority over the enemy. To hasten this design they turned their course towards *Corfu*, in order to meet him on his way. Next day, off *Capo Metapan*, they were again seen by the *Turks*, who, leaving off watering, immediately prepared for battle. The combined fleet did not decline action ; for crowding sail they bore down on the enemy with a favourable breeze, which ceased before they came within shot ; upon this the gallies were ordered to use their oars, and take the heavy ships in tow. *Uluzzali*, in order to separate the combined gallies from the heavy ships, made a feint as if he declined battle : this had its effect ; for *Suranza* ordered the gallies to part with the ships in tow, and pursue the enemy. As soon as *Uluzzali* perceived them to be at a sufficient distance for his purpose, he ordered his rowers to push with all their might, which they did so effectually as actually to divide the fleet. *Suranza* now perceived his error, and endeavoured to retrieve it : both he and *Colonna* attacked the *Turks* with such fury on one side, while the heavy ships kept a brisk fire on the other, that *Uluzzali* did not think fit to hazard a general action, or wait the fruits of his stratagem. He stood aloof, and both the fleets continued for the space of two hours cannonading at a distance, without coming to close fight, after which they each steered a different course, as if the engagement had broke off by mutual consent.

By this time *Don John* was arrived at *Corfu*, from whence he steered to *Lepanto* ; but the wind proving adverse, he

he returned again to *Corfu*, where he met with the express from *Colonna*. *Pardo*, who bore this commission, acquainted his highness of the combined fleet's having met *Uluzzali*, and offered battle, which he believed they had since accepted, from a brisk discharge of artillery he heard at sea, on his course to *Corfu*. Don John was greatly disturbed at this account, to bring certain advice of which he dispatched *Bassano*, with two galliots. *Bassano* soon discovered a fleet a-head, and mistaking it for the *Turkish*, returned with the utmost precipitation to *Corfu*, where he put every thing in commotion by a false alarm, which was in vain contradicted by the *Venetian* pilots on board, until the arrival of the christian fleet next day confirmed the pilot's assertion, to the great confusion of *Bassano*. *Foscareni* had now joined the fleet with a

Don John
joins the
confederate
fleet, and
takes the
command.

reinforcement; so that the confederates were equal in every respect to the enemy. He and *Colonna* were for going in quest of the *Turks*; but Don John, as if he had direct orders to oppose every proposition for the honour and interest of the confederacy, was perpetually raising new obstructions. Among others, he alledged, the *Venetian* division was unfit for action, on account of the small number of mariners on board. To this *Foscareni* replied with indignation, that it would not appear to be so from their having twice, without his assistance, offered battle. *Colonna's* interposition and prudence prevented the breach from becoming wider, and obtained a resolution in a council of war, that they should look out for the enemy; that, for the greater expedition, the heavy ships should be sent to *Zant*, there to wait further orders; and in short, that every expedient should be used to redeem the time lost, and restore the credit of the christian arms.

ACCORDINGLY the whole fleet weighed anchor, and steered for *Cephalonia*. Here they were informed, that sickness prevailing among the *Turks*, had compelled *Uluzzali* to put into the port of *Quaglia* in a distressed condition. *Foscareni* and *Colonna* were for attacking them without loss of time, and the proposal was so reasonable, that Don John could not refuse his assent. However, he found means to frustrate the intention of the resolution by consuming two complete days in making unnecessary dispositions, and examining minutely the condition of each vessel. In vain did the other officers represent that the opportunity would be lost; Don John calmly replied, that the events of battle were so precarious that too much caution could not be used in guarding against them. At last he weighed, and the pilots had orders to steer to *Modon*; but whether by secret directions or mistake is uncertain, they brought the fleet to *Rodona*. Here they

were

were wholly exposed to the enemy's view, which put them upon uniting their fleet, which before lay in two different harbours; providing every thing against an attack, and taking such measures as must greatly disconcert the Christians. *Colonna* was the first who discovered the mistake; upon which, without staying for orders, he bore down upon a part of the *Turkish* fleet that fell about a mile a-stern. Here he began an engagement, imagining he should be supported by the rest of the fleet: but finding no prospect of relief, he retreated. *Foscarini* did all in his power to prevail on Don *John* either to permit him with his division to assist *Colonna*, or to advance with the whole combined fleet, both which he peremptorily refused. In this manner was the happy occasion lost of ruining the *Turkish* navy; after which warm disputes arose concerning the plan of their future operations². It was on all hands agreed that *Modon* was to be attacked; but *Colonna* and *Doria* differed in the manner: the former was for attacking it both by sea and land; the latter with the land forces only: each supported their sentiments with strong arguments and equal vehemence: with *Colonna* sided the *Venetians*; and with *Doria* all the *Spanish* officers. In these debates so much time was lost, that Don *John* proposed returning to winter at *Messina*. This drove the *Venetians* into despair: they railed without moderation or caution against the treachery of the *Spaniards*; they said they were betrayed to the enemy, and made the tools of their allies. Don *John* was cut with these reproaches, which he could not avoid, although he knew them to be just. In his heart he approved the conduct of *Colonna* and the *Venetians*; but his instructions tied him up from entering upon such enterprizes as were suitable to his own spirit and the common interest. At last the fleet was brought before *Navarrino*, which he determined to batter, rather for want of any other reasonable measure, than that he thought the place of consequence enough. The troops and cannon were landed, batteries were erected under the conduct of *Bonello*, a celebrated engineer of *Florence*, and every thing disposed for a close assault: but, by an omission of the besiegers, a body of five hundred chosen troops were thrown into the town.

THIS misconduct on the side of the Christians was compensated by other blunders no less gross committed by the *Turks*. *Cushain* bashaw, and the beglerbeg of *Greece*, having been apprized by *Uluzzali* some months before of the probability that the Christians would make a descent on this place,

² Aut. citat. ubi supra.

neglected, notwithstanding, to assemble an army for its protection. They had now made several forced marches to relieve the garrison, but they were retarded by the difficulty of the roads and a variety of councils. These two generals blamed *Uluazzali* for not covering the place with his fleet; and this he knew would be sufficient to disgrace him with *Selim*. At length *Naverrino* was reduced to the last extremity, when suddenly a violent storm of rain came on, which continuing for three days, greatly harrassed the besieged. This incident afforded the *Spaniards* an opportunity of abandoning an enterprize, in which they were never hearty. A council was called, and *Don John* remonstrated in the strongest terms the necessity of raising the siege before sickness, the natural consequence of lying upon wet ground, and under deluges of rain, should seize the troops. The *Venetians*, on the contrary, opposed this resolution with all their power: they said it would bring eternal disgrace on the confederacy to raise the siege, when the town was ready to surrender for want of necessaries, and while the besiegers abounded with provisions, men, and ammunition: but *Don John* persisted in his resolution, which was accordingly put in execution. What adds to the disgrace of the confederates is the distress to which the army under the bashaw, the fleet commanded by *Uluazzali*, and the town, were reduced. So far had *Uluazzali's* apprehensions of receiving condign punishment carried him, that he went off to *Barbary* with twenty-five sail, leaving the rest of the fleet to shift for themselves. So ill informed was he of the christian councils, that he imagined nothing could save the place, for which he doubted not but his head must be answerable. In this manner ended a campaign, which produced nothing but disgrace, altercation, and a prodigious expence, though the allies might easily have terminated the war had they acted according to their strength, skill, and with the requisite unanimity and harmony.

As soon as the siege was raised the fleets separated: *Don John* with the *Spaniards* retired to *Messina*: *Colonna* with his division set out directly for *Ostia*; while the *Venetian* admiral sailed to the gulph of *Gatbarra*, to make an attempt upon a magazine the *Turks* had erected upon that coast. It was given out on all sides that the war would be resumed with the utmost vigour early in the following spring, at the same time that negotiations for a peace were going on between *Selim* and the republic, by means of the *French* ambassador. The *Vene-*

* PARUTA, l. 3. MAUROGEN. l. 9. THUAN. l. 54.

tians had now too many assurances of the inclinations of *Philip*, to hesitate longer upon securing the best terms they could with the Grand Seignior. This point was therefore diligently laboured for the whole winter; and at length brought to an issue less consonant to the spirit and justice of the republic, than to the circumstances of her affairs. Peace was concluded upon condition, that *Cyprus*, as by right of conquest, *Antivari*, *Delrigno* in *Albania*, and *Soppoto*, by treaty, should for ever be ceded to *Selim*. It was farther articulated, that thirty thousand crowns in gold should, at certain instalments, be paid to *Selim*, to reimburse him for the expences of the war; after which each should be restored to all their former possessions, the prisoners exchanged, and the merchants reinstated in their former privileges of commerce. *Andrea Badoario* was sent in quality of ambassador from the republic to *Constantinople*, to confirm the treaty, which was ratified without consulting his holiness, and carefully concealed from *Philip*, until it was finally concluded. In their own defence, the *Venetians* urged the necessity of a measure wholly owing to *Philip*, and the reluctance he had ever shewn to comply with his engagements. This apology was sent to their ambassadors at different courts; in which they warmly exclaimed against the inactivity and even the treachery of *Philip*, which had rendered necessary a step equally prejudicial to them, and ignominious to the christian arms. They affirmed, that inevitable ruin hung over their heads, after having long supported singly an unequal war against the most powerful monarch on earth; their treasury was now exhausted; their men worn out by fatigue and sickness; their ships diminished in number, and the greater part unfit for service; while the poverty of the people, from a stagnation of commerce, rendered them unable to bear farther assessments. They even endeavoured to prove the expediency of this peace to the safety of *Italy*, and of *Europe* in general; arguing that if the republic was destroyed, *Selim* would then have the key of *Christendom* in his own hand, and easily extend his conquests to the utmost of his ambition^b.

In order to quiet the pope's clamours, *Nicholas Pont*, a man of consummate wisdom, erudition, and eloquence, was sent to *Rome*; but his holiness, after denying him a private audience, dismissed him with a sharp reprimand delivered in the consistory. However, *Suranzo*, the *Venetian* minister at *Madrid*, had better fortune. Either the politics of *Philip* required his being upon good terms with the republic, or his

A. D.
1573.

Peace concluded between the
Turks and
Venetians

^b MAUROCE. l. 10.

consciousness of giving birth to the measures they were excusing, made him willing to admit of their apology. After receiving *Suranzo* with the greatest affability, he told him, that only his attachment to religion, his affection for the republic, and regard to the pope's intreaties, had induced him to take arms against the *Turks*: that it was but reasonable the republic should be permitted to know her own interest. She was principal in the war, and he, as an ally only, ought to be satisfied with such terms as she chose to accept: sufficient it was for him, he said, that he had given proofs of his friendship to *Venice*, and of his zeal for the support of the christian religion. With this answer, *Suranzo* was dismissed, his catholic majesty conducting himself upon this occasion with an uncommon moderation, scarcely consistent with the high hand he bore during the war^c.

IN this manner was the year 1573 consumed in negotiations and treaties, while the republic was at all the expence of a vigorous war by maintaining large fleets and numerous garrisons. The conjectures of the divan upon the sudden resolution of the senate to sue for peace were various. Some imagined that a deep design lay concealed under the pretence of moderation; and that nothing less than an intention of seizing the first opportunity of glutting their revenge, could oblige the senate so easily to part with *Cyprus* and the cities ceded by the treaty. Rumours of this nature prevailed for several months, and forced the republic to repose little confidence in a peace so ill founded.

At length they were eased of their apprehensions by dispatches from *Bodoario*, with a full confirmation of all the articles of the treaty, ratified by the hand and seal of the Grand Signior. Upon this the senate assembled, and resolved to acquaint all their residents at foreign courts of the event. An immediate respite from the fatigues of war and preparations for a vigorous resistance ensued, and the republic was once more restored to tranquility; yet did *Selim* continue augmenting his armies and fleet, which gave umbrage and suspicion to some of the more cautious members of the senate: others, indeed, imagine that *Selim* proposed renewing the war with *Spain* in *Africa*. The secret grudge he bore to *Philip*, both on account of his persecuting the *Moors*, and acceding to the late alliance to oppose him, rendered this opinion extremely probable. It was soon confirmed by the arrival of a *Turkish* ambassador, who, in a secret audience, acquainted the doge and council that his instructions were to

*Turkish
ambassa-
dor comes
to Venice.*

^c PARUTA, l. 3.

make an offer of all the *Othoman* forces to curb the insolence of *Philip*, revenge the affronts sustained by the republic, and reduce that haughty monarch within reasonable limits. He then launched out into severe invectives against the Catholic king, bitterly reproaching him with perfidy, ambition, and tyranny. 'Who, said he, can doubt that the *Turkish* empire must have suffered greater damages from the *Venetian* bravery, unless it had been sapped, betrayed, and checked by the policy and envy of *Philip*? Who doubts but the ultimate views of his cabinet terminate in universal monarchy, and the destruction of christian liberty. This, said he, *Selim* perfectly well knows, and generously offers himself to stem the torrent of ambition, and shield innocence and freedom. The virtue of the *Venetians* has made him forget that they were lately his enemies. Great minds are soon united, and their differences, like the quarrels of lovers, serve only the more firmly to rivet their affections. *Selim* wants not to enlarge his territories; he aspires not after conquests. The burthen of his dominions, so widely extended from West to East, is already too great for mortal man to support. Whatever his arms shall subdue, the *Venetians* may look upon as the property of the republic: their wise government merits more extensive districts, if it were only to encrease the happiness of mankind.' He then exhorted them not to lose so favourable an opportunity of glory, of wealth, and of establishing their government on the most secure foundation; of trampling upon usurpation, and standing up in defence of freedom^d. With such blandishments did the *Turk* endeavour to flatter her passions, and lead the republic into his master's views, by a gentle compulsion; but the senate was not to be caught by sweet words, and soothed into measures ruinous of the peace they had so lately purchased; for to them the affair was referred by the council of ten. (A). It was not doubted but the intention of this embassy was to sound the inclinations of the republic towards *Philip*, to sow the seeds of discord among the christian

^d MAUROCEN, l. 10. THUAN. l. 54.

(A) It is usual at *Venice* that the doge, then the ambassador is introduced to the council *di dieci* or ten. If the affair in question be of great importance, it is then carried to the senate, and there determined. *Maurocen*, l. 12. p. 476.

powers, and cut off all hopes of any future confederacy against the *Porte*. The senate, therefore, resolved to couch their answer in as obliging but general terms as possible: they expressed their warm sense of the honour done them by the friendship of so mighty a prince; but, they said, that the grievances against *Philip* were not sufficient ground for a rupture, to which they could have no other inducement than their desire of complying with every request of *Selim*. It was evident, from the reply of the ambassador, that he was little satisfied with the issue of his mission: however, the senate adhered to their answer, and he was dismissed with a magnificent present.

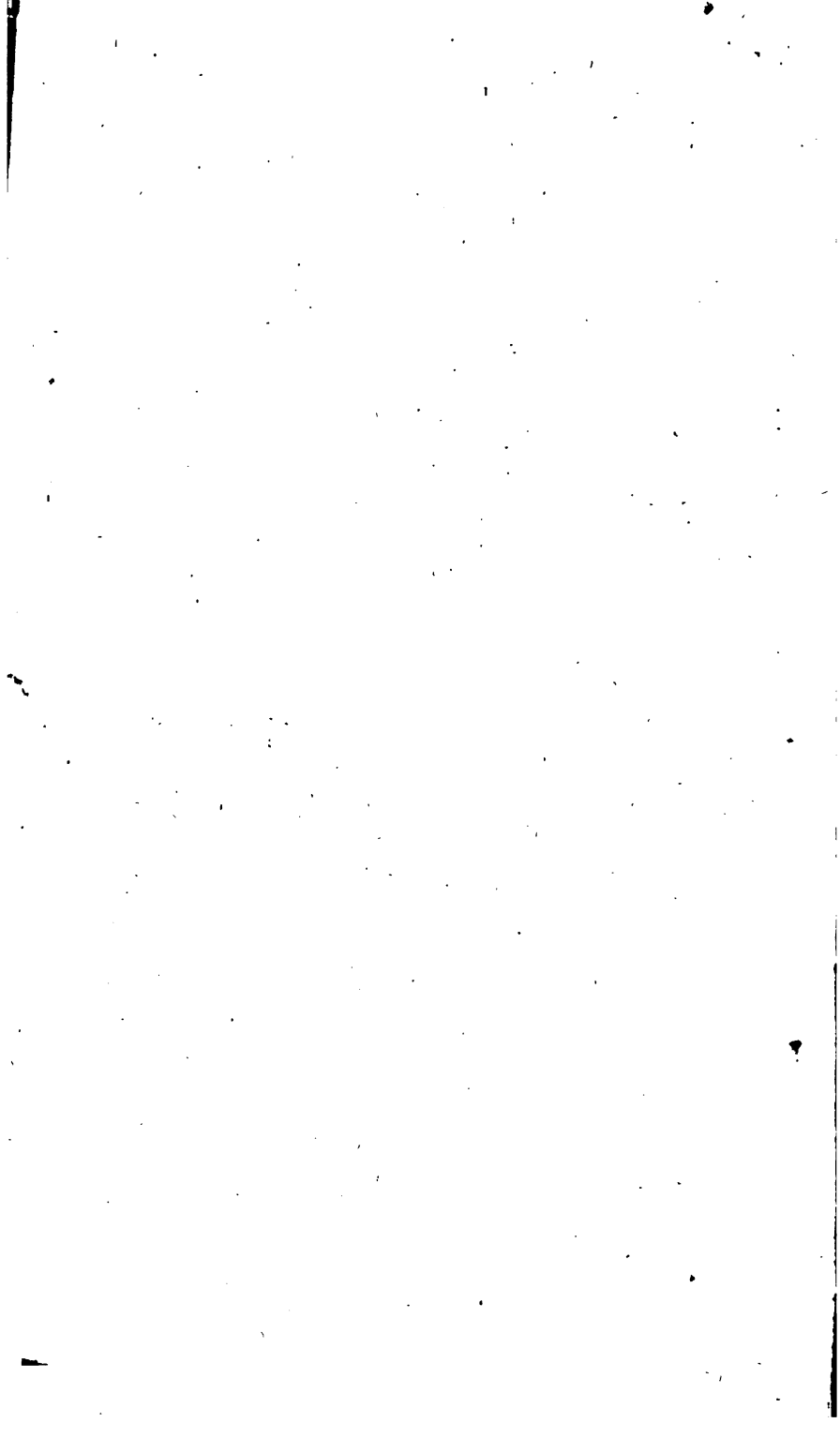
SOON after his departure, it was known, that *Selim* had resolved upon an expedition into *Africa*; upon which orders were sent to *Marco Quirini* the admiral, not to augment the fleet in *Candia*, and only to retain ten galleys in commission, for the security of commerce. All the new levies were disbanded, and every possible step taken to ease the oppression under which the poor had long groaned.

PHILIP, in the mean while, was making mighty preparations, which created suspicion that he would attempt something against the republic, in revenge of the separate peace made with *Selim*. *John of Austria* had passed from *Genoa* to *Milan* in a secret manner, where he held frequent consultations with *Alexander Farnese* duke of *Parma*; in consequence of which soldiers were levied, cannon cast, and other warlike preparations set on foot in the heart of *Italy*, which could not fail of exciting the jealousy of the senate. To shew they were not ignorant of the transaction, instructions were sent to *Contareni*, governor of *Verona*, to go directly to *Milan*, and compliment Don *John* in the name of the republic. Every precaution for the security of the *Venetian* territories was taken: the garrisons of the *Bergamese* were augmented, and stores laid in of provision, ammunition, and other necessaries. Governors, in whose fidelity the senate might confide, were appointed, and the safety of *Bergamo* in particular provided for by a body of the rich citizens, who had ever shewn their affection and loyalty to the republic, by new fortifications and other alterations, sufficient to evince that it could not be attacked in a defenceless condition; yet were these preparations made with so much prudence as gave no cause of offence.

PHILIP, in the mean time, had the melancholy prospect of two formidable wars: one against the *Moors* in *Africa*,

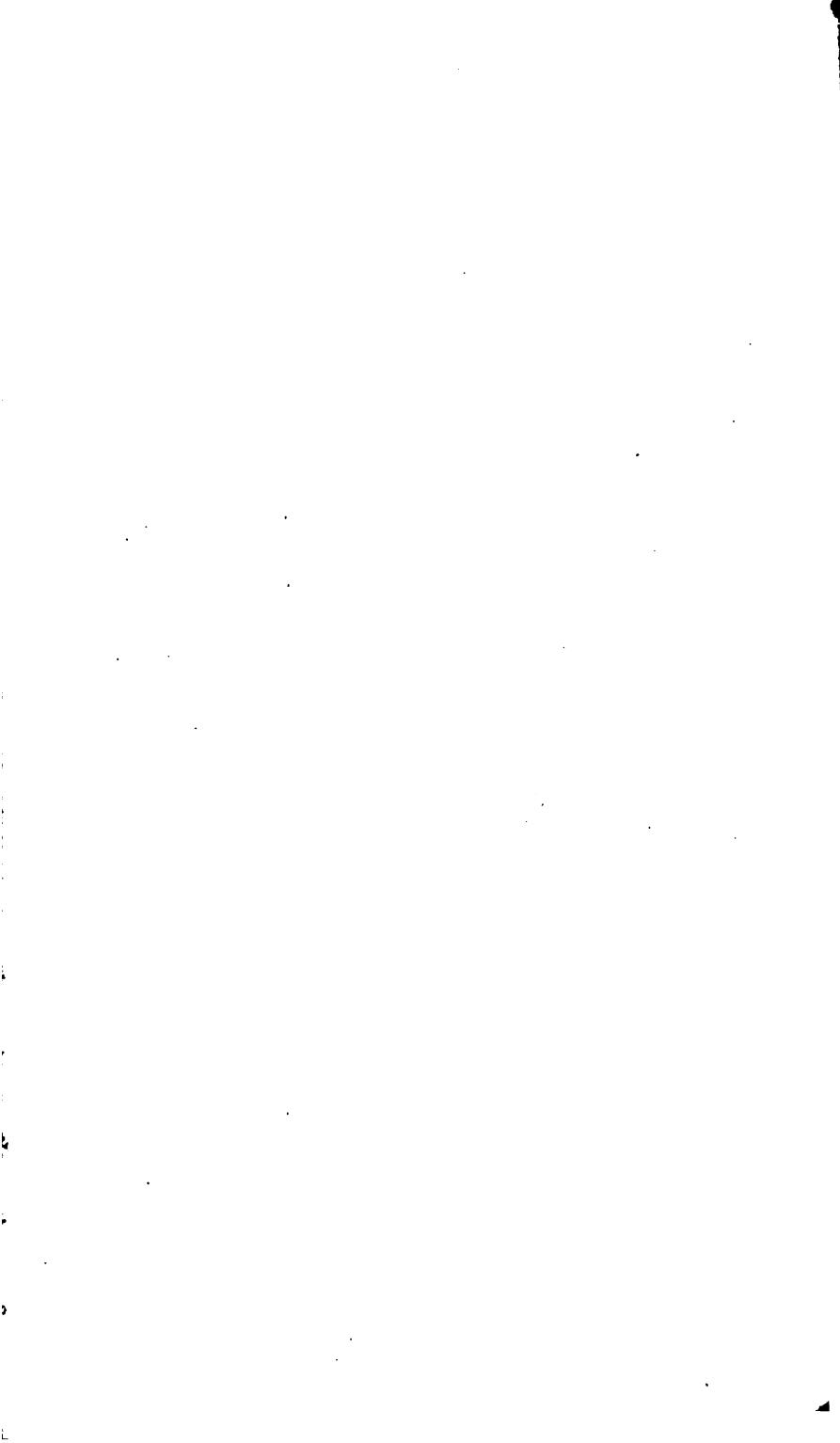
supported by the whole strength of the *Othoman* empire ; and the other with his own subjects in the *Netherlands*. Hence proceeded his inability to disturb the peace of *Italy*, whatever might be his inclinations to revenge himself on the republic. To quiet the apprehensions of the republic, he therefore sent orders to his resident at *Venice*, *Guzman de Silva*, to give the most solemn assurances to the doge and senate, that the levies in *Lombardy* were not intended to destroy the repose of *Italy*, of which he was at this time particularly desirous : that *Don John's* negotiations at *Milan* related solely to the disturbances in the *Low Countries* : that no credit was to be given to the reports of those who, from a busy disposition, were always blowing up the embers of contention among princes : that his affection for the republic was confirmed by numberless testimonies of hearty friendship, and her security at this time insured by the circumstances of his affairs, since nothing could be more impolitic than encreasing the number of his enemies. To this he added, that sound policy required a mutual confidence, since nothing could be more prejudicial to both than a suspicious and lukewarm friendship. *De Silva* enforced his instructions with all the graces and power of oratory, in a laboured oration he delivered to the council, to which a suitable answer was returned.

END of the TWENTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.



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B'D OCT 5 1914

